MITHRAIC ICONOGRAPHY
AND IDEOLOGY

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

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E. J. BRILL
1968

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WITH 26 FIGURES AND 45 PLATES

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In Memoriam

M. I. ROSTOVTZEFF

VIRI ERVDITISSIMI ET SCRIPTORIS PRAESTANTIS

MIHIQUE MYSTAGOGI ATQUE AMICI

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ILLUSTRATIONS xix

PREFACE xxi

INTRODUCTION 1

a) Relief types of composition 1
b) Tauroctone subtypes 2
c) Scope and method of analysis 3
d) Local differences in ideology 4

I. THE MITHRAIC CAVE 6

a) Naturalistic 7
b) Artificial 7
c) Architectural 8
d) Origin of the cave motive 8
e) Association of cave and cattle thief 8
f) Fusion of cave types 9

1. Relief of Poetovio II (*1510*) — 2. Relief of Poetovio III (*1579*) — 3. Relief of Nersae (*650*) — 4. Relief of Quadraro (*321*) — 5. Origins of pictorial art

II. FOUR TAUROCTONE ASSISTANTS 12

a) Dog 12

1. Other associations on the monuments — 2. In Iran — 3. In Egypt — 4. In Greece: guardian between two worlds

b) Snake 15

1. Other associations on the monuments — 2. On bases from Rome (*525-6*) and Trier (*992*) — 3. Emerges from a hole — 4. At the middle of the Mithraeum — 5. Mithraic origin not Zoroastrian — 6. In Greek religion — 7. Pneumatic soul in transition: Mithraic metempsychosis — 8. A cosmic Agathos Daimōn of Fire — 9. As female and generative power

c) Raven 22

1. And eagle — 2. Other associations on the monuments — 3. Altars of Poetovio (*1496*) and Carnuntum (*1706*) — 4. A bird of sky power — 5. As Vāregan, incarnation of Verethraghna — 6. Bird of night, cock of morning

d) Scorpion 25

1. Other associations on the monuments — 2. Beneficent rather than hostile — 3. Of Semitic rather than Iranian origin

III. THE TORCHBEARERS: Cautes and Cautopates 29

a) Western iconography earlier 29

1. Western type — 2. Eastern type

b) Normal and South Iranian positions 30

1. Sometimes not differentiated by their torches — 2. Eastern type on subtypes C, D, and E — 3. South Iranian positions on subtypes C and D — 4. Diversity of types in Middle Europe especially

c) Origins of Western and Eastern typologies 33
d) Differences in their ideologies 34
e) Connections with the death of the bull 35
f) Connections with the seasons 35

1. Seasonal and other symbols — 2. Confusions in seasonal ideology

g) Color symbolism and the seasons: Capua fresco (*181*). 39

1. Barberini fresco (*390*) — 2. Third century tauroctone painting (*386*) — 3. On Esquiline tauroctone relief (*350*)

h) Cosmic associations on Heddernheim III monument (*1127*) 40

1. Cautes with globe (*918*), Cautopates with key (*1110 1163*) — 2. Cautopates with rain, Moon bust, and Natura dei symbols

i) Their positions in the Mithraea 42
j) Other associations 42

IV. The Zodiac and Mithraic Orientation 44

a) Anatolian-Mesopotamian typology of the signs . . 45

1. Emphasis on ancient equinoctial and solstitial signs — 2. Emphasis on opposite halves of the zodiac

b) Two orders of the signs: clockwise and counter-clockwise 47

1. Western order clockwise — 2. Eastern order counter-clockwise

c) Different orientations indicated: the southern. . . 48

1. Eastern and northern

d) Mithraeum, a replica of the cosmos 49

1. Porphyrius (*De antro*, 7-9) on its symbolism — 2. Physical problems of orienting a Mithraeum

e) Mithraea listed according to orientations 51

1. Cultural causes and differences — 2. Geographical differences

f) Porphyrius (*De antro*, 22-24) on Mithraic orientation 54

1. North for Genesis, South for Apogenesis — 2. Cautes over Genesis, Cautopates over Apogenesis

g) Problem of Thūmos and Psychē. 57

1. Zoroastrian doctrine of man as being fivefold — 2. Meaning of Mēnōk and Fravahr — 3. Correlation of the five parts of man, planetary powers, and grades — 4. Porphyrius (*De antro*, 29) on Moon gate for Genesis and Sun gate for Apogenesis, under Saturnus in Capricorn — 5. Cautopates as Despotes and Cautes as Demiurgos of Genesis — 6. Anāhita and the Bull as Demiourgos of Genesis — 7. Mithra-Verethraghna as a dagger-god Ares — 8. Orientation equinoctial according to Porphyrius

h) Problem of solstitial orientation 74

1. Different vegetational seasons — 2. West as a place of death and birth — 3. Opposite powers of equinoctial planets, Mars and Mercury

i) The different Mithraic orientations 76

1. Eastern, Greek and Persian — 2. Northeast, southeast, Semitic — 3. Southern orientation of northern peoples — 4. Northern orientation of southern peoples, Iranian — 5. Different emphases on the Bull-theft and Birth — 6. Causes of confusion in the iconography of the seasons

j) Tauroctones of the South Iranian group 83

1. More developed in composition — 2. Especially of C and D subtype — 3. Fusion of Iranian and Semitic ideology in semen and blood motives — 4. Not necessarily developed in southern Iran — 5. Examples in Southeast Europe

V. STARS AND PLANETS, WINDS AND SEASONS 91

a) Tauroctones having stars and planets 91

1. Mithra as the planet Mercury — 2. The star within a crescent

b) History of the star and crescent 93

1. The ancient winged sphere or disk — 2. Sassanian royal symbols — 3. The super-lunar cosmos or the new moon

c) Iranian conceptions of the sky-āsmān 94

1. Highest heavens of moon, sun and *garōdmān* — 2. Ecbatana of King Deioces, according to Herodotus — 3. Its symbolism — 4. Royal emphasis on Justice, *dikē-arta-aša* — 5. Iranian ideology of the Word-Vaxš-Logos and Kingship

d) Astral symbols placed on tauroctones according to Iranian astronomy 101

1. The few exceptions

e) Tauroctones having a long solar ray 102

1. The Avestan Čista-Revealer — 2. Cosmological conception of Religion-Dēn as creative Wisdom

f) Iranian cosmology 107

1. Twofold Stuff-Abzār of Moving-Mēnōk and Becoming-Gētēh creativity which generates the World Body in three stages — 2. Cosmological myths of Manifest-Kavi kings — 3. Three stages in the generation-Bavišn of living beings — 4. Several categories of Progressions in Iranian cosmology — 5. Perfected world body a restoration of original goodness through Wisdom-Dēn-Religion — 6. The Raven as the creative Word, Sun-ray as the Light — 7. Water of twofold powers the original Stuff-Abzār — 8. An ancient cosmological picture from Luristan — 9. Conceptions of a cosmic Man, Ox, and Tree — 10. The cosmology of the Mitanni Royal seal

g) Mithraic sun and moon symbols, the nimbus sphere 134

1. Tauroctones having a solar nimbus — 2. Tauroctones having a lunar nimbus or sphere — 3. Tauroctones having a lunar taurus — 4. Tauroctones having Sol and Luna in reversed positions — 5. Tauroctones having the Raven at the right — 6. Tauroctones having solar and lunar chariots — 7. Their opposite progressions

h) Iranian conceptions of opposite and complementary Twins 141

1. Body and soul as opposite states of soul — 2. Angra and Spenta Mainyu in Mithraism — 3. Origin of the Zarathustrian Mazda, an ancient Masdes (Mighty one) of Spenta powers — 4. Spenta Mainyu and Spenta Armaiti as male and female Twins — 5. Bi-sexual divinities and ideologies of the elements — 6. A Magian conception of an elemental Chariot of the cosmos — 7. The elemental Cosmic Chariot of Dieburg (*1247, reverse*) — 8. A Mithraic conception of the Regeneration of the Cosmos

i) Tauroctones having symbols of Winds and Seasons 162

1. List of these tauroctones — 2. On the Osterburken relief (*1292*) — 3. On the Neuenheim relief (*1283*) — 4. On the larger Dura relief (*40*) — 5. Problem of busts on

AB tauroctones in Southeast Europe — 6. All four Winds and Seasons on the Sidon relief (*75*); the reliefs of Heddernheim (*1083*), Modena (*695*), and Brigetio (*1727*) — 7. On the great altar of Carnuntum III (*1685*) and San Clemente (*339*)

j) Ancient gods of Wind and Air 166

1. Vayu and Rāma Hvastra, erotic wind and Eros — 2. Phoenician cosmology, primacy of wind and air — 3. Worship of Winds and Plants for health and courage — 4. Twin progeny of the Wind Kolpia and Night — 5. Samēmroumos and Ousōos, mountain twins of energy and formed matter (world mountain) — 6. The twins Hasis and Kuthar — 7. Their relation to Kastor and Cautes — 8. The Mithraic mysteries strongly oriental

VI. MITHRA EPHIPPOS AND INVICTUS 181

a) At Dura 181

1. Changes in the iconography at Dura — 2. Probable changes in the ideology — 3. Mithra in the *Mihr Yašt* (*10*) — 4. His connection with horses emphasized

b) Mithra's powers and companions in the *Yašt* . . . 184

The Twins Sraoša-Srōš and Rašnus-Rašn — 2. Hvarenō and Kšathrō powers as Ahu and Ratu — 3. The Ahu and Ratu in the Dura Mithraeum (*44*) — 4. Barnaadath and Jaribol on the tauroctone relief (*40*)

c) Mithra ephippos as Invictus-Verethraghna 191

1. Mounted Mithra in Pontus — 2. The iconography at Dieburg (*1247*) — 3. The frescos at Dura (*52*) — 4. Reverse of the Rückingen relief (*1137*) — 5. Other pictures

d) Solar manifestation of Hvarenō power 196

1. Lion as Manly Force and Victory — 2. Lion, world globe and *baetylos* of Wind and Fire — 3. These symbols on the Natura dei relief of Trier (*985*)

e) Snake as the Pneuma of Life 200

f) The horseman as bearer of victorious Fortune-Hvarenō 201

1. Expanding Hvarenō seized by Swift-horsed Ahura in world sea — 2. Hvareno-Xvarr encloses the world egg — 3. Vāregan-Hvarenō of Yima seized by Mithra, Thraetaona, and King Keresaspa — 4. Scythian Ares-Verethraghna and the Wind

g) The Avestan Hvarenō 204

1. Mēnōk and Gētēh Xvarr as heat-energy and moisture-matter — 2. Xvarr as Ruvān-Soul that fatally directs the body, Thūmos and Phrēn as Spirit and Character of man — 3. Hvarenō related to solar heat — 4. Embodied in Ašišvang, Guide of Mithra's chariot — 5. Importance of Sovereign Wind

h) The Mithraic DEUS INVICTUS inscriptions . . . 211

1. Sol Invictus Mithra — 2. Mercurius Mithra — 3. Mercury with the Mithra-Dionysus Child — 4. Dionysus as Haoma — 5. Haoma and Hvarenō — 6. Hvarenō and Sanctus — 7. Sanctus, Fortuna and the Hearer — 8. Sanctus Silvanus — 9. Invictus Navarzes — 10. Sol Oriens and Sol Invictus — 11. Sol Mithras Invictus Cautopates

i) Deus Invictus Mithras and Sol Socius 236

1. Herakles-Verethraghna as Companion of Mithra — 2. Mithrakana, sacrifice of horses — 3. Phrygian rites at the Mithrakana period — 4. A Phrygian Mithraphata — 5. The Victor mounted on horseback or chariot

j) A Gaulic sculpture of Victory and Imperium . . . 244

1. Indo-European outlook dynamistic rather than morphic — 2. Magos and shaman

VII. MITHRA TAUROCTONOS 247

a) The Demiourgos and Despotes of Genesis 248

1. The elements male and female — 2. A primeval Bull-of-Heaven bi-sexual — 3. The Deus Invictus and Genitor as twin powers

b) The Theft of the Bull 250

1. Porphyrius on the Cattle-thief and Genesis — 2. Souls entering bodies are cattle-generated — 3. Physical generation and the Indo-European Cattle-thief

c) The Archer 252

1. Bow and arrow as sky power — 2. Arrow as impelling desire — 3. Arrows of Eros-Cupid-Pothos and Sagittarius — 4. Arrow and dagger as combining and separating powers — 5. The Wind as an Archer and the Water-bull — 6. Porphyrius on water attracting souls into Genesis — 7. Order established by victorious Fire

d) Conflict of the elements 257

1. Mithra carried away on the Bull —

e) The passage of the god, Transitus dei 257

1. Taurophoros and Tauroctonos as simultaneous functions in manifold Genesis

f) Establishment of Aša and Mithrem 258

1. Sovereign Order victorious over Disorder — 2. As presented on the Rückingen relief (*1137*) — 3. From the First to the Final Body — 4. The *mithrem* of the mysteries equivalent of Avestan Aša

g) Relation of the Communion and Quadriga ascent 260

1. Rebirth of Soul or of Body — 2. The Final Body in this world or in another — 3. Trapeza Mithrou in this world an older view — 4. The Trapeza Mithrou in a higher world Neoplatonic — 5. Mithra ephippos as World-savior — 6. Ideology of salvation in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*485*)

h) Mithra as the One, the Intermediate, and the Many 266

1. Confusions in dogma

VIII. SYMBOLS IN TAUROCTONE FIELD OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN RELIEFS 271

a) Natura dei (Apogenesis) 272

1. Deus saxigenus (Theos ek petras) — 2. Petra genetrix — 3. Baetylion: Triangle and Prism; Cone and Egg — 4. Rocky mass and water, birth of fire — 5. Natura dei and the Torchbearers — 6. Location of separate monuments in the Mithraea

b) Transitus dei (Genesis) 282

1. Theos bouklopos — 2. Taurophorus as a Transitus — 3. Theos psychopompos

c) Deus Invictus (Genesis) 285

1. Follows the Transitus in Southeast Europe — 2. Position on the tauroctones — 3. As Cautes on monument base in Apulum (*1985*) — 4. A mosaic from the Baths of Caracalla

d) Principia vitae (Apogenesis) 286

1. Lion descending into water — 2. Bowl, lion and snake in Middle Europe and Germany — 3. Tellus and Oceanus as Principles of physical life — 4. Lion with Cautopates, Master of the Bull — 5. The bowl for springs that attract souls into bodies

e) Order and ideology of the four symbols 290

IX. SYMBOLS IN THE BOTTOM REGISTER OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN RELIEFS 291

a) Telete (Initiation) 291

1. Devotio (Laying on of hands) — 2. Infusio (Pouring on of water) — 3. Purgatio (Striking with bull's shank) — 4. Consecratio (Coronation) — 5. Telete rites shown on separate monuments — 6. On a marble base at Velletri (*609*) — 7. On the face of the Capua benches (*187-195*) — 8. Ideology of these Telete rites — 9. Connection with the Gods of the Week, or planets — 10. The iconography and the Seven Grades — 11. The Korax (Corvus) grade under Mercurius — 12. Nymphos (Cryfios ?) under Venus — 13. Stratiōtes (Miles) under Mars — 14. Leōn (Leo) under Jupiter — 15. Perses under Luna — 16. Heliodromus

under Sol — 17. Pater and Pater patrum under Saturnus — 18. Stereōtēs (Continens?) as nymph of Mithra Pater

b) Trapeza Mithrou (The Sacred Meal) 316

1. Triclinium — 2. Mensa — 3. Trapeza taurika — 4. Lion at the Trapeza — 5. Unusual Trapeza motives — 6. On the Fiano Romano relief (*641*) — 7. On the Rückingen (*1137*) and Heddernheim reliefs (*1083*) — 8. On the Konjici relief (*1896*) and fragment from Rome (*397*) and in the Dura fresco (*42, 13*) — 9. On reliefs of Troia (*798*) and Merida (*782*) and Trier cup (*988*) — 10. In the Santa Prisca painting (*483*) — 11. Pledged friendship of Mystes and Pater — 12. The Elementa sacra

c) Apotheosis (Consecratio) 324

1. The Quadriga — 2. Oceanus — 3. Crowned as Charioteer of Mithra; the Virunum relief (*1430*) — 4. As preparation for the final Trapeza Mithrou — 5. Impact of Other-world theology on Mithraic rites

X. SYMBOLS IN THE TOP REGISTER OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN RELIEFS 335

a) Deus taurus (Gōšurvan) 335

1. Templum caeleste — 2. Scapha lunata — 3. Substitution of the Dei mundi

b) Aqua vitae 337

1. Deus sagittarius (Tištrya Erexša, or Hekatos) — 2. Deus aquae (Apām Napāt) — 3. Bouklopē (Cattle theft)

c) Genesis (Natura mortalis) 338

1. Posis (Intoxication of the Soul) — 2. Pothos (Longing for physical life) — 3. Principium naturae (Birth from the Rock)

d) Apogenesis (Vita mortalis) 339

1. Corpus vitale — 2. Invictus — 3. Trapeza Mithrou

e) Transitus divus 340

1. Ad portam — 2. Apud deum

f) Gods of the Week 342

1. Mars, god of passage — 2. Mercury, god of Apogenesis and prosperity — 3. Jupiter, god of the world — 4. Venus, god of Genesis — 5. Saturn, god of water and knowledge — 6. Sol and Luna, gods of Genesis and Apogenesis, or of perceptivity and growth

XI. SYMBOLS OF THE PRINCIPIA MUNDI 348
a) Demiourgos, the Deus taurus 348
b) Deus aeternus (Aiōn-Kronos) 348

1. Lion's head — 2. Snakes — 3. Wings — 4. Bowl and Globe — 5. Keys — 6. Deus Arimanius (Kronos)

c) Caelus-Saturnus (Self-created Zurvān) 354

1. Deus fortunae (Xvarr) — 2. Deus aquae vitalis — 3. Deus saxi vitalis

d) Dei mundi 361

1. Gods grouped at the top of the reliefs — 2. Gods of Genesis — 3. Gods of Apogenesis — 4. Deus mundi as Ahu and Ratu

e) Altars and trees 363

1. Ignis vitalis (altars) — 2. Nous hylikos (trees) — 3. Arbor vitae as Frugifera and Genetrix

XII. ICONOGRAPHY AND IDEOLOGY OF MITHRAIC SALVATION 371
a) Mēnōk dahišn (Self-moving creativity) 371

1. Ahu (Lordship of Life) — 2. Āsmān-Zamān (World of finite time) — 3. Bavišn (Threefold Genesis) — 4. Ratu (Sovereignty of Fire) — 5. Aša (Establishment of Order) — 6. Verethraghna (Genitor of Life victorious)

b) Vāxš-Čihr (Logos-Phōs) 379

1. Theos ek petras (Genitor luminis) — 2. Theos ek dendrou (Genetrix sapientiae) — 3. Theos bouklopos (Transitus dei) — 4. Theos hekatos (Aqua vitae)

c) Gētēh dahišn (Physical creativity) 384

1. Taurus vitalis (Physical strength) — 2. Sol invictus (Sovereign mind) — 3. Homo renatus (regeneration of man) — 4. Junctio dextrarum-Syndexios (Compact with Mithra Pater) — 5. Mundus redivivus (Triumph of Mithra Invictus) — 6. Societas divina (Fellowship with the Father)

d) Akanārak zamān (Boundless time) 391

1. The Grades of Passage

e) Dēn i Mihr (The wisdom of Mithra) 392

1. Mithraic religion ritualistic rather than mystic — 2. Mithraic art dynamistic rather than morphic

GENERAL AND ANALYTICAL INDEX 394

TRANSLATIONS AND CITATIONS OF ANCIENT AUTHORS . . . 437

PERSONS 440

PARTICULAR MITHRAIC MONUMENTS 442

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Poetovio II (= *1510*) . . . . Facing p 16
Fig. 2. Poetovio III (= *1579**) . . . . Facing p 16
Fig. 3. Poetovio III (= *1599*) . . . . Facing p 16
Fig. 4. Ostia. Mithraeum of the Animals (*278*) . Facing p 32
Fig. 5. Coin of Hadrian from Nicaea . . . . . Facing p 33
Fig. 6. Trier. Days of Week, Month, and Seasons Facing p 96
Fig. 7. Sumerian seal . . . . On page 128
Fig. 8. Luristan silver relief . . . . Facing p 128
Fig. 9. Assur. Mountain God . . . . Facing p 128
Fig. 10. Mitanni. Royal seal. . . . . Facing p 144
Fig. 11. Dura II. Front wall and shrine. . . . . Facing p 176
Fig. 11a. Dura II. Frag. of tauroctone-bull. . . . Facing p 176
Fig. 12. Dura III (*45**). Painted tauroctone . . . Facing p 177
Fig. 13. Hama, Syria. Mounted God . . . . . . Facing p 192
Fig. 14. Carpentras. Relief on Roman Gate . . . Facing p 240
Fig. 15. Heroon of Belevi. Lapith Killing Centaur Facing p 241
Fig. 16. Shapor II killing a Stag . . . . Facing p 256
Fig. 17. Yazilikaya. Lion and Dagger God . . . Facing p 257
Fig. 18. Baths of Caracalla, mosaic design. . . . Facing p 288
Fig. 19. Ostia. Mithraeum of Seven Spheres (*239*) Facing p 289
Fig. 20. Ostia. Mithraeum of Seven Portals (*287*) Facing p 304
Fig. 21. Ostia. Mithraeum of Felicissimus (*299*) . Facing p 305
Fig. 22. Munich. Latin codex illumination of XIV century . . . . Facing p 328
Fig. 23. Halapič, Dalmatia. Lead relief . . . . . Facing p 329
Fig. 24. Apulum, Dacia. (Top of *1958**). . . . . Facing p 329
Fig. 25. Dura III (*42*, *1-13*). Paintings around the reliefs. . . . . Facing p 384

Mithraic Monuments . . . . (Plates at end of book)

PREFACE

My interest and researches in the Mysteries of Mithra began as a graduate student at Yale University at the time when Professor M. I. Rostovtzeff and his associates were still engaged in the excavation of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates. The recent discovery of a Mithraeum there provided the materials for a seminar which stimulated my interest not only in the meaning of the mysteries but also in their pictorial and architectural expressions. During the more than thirty years that have elapsed since then these different points of research have both assisted and opposed each other. My article on the *Typology of the Mithraic Tauroctones* was specifically devoted to the pictorial expression of the mysteries and was but the first part of a much larger research which has developed into the present book. I have ever been grateful to my friend Harald Ingholt, not only for his encouragement by publishing the *Typology,* but also for his labors in preparing the monograph for publication.

The present work is the result of long periods of intensive research and of other periods of partial and total neglect due to the pressures and changing fortunes of life. In this work I have given attention to both the meaning of the mysteries and their iconographic and architectural portrayal. The problem of combining iconographic and ideological analyses has always been present to compound the problems of organizing a vast array of rather complex materials whose forms and meanings have presented Protean characteristics over the passing years.

It will be observed that materials in the footnotes have quite consistently been restricted to ancient sources. I am, of course, deeply in debt to the prolific modern literature devoted to Mithraism and related subjects, but have refrained from burdening with innumerable references so compact a treatment as the book contains. I wish to express my sincere appreciation for all such assistance. From among colleagues and friends I wish to mention by name C. Bradford Welles of Yale University who has helped me to obtain photographs and also materials for my studies. My colleagues at Brooklyn College, Anna Griffiths and Vera Lachmann helped to detect errors in the manuscript, Estelle Reingold assisted with typing, Marie Giuriceo and Edward Ochsenschlager helped to obtain illustrations; the latter and Prof. Griffiths have devoted valuable time to the reading of proof. I am also grateful to William Stahl, Chairman of the Classics Department, for helping to provide more time for research and writing.

Needless to say, I am very greatly indebted to M. J. Vermaseren, editor of this series of publications, not only for providing photographs of most of the Mithraic monuments reproduced on the plates, but also for the many hours of labor expended upon the final preparation of the manuscript for publication. For any errors still remaining I am wholly responsible. My thanks also include T. A. Edridge of E. J. Brill for his generous supervision of the publication.

The photographs of the Dura monuments are by the courtesy of the Yale Art Gallery, and the excellent photograph of the Luristan silver pectoral is by courtesy of the Cincinnati Art Museum. The photograph of the Yazilikaya rock relief was obtained through the kindness of Dr. K. Bittel of the Deutsches Archaeologisches Institute, and the photograph of the Trier relief of the Seasons was kindly provided by Dr. W. Binsfeld. The ground-plans of the Mithraea at Ostia have been reprinted from G. Becatti's *Scavi di Ostia* with the gracious permission of the publishers, the Libreria dello Stato.

Doubtless I am most of all in debt to my wife Catherine whose sympathetic understanding of the incomprehensible has been most sustaining through the years.

South Harwich, Massachusetts
November 28, 1967

INTRODUCTION

In a previous monograph on Mithraic iconography [1] I gave detailed consideration to the typological and chronological development of the many surviving tauroctones, which I listed by number in an analytical catalogue for ease in citation. In the present work all monuments and inscriptions are cited *by number only* as listed in M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae* [2]. An asterisk (*) indicates that the monument is reproduced *by number* on plates at the end of the book.

a. In section II of the previous monograph the tauroctones were divided according to their artistic composition into eight major types, which will continue to be designated by the Roman numerals (I to VIII), and in section III the slaying motive of the tauroctones was divided according to its style or type of presentation into five major types, *called subtypes* to distinguish them from the major types of composition. These will continue to be cited by capital letters (A to E). Following is a brief recapitulation of the chief characteristics of these types and subtypes. First with reference to the major types of composition of the relief (or painting) as a whole:

> Type I includes the rectangular reliefs (and paintings) having a single field for the composition of the picture (*37** *75**), and also statuary groups (*76*). These are common media for the presentation of religious subjects, particularly in classical art.
>
> Type II is a round top stele with a single field of composition and is commonly found in Thrace and adjacent areas (*2191*, cf *2331 A**). A frieze added to the base became a further development (*2026 2052 2243*).
>
> Type III is a rectangular relief which is divided into three fields of composition by conjoined horizontal registers and is commonly found in the lower Danubian provinces (*1958** *1972** *2272**). The middle register showing the bull slaying, or tauroctone proper, is much wider than the other two registers.
>
> Type IV, found especially in Dacia (*1935*), is a conflate of types II and III in which the top and bottom registers of type III are imposed on the round top stele of type II (*2000 2171**).
>
> Type V presents the tauroctone proper with a circular field and seems to have been popular in Dalmatia and the Pannonias (*1861**). In its

---

1) *Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones*, in *Berytus*, 11 1954, pp 1-60, pls 1-9.
2) Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, Vol 1 1956; Vol 2 1960.

fuller development type V was variously conflated with types II (*1415 2187 2246*), IV (*1128* 1475 2202*), and VII (*1472*), and even with type I (*810*).

Type VI, found especially in the Middle European provinces, employs a rectangular field but is characterized by an architectural cave (40*) which in essence is either a simple springing arch (*1306 1907 2180 2252*) or has an architrave interrupted by a vault (*1423 1458 1625*).

Type VII, in some instances an elaboration of type VI (*321* 368*), is characterized by the central tauroctone motive being bordered on the top or bottom (*350 415 1137**) or on the sides (*1879 1896*) by a series of pictures or symbols which are more or less separated from the tauroctone proper as points of interest. In this type is included the simple triptych (*71 798* Fig. 3) which aided in the development of the type VIII relief.

Type VIII is a further development of type VII and is characterized by a vertical series of panels on the sides of the tauroctone (*390* 650**). It also shows conflations with types III (*1247* 1283**, cf *1083**) and VI (*1292* 1400**). It appears to have had its origin in North Italy or the Alpine provinces whence it passed to the Rhineland (cf *650* 723 729 1400* 1430**).

b. The analysis of the subtypes carried out in the earlier monograph (sec. III) separated the different bull-slaying motives into five quite distinct groups in accordance with the style or manner in which Mithra is shown killing the bull. Instead of calling these groups "styles" I chose to call them *subtypes* even though they are independent of the compositional types described above and have to do *only with the central motive* of the total picture. These subtypes, designated by the capital letters from A to E, appear in various conflations which are designated by the proper combination of these letters. Following is a condensation of my former analysis:

Subtype A presents Mithra tauroctonos in a frontal view with his left knee crosswise on the back of a disproportionally small bull. The bull in turn has its legs folded under its body (*11 12*, cf *2306 2327*). Examples of this subtype are relatively few but in conflation with subtype B it is very common, especially in Southeast Europe.

Subtype B shows Mithra more nearly in profile with his left leg lengthwise on the back of the bull. The bull in turn is pressed close to the ground with a hind leg thrust far backward and the left front leg thrust forward (*164 230 588 654*). This subtype was a Graeco-Roman artistic modification of subtype A (v pt 5, n 65a).

Subtype C emphasizes Mithra's backward gaze toward the sun while he pushes with his left knee against the side of the bull. The latter is not pressed so close to the ground as in subtype B but is still trying to rise to its feet. Both the snake and scorpion are emphasized in this subtype, which is by far the most frequently preserved of any of the subtypes (*310 368 435* 437*). It appears to have had its inspiration and origin in the Hellenistic East.

Subtype D shows Mithra in frontal view like subtype A but with his right foot (*37* 201*) or with both feet placed on the ground (*40* 207*) he braces himself against the side of a very lively bull which is in sharp contrast to the statically prostrate bull of subtypes A and B or AB. The bull's forward motion is just being halted by its right fore-knee being forced to the ground. It still stands upright on its hind legs (cf *37**).

Subtype E shows Mithra riding either astride the bull (*607 608*) or otherwise on its back (*71 690**) while the bull continues to gallop forward (cf *1275*). This subtype is commonly conflated with subtype D, particularly on the fully developed reliefs of Germany (cf *1292**).

Various conflations of these subtypes will be amply noted in subsequent discussion. For a more detailed analysis of the types and subtypes and their artistic evolution the reader is referred to my previous publication on the *Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones.*

c. In parts 1 to 7 of this work I shall examine the subject matter of the reliefs, statues and frescoes of type I in particular. This subject matter consists of the tauroctone proper and of the added figures and symbols which are presented in the same field as the main picture. The discussion of each figure or symbol characteristic of type I will be completed by including its use in all of the other types in order to avoid the necessity of taking up their discussion again in the following parts of the work when I analyze the iconography and ideology characteristic of the other types. Parts 8 to 10 will analyze the motives characteristic of the reliefs of Southeast Europe (types II to V), and part 11 of Middle Europe (types VI and VII). In part 12 I shall analyze the total series of symbols appearing on the fully developed reliefs (and paintings) of types VII and VIII with particular emphasis on the relief of Osterburken (*1292**).

The method of analysis in general will be to correlate the use of each figure or motive first as found on the tauroctones, then on other monuments, and finally in the decoration of the walls and floors of the Mithraeum itself. In order to facilitate cross reference I shall number major and minor sections of this analysis with Arabic numerals and small letters and refer to a given section as follows: (2 c 3, or 5 e 2.1). I shall frequently refer to a particular motive by an English, Latin, Greek or Iranian title which has been reasonably clearly defined by discussion, again for facility or precision of reference and not in the expectation that all such titles will be satisfactory to all readers, for satisfactory titles for motives cannot be devised without an interpretation of the meaning of the motive. Again for the sake of facility and economy quotations of Greek or Iranian texts will be transliterated into English letters.

d. The present work should demonstrate to the careful reader that Mithraism as a world religion was not completely uniform in its selection or use of art forms, nor was it more uniform in its cosmology, theology or rites. On the contrary, there were different viewpoints and emphases as well as different uses of symbols in different parts of the Roman World and even in different Mithraea in the same city or in the same Mithraeum at different periods. In this connection it may be observed that there was no one commonly accepted name for the followers of Mithra, but they were loosely referred to as "Persians", or more specifically as an "Initiate", Soldier, Father, or Lion of Mithra. If the initiates of Christ, who at a comparatively early date were dubbed Nazarenes or Christians, developed different sects with quite divergent views about the nature and teachings of their common Savior, it should not be surprising that the initiates of Mithra, coming from equally diverse backgrounds both religious and ethnic, also differed in their views of the nature and work of Mithra.

Paul of Tarsus, having grown up in a Syro-Cilician milieu, emphasized the mortal death of Jesus, the mortification of the flesh and the resurrection of a pneumatic body to a new life "in Christ", whom he construed to be the creative *pneuma* of God. The Johannine writings, by contrast, reflecting in their final form a quite different Hellenized milieu, emphasize Christ as the Logos of God incarnate, the penetration of true Light into the material world, or as the Bread of Life descended from heaven upon which man after his regeneration must be nourished. Whether or not these are acceptable statements of the basic theologies of the Pauline and Johannine writings, they will at least serve to indicate that there are basic differences in the theological and cosmological viewpoints reflected in these writings. Similarly in Mithraism we shall find the C subtype of tauroctone emphasizing not only the mortal or physical death of the bull but also Mithra as a Cattle Thief and Slayer whose function is to liberate the immortal soul for a new life in Mithra, the true Fire of Life. Conversely, the E or DE subtype of tauroctone will be found to emphasize the Birth or Rebirth of Mithra in the material world, or the regeneration of the initiate by Mithra as *Genitor Invictus* rather than the escape of the soul from the world cave. One type of tauroctone tends to emphasize the ultimate communion of the initiate with his savior by the eating of the flesh of the bull in a material world rather than by an escape or passage to an immaterial world by an *apotheosis* (cf 7 g).

Insights of this order should be the product of patient and protracted analyses of the subject matter of Mithraic iconography. This iconography is so rich in details, so varied in content and so perplexing in meanings that the investigator is often tempted to dismiss the bulk of the minor motives either in silence or with a brief notation of its existence. In this work I shall attempt to correlate details as well as main features as the data for critical ideological analyses. In general the correlation of the iconographic data will precede interpretation of meanings, which in turn will make liberal use of inscriptional and literary data. What follows may well be material for more than one book, but I have no wish to write another. I have attempted to blaze a path through difficult ways for Diligence and Desire to follow. Others may perfect a royal road for swift and easy passage.

PART ONE

THE MITHRAIC CAVE

One of the conspicuous additions to the central tauroctone motive, although not the earliest, was a representation of a cave, called the "Persian cave" by Statius (*Thebais*, I. 719s). The importance of the cave in the celebration of the initiation rites was stressed by Euboulos, an early historian of Mithraism. The passage from Porphyrius in which Euboulos is cited [1] has such an important bearing upon the cave iconography that it demands citation at some length. It runs as follows:

> By virtue of matter the cosmos is murky and dark, but by reason of the interweaving of form and its decoration, whence the word cosmos comes, it is beautiful and pleasing. Hence, quite properly the cave by itself would be found pleasing to one first coming upon it, but to the mind entering into it and investigating its substructure, it would be found murky. It follows that outside and on the surface it is pleasing but within and at the bottom it is murky. Thus too Persians initiate the *mystes* by mystagoguing the descent of the soul into the depths and its exodus again, calling the place a cave. First of all, in the words of Euboulos, "Zoroaster consecrated in the nearby mountains of Persia a natural cave, verdant and with springs of water, in honor of Mithra the maker and father of all, because the cave conveys an image of the cosmos, of which Mithra was the *demiourgos*, and the things at measured intervals within the cave convey symbols of the cosmic elements and climates". But after this he says, "Zoroaster also having exercised authority over the others delivered the secret rites (*teletai*) by means of caves and grottos whether natural or artificial". For just as shrines, seats and altars are established for Olympian gods, hearths for chthonic heroes, pits and underground rooms (*megera*) for the subchthonic, so caves and grottos are established for the cosmos, as also for nymphs because of the waters bubbling up in caves and flowing forth. The Naiades of these waters are presented as Nymphs, as we shall show a little later.

This fragment of Mithraic cosmology is of great importance because it reveals a world view in which Mithra is not only the Pater and Kosmokrator, but also the Creator and Demiurge.

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1) *De antro nympharum*, 6 (Nauck).

The Mithraeum itself is recognized as an icon of the world cave in which there was a downward and an upward path for souls, the soul itself being a transitory inhabitant of the cave. Here the material world is presented in Platonic and Neoplatonic imagery (cf 7 g 2). Moreover the cave imagery was essential to the performance of the mystery rites which, though falsely attributed to Zoroaster, had their origin in Iranian religion. It is not surprising that a cave should be shown in the main cult picture of the Mithraeum at a comparatively early date.

An examination of the very large number of tauroctones which show a cave as the place of the tauroctonos action reveals three distinct artistic types of cave, which in later developments tend to become more or less fused. The analyses will indicate that the cave ideology made its impact upon the iconography at a considerably earlier date in Rome and the West than in Syria.

a. Naturalistic cave. This type shows either the entrance to a natural rock cave or the whole tauroctone background made in imitation of natural rocks. These tauroctones come from the following places: Rome (*350 366 368 408 415 417 435* 437 530 534 546 586 598*), Italy and Sicily (*164 173 181* 321* 641* 650* 654 670 736*), Middle Europe (*1400* 1430* 1447 1449 1510*=Fig. 1 *1600 1683 1798 1859*), a few from Gaul and Germany (*835 896 1283**) and Southeast Europe (*2251 2255 2289 2306*). About one half of the above tauroctones found outside of Italy are of types VII and VIII, which are comparatively late in development. It is reasonably clear, therefore, that the naturalistic type of cave spread from Rome and Italy where its use on Mithraic monuments had its artistic origin.

b. Artificial cave. This type represents a cave vault of shallow depth and symmetrical proportions that has been cut in the face of the cliff, like the Delphic cave shown on the well known relief of Archelaus of Priene [2]. Not only does the very shape of the Thracian type of relief (II) convey the idea of such a vault, but this type of vault is used in its lower frieze to frame minor scenes (cf *2052 2244**). Small caves of similar type are used on many of

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2) G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, p 171, fig 249.

the reliefs of types III (cf *1935 1959 2272**), IV (cf *1422 2000 2051 2335*) and V (cf *1128* 1475*). This motive is found also in Middle Europe (*1721 1882 1896*) and North Africa (*158*, cf *148*). Its most frequent use was clearly in Southeast Europe.

c. Architectural cave. The tauroctone cave is represented by a simple springing arch, or by an architrave interrupted by a vault or arch on most of the Middle European reliefs of types VI (cf *1458 1468 1512*) and VII (cf 1579* *1727**), on a limited number of reliefs from Germany (*1083* 1137* 1149 1281 1292* 1306*) and on a relief from Dura in Syria (*40**). In a rather abbreviated form it is used on a relief from South Russia (*10A*).

d. Origins. The cave motive is absent from a number of AB subtype tauroctones where it could have been shown (*766 1852 1906 2001 2327*), and also from tauroctones having a strong subtype D or E element (*37* 71 88 89 172 690* 1275 1314*). On the other hand most of the tauroctones having a naturalistic cave are of subtype C or a strong C conflate. The other two types of cave appear on tauroctones of subtype AB, or ABC conflate. On the whole the cave motive appears to have been developed first on the subtype C tauroctone, whence it passed to subtype B which was the Roman version of A (cf *Typology*, sec. III 2). While it is possible that an architectural type of cave was used on Mithraic tauroctones in Anatolia before the naturalistic cave appeared on the C tauroctone in Rome and Italy, such a conclusion can only be inferred from the early use of the architectural type in Middle Europe on tauroctones of type VI composition. These seem to have an Anatolian rather than a Roman source (Ibid II 6). The artificial type of cave was artistically derived from western Asia Minor where this type of rock niche is commonly found.

e. Cave and Cattle Thief. An early appearance of the cave on tauroctones of C subtype was probably due not only to the notion that the bull-slaying occurs in the world-cave, but also to the conception of Mithra as a Cattle Thief. From remote antiquity myths of a Cattle Thief emphasized the concealment of the cattle in rock caves and mountains. Various combinations of the old folktale motives of a thief, a monster-slayer, cattle stolen or confined by a god or monster in mountains or caves appear in the

Greek myths of Hermes stealing the cattle of Apollo-Helios, of Herakles capturing the cattle of Geryon, or the parallel myth of Hercules and Cacus. Likewise these elements appear in the Rigvedic myths of Indra the Vritra-slayer (R.V. 1.32.2; 1.11.12; 2.12.3). An Iranian version of the old folktale survived in Mithra bouklopos (7 b 3).

A glimpse into the use of this myth in the Mithraic mysteries is given by Firmicus Maternus[3] who says:

> The Persians and all the Magi who live in Persian lands give a preference to fire and think that fire ought to be placed first of all the elements. They divide fire into two powers for the reason that they attribute its nature to both sexes, and they represent the substance of fire by the image of a male and female. They even fashion the female with a triform face and bind her about with monstrous serpents. . . . .
> Actually worshipping the male as a thief of cattle, they attribute his rites to the power of fire, just as his prophet has transmitted it to us:
> O *mystes* of a cattle-theft, *syndexios* of an excellent Father.
> The latter they say is Mithra, but they transmit his rites in secret caves.

The rites of Mithra bouklopos, who was also an exalted Pater, were properly transmitted in a cave. The male potency of fire was the heat which might be felt in the rays of the sun. It may be noted that the emphasis is upon fire and not upon light as in later Zoroastrianism. Blazing fire may destroy life, whereas invisible fire may engender it, the first being a thief and the last a *genitor*.

f. Fusion of the cave types. The artificial and architectural types of cave became conflated on reliefs of types VI and VII in Middle Europe (*1423 1482 1620 1893*). Conflates also appear in Southeast Europe (*1920* 1958* 2257*) and Germany (*1137* 1149 1306* cf *1083* 1292**). A considerable number of reliefs in Middle Europe (*670 1400* 1447* Fig. 1 *1893 1910*) and fewer in Southeast Europe (*2006 2251 2255*) show clearly how the naturalistic cave was also fused with the architectural. On these the naturalistic rocks are carved upon the rib of the springing arch. This is found in the treatment of the small caves in the lower frieze also (*2244* 2320**).[4]

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3) *De errore profanarum religionum*, 5 (Ziegler).

4) For a similar fusion of architectural and naturalistic motives on a non-Mithraic relief, see J. M. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nat.-Mus.*, I, p 243, no 26 (1329), pl 44.

1. The main cult relief of the Second Mithraeum of Poetovio (Fig. 1) shows the influence of the naturalistic cave type in the treatment of the face of the arch. The small side scenes are set off in separate panels as generally in type VIII and on the triptychs of type VII (cf *Typology*, II 7; IV 5 e), but they are irregular in size and the divisions between them are modified by irregular cuttings to imitate rocks.

2. By contrast the main cult relief of the Third Mithraeum of Poetovio (*1579**) is entirely different in its artistic execution, although generally of the same compositional plan (type VII). It is more architectural in its structure, emphasizing the interrupted architrave of type VI; there is no suggestion of a naturalistic background. The side scenes are separated from one another, if at all, in the same manner as on tauroctones of Dacia and Lower Moesia (cf *Typology*, II 4). The artistic similarity between the Potaissa relief (*1920**) from Dacia and the Third Poetovio relief (Fig. 2) is not surprising since both were dedicated by soldiers of the *Legio V Macedonica*, and were perhaps executed by the same sculptor, for the evacuation of troops from Dacia to Poetovio was probably preceded or accompanied by a civilian evacuation.

3. The relief of Nersae (*650**) from northwest of Rome is of type VIII. In its use of a naturalistic background and the separation of side scenes into separate panels it is similar to the Second Poetovio relief. Moreover its treatment of the vertical series of panels reveals a close affinity with the Poetovio triptych of the Third Mithraeum (Fig. 3) and with the Barberini fresco in Rome (*390**, cf *Typology*, IV 5 e). If the Nersae relief is to be dated not later than A.D. 172, as Vermaseren has indicated (*650** *651*), it confirms my own dating of this complex type of composition and also my emphasis upon northern Italy as the creative center of type VIII tauroctones (*Typology*, II 8).

4. The Quadraro relief from southeast of Rome (*321**) has the same overall composition as the Second Poetovio relief and uses a similar naturalistic background, but it is like the Third Poetovio relief in that it does not separate the side scenes and symbols into separate panels.

5. Scenic naturalism and continuous narration, or the continuous frieze motive, are found in Greek and Graeco-Roman pictorial art, but the use of a series of panels, whether vertical or horizontal, seems to have an eastern Graeco-oriental origin as witnessed on the grave monuments of Dascylium and Persepolis [5], to cite two early examples only. The fusion of the different artistic types appears especially on the Mithraic monuments of Middle Europe.

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5) F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien,* esp. pl 33. For Dascylium, M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art,* in *Yale Classical Studies,* 5 1935, fig 65. For a similar monument of the VI-V century B.C. from Phrygia, see *Mon. Asiae Minoris Antiquae,* vol 6, pl 65. Horizontal panels as well as conjoined registers were used for reliefs in Ionia, as on the Heroon of Trysa, and for Hittite reliefs as at Carchemish.

PART TWO

FOUR TAUROCTONE ASSISTANTS

Very few of all the tauroctones that have survived show only Mithra slaying the bull. The absence of any other figures or symbols may be because of a desire for simplicity, but in some instances, at least, the omission reflects a comparatively early date in typological development, for the omissions occur on reliefs and statues of the primary subtypes A (*11 12 766*), C (*352*) and D (*200 201*). There are also two conflates which are probably of quite early date, AB (*1625*) and AC (*230*). The last is the Kriton statue from Ostia which was not only older than the Mithraeum in which it had been installed after certain repairs, but which was, in my opinion, one of the earliest Mithraic statuary groups that has come down to us thus far. A study of the tauroctones reveals that there was a strong tendency as time went on to keep adding to the main picture more and more scenes and figures until, by the beginning of the third century, elaborate relief sculptures like those of Poetovio and Nersae had been developed. Wall paintings of oriental inspiration contributed much to this elaboration (see *Typology*, IV 6c). Conversely, it seems probable that at the beginning of the Mithraic mysteries only Mithra slaying the bull was shown, since this was all that was suggested by contemporary archetypes like the Nike-Victoria or Herakles slaying a bull or Centaur.

a. The Dog. One of the first minor motives to be added to the tauroctone proper may well have been the dog. The Lanuvium plate which balances Mithra taurophoros against an excellent tauroctone of our primary subtype D (*207*) includes the dog as the only added symbol. The dog is almost always shown leaping against the right forequarter of the bull in order to lick the blood flowing from the wound. On two reliefs of subtype E (*71 1275*) and on the Lanuvium plate the dog is a mere passive symbol. On the Rožanec or Judovje relief (*1482*) the dog is shown with his penis erect, whereas on the circular relief of Salona (*1861**) he is omitted, but Cautes the torchbearer is shown holding his own very large penis in the position which is precisely that of the muzzle of the dog on other reliefs.

1. Three dogs accompany Mithra ephippos on the relief of Dieburg (*1247**), whereas in other ephippos pictures he is accompanied by a snake or lion (6 c 3-5). The dog is also associated with the torchbearers, and especially with Cautes (3 f 1.2). He also appears with the *Natura dei*, along with the raven and snake (*985**, cf 6 d 3).

2. According to Herodotus (1.140) the Magi valued the life of a dog equally with that of a man, and a male Persian was never buried until the body had been attacked by a dog or bird of prey. This perhaps gave rise to the reports that among the Bactrians, Sogdianians and Scythians helpless old people were consumed by dogs kept for the purpose and called "entombers" (*entaphiastai*, Diodorus, 11.11.3). In the *Pahlavī Rivāyat*[1] it is said that the dog must not be eaten because it has "something of the seed of Gayōmard in it", whereas birds of prey, including the black crow, must not be eaten because they are full of dead flesh which they were created to eat. The Twin offspring of Gayōmard, the Male and Female (cf 5 j 2.4), were said (*Bund.* 14.9) to have thrown the sacrificed meat on the fire but another portion into the sky, saying, "This is the portion of the gods". And a vulture passed above them and carried it off, but the first flesh was consumed by the dog. This somewhat obscure statement at least makes it clear that both the vulture and the dog were connected with certain sacrificial rites. According to Plutarch (*De Iside*, 369F) the dog was regarded as a creature of Oromasdes, as were also the cock and certain other creatures.

2.1. While in Egypt the Persian King Cambyses killed the Apis bull and the dog alone of all creatures came near the body and ate it (*De Iside*, 368F). This notice of the slaughter of the sacred bull of Egypt by the Persian King and the eating of its body by a dog provides a striking parallel to Mithra tauroctonos and the dog that licks the bull's blood. In killing the divine bull Cambyses may have been performing a Persian rite more or less connected with Mithra as "Lord of the Wide Cattle-lands" (cf 6 a 4). In Iran the Dog Star was known as the bright star Tištrya who as a mounted hero destroyed the drought demon Apaoša, the Water-Coverer, and brought back the rain waters to the clouds and winds (Yt 8). As leader of the morning stars Tištrya was not clearly distinguished from the planet Mercury, which keeps close to the horizon. The planet Mercury was called Tīr (=Tištrya) in Middle Persian and was sometimes identified with Apaoša. The Greek Hermes was a cattle thief.

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[1] In R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, p 366.27. This most important work, containing many transcriptions and translations of Iranian texts, will be CITED HEREAFTER as ZZ.

3. In Egypt the bright star Sirius, known to the Greeks as the Dog Star, was called the star of Isis, because, says Plutarch (Ibid 366A), it brought the flood waters of the Nile and the return of fertility to the body of Isis. This would indirectly connect the dog with powers of regeneration. The Egyptian god Anubis was represented in the form of a dog and was assigned to the morning horizon which was regarded as the circle between the realm of Isis above and Nephthys below. The reason given for this (Ibid 368F) was that the dog could see equally well by night or day, a faculty which Plutarch says was also possessed by Hekate, whose animal was the dog (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 410-452). Anubis was said by some to be Kronos and called a dog because out of himself he begets all and in himself conceives all; for this reason there was said to be a certain mystery in the cult of Anubis (cf *physis*, Plut., *Mor.*, 388 C).

3.1. A mosaic in the *pronaos* of an Ostia Mithraeum (*252*, cf 6 h 8) shows a Kronos-Silvanus type of god accompanied by a dog. The trees and the god's pruning knife indicate his connection with fertility and the harvest, while a blue nimbus about his head connects him with the invisible sky.

4. In Greek religion the dog was a companion of Artemis and the threefold Hekate as chthonic divinities of fertility and the underworld. A goddess of triform type, whether Hekate or some other chthonic divinity, appears more than once in Mithraic inscriptions and iconography (cf 12 a 3). A three-headed Cerberus, like the Egyptian Anubis, was set to guard the entrance and exit to the underworld, and Hades, the Invisible, was said to wear a

dog's cap. Because of a similarity between Hades and the Iranian Ahriman, the Mithraic *Deus Arimanius* (11 b 6), a Cerberus type of animal is associated with the latter (*326**, cf 2 b 9.2). According to later Zoroastrian speculations dogs guarded the Bridge of Separation between the two worlds, where the good man met his own soul in the form of the Maiden Daēna (=Religion) [2].

b. The Snake. The snake is regularly shown beneath the tauroctone group, but appears as a passive symbol (cf *586 588*) more frequently than the dog, especially in Southeast Europe (*1920** *1947 2043 2151* et al.). Normally the snake lifts its head toward the bleeding wound, and especially on tauroctones of subtype C (cf *310 426 435** *554*) it licks the blood like the dog. On these tauroctones the snake is proportionately large and very active, especially in the frescoes (*45** *181** *390**). Both of the reliefs of Secia in Syria (*88 89*) show the serpent drinking the semen that escapes from the dying bull, whereas on a Roman tauroctone (*548*) the semen falls upon the rocks while the snake laps the blood from the wound. On the triptych relief of Poetovio (Fig. 3) the snake has three heads.

The snake on the left side of a large bowl and a lion on the right are frequently shown beneath the bull on reliefs of subtype DE (*966 1083** *1118 1292** *1359 1727** *1902*). This is the position occupied by a recumbent Earth goddess on a Roman tauroctone of CDE subtype (*598*), and by Oceanus in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*478*, cf *337*). On the relief of subtype E from Mannheim (*1275*) one of the torchbearers holding a cup over a small altar appears in the place of the lion on the right side of the bowl, while the lion is shown behind the other torchbearer who holds the tail of the running bull that Mithra is about to slay. The relief shows several unusual features in its motives and composition, among which is that of Mithra and the latter torchbearer shown in the nude (cf 5 g 5).

1. Apart from the tauroctone group itself the snake is shown accompanying Mithra ephippos, as noted above. It is shown drinking from an amphora about which it is coiled in scenes of the Sacred Meal (9 b 9); it is shown with the *Petra genitrix* (8 a 2),

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[2] *Vendīdāt* 19.30, cf 13.9 and *Rigveda* 10.14.10s.

with Oceanus (9 c 2), with the *Deus Aeternus* (11 b 2), and with the *Taurophoros* (8 b 2; 7 e).

2. A statue base from Rome (*525 526*), dedicated to NUMINI INVICTO SOLI MITHRAE, has a serpent surrounding its cylindrical top; the head of the serpent is radiate and in its mouth it holds its tail on which there is a crescent moon. A base from Trier (*992*) shows on the back two trees, which may represent two poles of the sky or earth [3]. On the right side is the solar bust above shoots of foliage, and on the left side is the lunar bust likewise above some foliage. On the front at the top left is an arrow shooting downward, to the right of it a large bowl, beneath these a seated lion facing right, and to the right of the lion and bowl are a serpent and tree, the serpent being shown in a vertical position between these and the tree. Here various powers of vegetation are emphasized, probably with reference to the total cycle of life.

3. On the mosaic floor of an Ostia Mithraeum (Fig. 20) a serpent is shown emerging from a hole in a rock. A similar hole in a rock from which a serpent is emerging appears on a *Deus Aeternus* relief from Narbon (*902*), and on a Roman tauroctone (*408*). On a large relief of the Mithraeum of the Museo di Roma (*435**) a lizard is crawling out of a hole in the rocky cave shown below the solar bust.

4. The mosaic floor of the Mithraeum of the Animals at Ostia (Fig. 4) shows a large python spanning the central aisle; nearer the cult niche was a bull's head and also a dagger, while nearer the entrance was a scorpion, and still nearer were a cock on the right and a raven on the left. Beyond the entrance at the end of the Mithraeum opposite the tauroctone was a bearded male holding a shovel in his right hand and a pruning knife in his left (9 a 9.3). In the Mithraeum of the Foot Print (*272*), the print appearing in the floor near the entrance, a serpent is shown crawling forward near the midpoint of the right bench, as in the Museo di Roma Mithraeum (*434*). In the Second period of the Dura Mithraeum (cf *34*, fig. 10 at e and opposite) a snake was shown on both sides of the aisle.

5. It is quite clear that the snake in the tauroctone group is in

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[3] ZZ p 144 = Firdausī, *Šahnāmeh* 5 and 11.

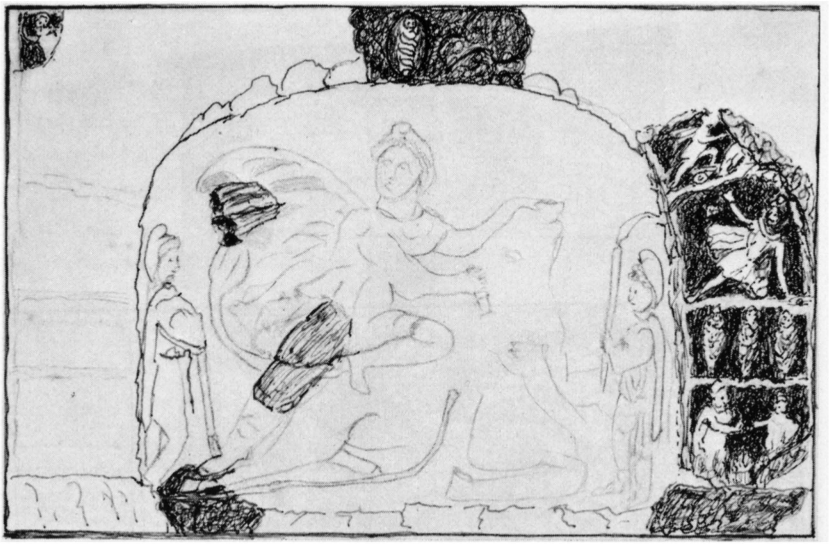

Fig. 1. (= 1510) Poetovio II.

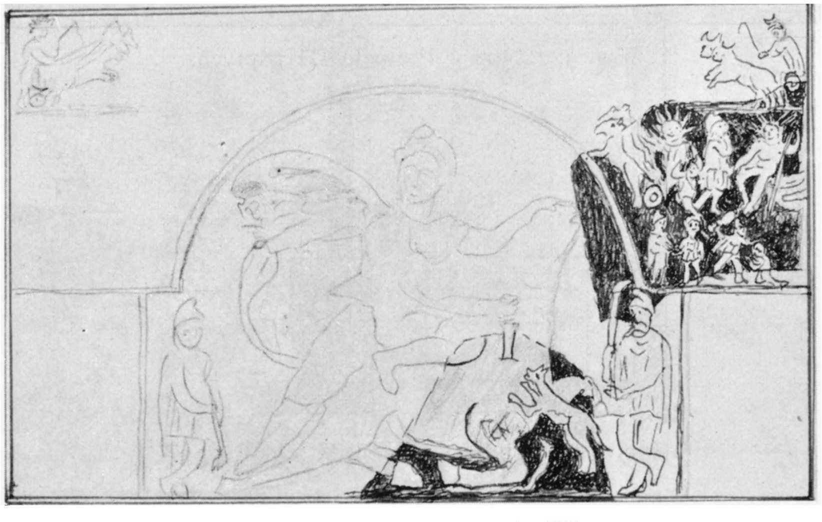

Fig. 2. (= 1579*) Poetovio III.

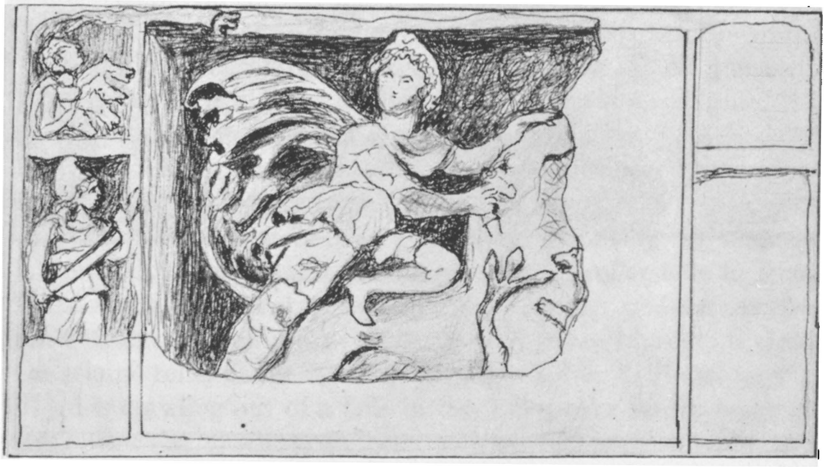

Fig. 3. (= 1599) Poetovio III triptych.

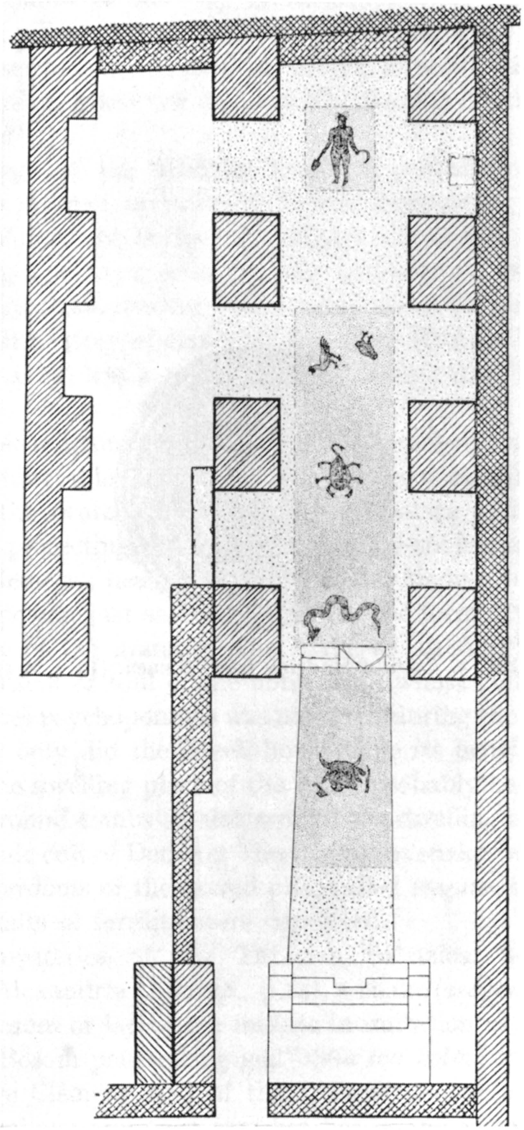

Fig. 4. Ostia, Mithraeum of the Animals (278).

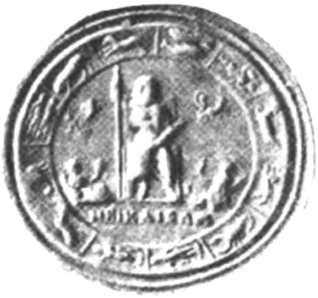

Fig. 5. Coin of Hadrian from Nicaea. (Pt 4, n 1)

some way related to the dog in its significance or symbolism. On the Dura reliefs (*37* 40**) it attacks the bull from in front like the dog. Elsewhere in general it moves forward with the bull instead of against it like the dog, but like the dog it licks the warm flowing blood.

The ideology of the Mithraic snake is probably not derived from Iranian religion, certainly not in its Zoroastrian form, for in Zoroastrian dogma the snake (Aži) was an incarnation of Ahriman, Avestan Angra Mainyu, and was the embodiment of lust (Āz.). In the tauroctone motive the snake is not the evil deceiver of man as in the Biblical story of man's fall and as in Ahriman the deceiver (*druj*), for it is no less a companion and assistant of Mithra than the dog.

6. In Greek religion the serpent from a remote antiquity was a creature of favorable powers. It appears as a significant aspect of Athena, the protectress of Mycenaean palace and Greek city state, whose protecting *aegis* was bordered by snakes and strengthened by a Medusa's head with snaky locks. Medusa herself was a "guarding" power, just as Zeus Ktesios in the form of a snake was the guardian of the granary. The snake as an Agathos Daimōn was the guardian or soul of the noble dead whose cult along with that of Hermes psychopompos was observed during the Anthesteria festival. Not only did the Greek house have its beneficent snake, but so did the dwelling place of the dead, probably because it was often seen around tombs as also around the dwelling and granary. In the chthonic cult of Demeter Thesmophoros snakes were believed to be the guardians of the sacred pits, called *megara*, in which the potent elements of fertility were deposited.

In the mysteries of the Thracian Sabazios, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Protrep.*, p 14), a snake (*drakōn*) was drawn across the bosom or lap of the initiate in imitation of the divinity called the "Bosom penetrating god" (*dia tou kolpou theos*). In the same passage Clement says of the Demeter mysteries that Zeus begets Persephone and then ravishes her in the form of a snake. Persephone in turn bears a child in the form of a bull, which inspired a poet to write:

Bull is father of snake and snake of bull.

7. If the snake had been as important to the Iranians as the dog, it might have been said of the snake that it had in it something of the seed of Gōšurvan (the primeval ox). Eating the flesh of the dying bull or drinking its blood or semen was probably to insure *metempsychosis*. Even the scorpion at the testicles may have been a symbol of the *transitus* of the bull's vitality to another form of life. Iranian belief in *metempsychosis* is implicit in the Avestan accounts of the various incarnations of a divinity in animal or human forms. For example, Verethraghna is manifested in ten different incarnations (Yt 14, cf Tištrya in Yt 8.14). That Mithraists believed in cyclic rebirths of the soul is not only implicit in the descent and ascent of the soul in the imagery of the initiations (9 a 7), but it is explicitly stated by Porphyrius in his treatise *De abstinentia* (4.16). Quoting from the writers on Mithraism, he says that

> The dogma with all of them that ranks first is this, that there is a transmigration of souls; and this they also appear to indicate in the mysteries of Mithra. For in these mysteries they are accustomed to call us by the name of different animals, thus signifying obscurely that we have something in common with brutes. They call the males who participate in these mysteries lions, but the females lionesses, and those who administer these rites they call crows. With reference to their Patres also they adopt the same procedure, for they are called by them eagles and hawks. And he who is initiated in the Leontica is invested with all the various forms of animals, about which Pallas, in his treatice concerning Mithra, assigns the cause by saying that it is the common opinion that these things are referred to the circle of the zodiac, but that truly and accurately speaking they obscurely signify something pertaining to human souls, which according to the Persians are invested with bodies of all the various forms. For the Latins also, says Euboulos, call some men in their language boars and scorpions, lizards and blackbirds. Likewise after the same manner the Persians call the gods the creative (*dēmiourgoi*) causes of these, for they call Artemis a she-wolf, but the sun a bull, a lion, a dragon, and a hawk, and they call Hekate a horse, a bull, a lioness and a dog.

7.1. According to Euboulos, then, the Magi's common belief in *metempsychosis*, a belief widely held by ancient peoples and sects like the Pythagoreans and Orphics, the Gauls, Getae and Egyptians, was similar to ideas acted out in the Mithraic Leontica rites (cf 9 a 14) in particular. He seems to infer this from the use of animal names for the grades rather than state it as a fact of dogma. Pallas, on the other hand, says that according to the "Persians" human souls are invested with various kinds of bodies and that this is obscurely indicated in the Leontica rites. He also says that these rites, that is, the cyclic rebirths, are commonly believed to be connected with the zodiac. Here the Persians are almost certainly followers of Mithra, for Zoroastrians did not postulate repeated rebirths. It is worth noting in this reference to cyclic rebirths that no reference is made to the importance of the planets and the significance of the zodiac is subordinated to the fact of *metempsychosis* itself. Yet we now know that eventually each of the Mithraic grades was associated at least by some Mithraists with one of the planets and that these may well have been assigned to their commonly recognized stations, or houses, in the zodiac (cf 4 h 3). It should be noted that Pallas wrote in the reign of Hadrian and therefore presented Mithraism at a relatively early period in its development.

7.2. The passage of the soul is portrayed in the Taurophorus motive which is called a *transitus* (cf 8 b 2) on a monument of the First Mithraeum of Poetovio (*1494*). The thing in passage may be either the god transporting the bull or the life of the bull itself, this being a passage from one kind of existence to another (cf 7 e; 12 b 3).

8. The snake seems to have been a Graeco-oriental elaboration of the tauroctone motive by which the function of the Iranian dog was supplemented. An oriental attitude toward the snake similar to the ancient Greek is found in the reputed writings of Tauthos (or Taautos) which Sanchouniathon the Phoenician is supposed to have used and which were quoted by Philo of Byblos and requoted by Eusebius the Church historian. A passage of considerable importance to us runs as follows (*P.E.*, 1.10.45 ss):

> Tauthos (Taautos = Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes) himself, and after him the Phoenicians and Egyptians, deified the nature of the dragon and of snakes. It is the most spirited (*pneumatikotaton*) animal of all that creeps and a fiery form (*pyrodēs*) is attributed to it. Also because of its spirit it possesses a speed unsurpassable even without feet or hands or any other external limb with which other creatures make their motions. It strikes in all sorts of ways, and in forward movement it has coiling thrusts for whatever speed it wishes. The snake is also most long enduring (*polychroniotaton*); not only does it survive by renewing its youth when its old skin is sluffed off, but it also survives by taking on a greater increase in size, and when its

> established size has been reached it coils into itself, as Tauthos has set it down in the sacred writings. Therefore this creature is made use of in temple cults and mysteries. . . . . . . The Phoenicians call the snake Agathos Daimōn, and likewise the Egyptians have named it Kneph and have put on it a hawk's head because of the hawk's activity.

After quoting at second hand a certain Epēeis to the effect that "The first being was the most divine snake having the most pleasing form of a hawk", and was also fiery hot (*diapyros*), Philo cites a passage from Pherecydēs on the god Ophion, according to Porphyrius, in which it is said that

> The Egyptians with the same thought in mind draw the world by inscribing a circle of air and fire and placing a hawk-shaped snake in the midst. The whole outline is fixed as among the Greeks, the circle indicating the cosmos and a snake produced at the same time in the middle denoting its Agathos Daimōn. Zoroaster, the Magos, says in the holy collection of writings of the Persians, "God is one having a hawk's head. This one is the First Incorruptible, Everlasting, Unbegotten, Unknowable, Charioteer of all beauty, Ungiven Giver, Best of Goods, Most Wise of the Wise. He is also Father of Order and Justice, Self-taught, Physical, Perfect, Understanding, Sole Discoverer of Holy Nature". Ostanes says the same things about it in the collection called Octateuch.

9. From this long citation it appears that the Phoenicians thought that the most spirited, fiery, swift and ageless being had the form of a snake or dragon, whereas the Egyptians thought that the cosmic Agathos Daimōn had the form of a snake with a hawk's head, and the later Zoroastrians, according to these sources, thought that the highest intelligent being of this physical world had a hawk's head without a snake form. The hawk aspect was therefore emphasized by the Zoroastrians and Egyptians, the snake aspect by the Greeks and Phoenicians.

9.1. In the Euboulos passage quoted by Porphyrius it is said that the Persians, who were probably Mithraists, call the sun a bull, lion, dragon and hawk. All of these except the hawk appear in our Mithraic iconography, where quite clearly the Raven takes the place of the hawk. These creatures were apparently thought to embody different powers and manifestations of fire. In a magical text [4] the dragon and lion are hailed as "Physical principles

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[4] A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, pp 51ss, 97ss. The causation principle (*archē*) was called *drastēria*, Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Phys.*, 1A4, with which one may

(*archai*) of fire" (cf 8 d 3). The solar dragon with a lunar tail in its mouth which surrounds the statue base dedicated to the NUMINI INVICTO SOLI MITHRAE is directly related to the cosmic circle enclosing the Agathos Daimōn described above. "Hence also the Phoenicians, representing the image of Janus in their rites paint a dragon bent back into a circle and devouring its tail, so that it may represent the world (*mundus*) to be nourished out of itself and returned again into itself", says Macrobius (*Sat.*, 1.9.12). We may believe that in Mithraic iconography, at least in some contexts, the snake was the Good Power of threefold functions that were embodied in the triform female about whom serpents were coiled (cf 1 e). This power was fire which in its unity manifests itself in Mithra Pater the Cattle Thief. The female power of fire was essentially pneumatic (5 h 6; 7 a 1-2), and therefore akin to the very pneumatic nature of the snake. It must be remembered that the soul (*psychē, anima*) was also essentially a breath. The one and the many is the difference between the male soul (cf *thūmos, animus*) which is pure fire and the female soul (cf *psychē, anima*) which is fire dispersed in air and bodies; the former is in essence the energy of fire and the latter its substance.

9.2. A three-headed snake, as on one of the tauroctones (Fig. 3), could represent threefold manifestations of fire in the physical world. The three-headed Cerberus with heads of a dog, ram and lion placed beside the *Deus aeternus* (*326**) could likewise represent the generative, the vital, and the ruling forms of fire in the physical world. These would accord roughly with the threefold nature of man, the appetitive, the courageous [5] and the ruling powers of

compare Adrastia (from *dra-*, do). Fate as energy was said to enclose all events in a circle, Plut., *Moralia*, 569A (cf n 1, pt 8). In the Ophite (or Naasseni) doctrine, according to Hippolytus, *Ref. om. haer.*, 5.4, the Serpent (Naas = *ophis*, Ophion) was said to be a moist essence that was the first principle of all beings mortal and immortal, animate and inanimate, without which they could not exist. As if *passing through all*, he imparts beauty and bloom to all existing things according to their nature and character.

5) Cf P.-M. Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaul*, p 25s (v note 61, pt 5). In his discussion of statues Porphyrius (in Eusebius, *P.E.*, 3.11.11) says that Pluto who rapes Kore has a dog's cap as a symbol of the invisible pole, and a shortened scepter as a symbol of the lower kingdom, "but his dog indicates the engendering of fruits being divided into three powers: sowing, reception below, and yielding up. For it is not because of his having food for the bereft,

the soul in Platonic thought. A similar threefold nature is portrayed in a *Deus aeternus* relief from Egypt (*103**) which shows vital force in a radiate leonine head, ruling intelligence in a human breast and generative appetite in a goat's loins and legs. Several snakes connect these powers by different kinds of Transitus (cf 11 b 4).

c. The Raven. This bird usually appears at the top left of the tauroctone in close association with the solar symbol. In several instances he seems to fly forth from the sun as an emanation of its rays (*357 1882*, cf also *181** *366*). Very frequently he is shown standing on the top side of Mithra's flying mantle (*88 532 585 588* and many) or is perched on the edge of the cave vault (*181** *366 417 435** and many). On a number of reliefs of Southeast Europe the raven appears on the face of the cave vault as a very passive symbol (Fig. 3 *1861** *2052 2237** et al). Occasionally he is shown holding the edge of Mithra's mantle in his bill (*435** *2062*) or standing in front of the cosmic globe (*2018*), or he stands on a celestial *templum* which is marked out on the top side of Mithra's mantle (*1306*).

Several tauroctones of subtype E (*71 1275*) and E conflate (*337 1741*) show the raven to the right of Mithra, an arrangement that should be related to the reversal of the solar and lunar busts on a few reliefs (5 g 4-5). On reliefs of subtype C the raven is perched on ears of grain (*1973*), on grain growing from the bull's tail (*310*, cf *318*) or on a tree or stock of grain bordering the tauroctone (*321** *350*).

1. Two birds are shown on a few tauroctones (*75 204 318 408*). On the syncretistic Mithra-Jupiter Dolichenus relief in Rome (*334*) a raven and scorpion are on the left side above Cautes; above these in turn is a lion in a small cave shown beneath the bust of Sol. On the right side above Cautopates but below the bust of Luna are an eagle with a thunderbolt in its talons and a cock.

2. Apart from the tauroctone group the raven appears most

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which would point to souls, he is called a dog, but on the contrary because of engendering (*to kuein*) whenever he rapes Kore over whom he is the leader (cf n 6, pt 3). The three powers are the equivalent of the three Graces (n 16, pt 6), as giving, receiving and returning.

frequently in connection with the Sacred Meal (9 a 11) where, as an assistant probably of the Corvus grade, he passes meat to the communicants. At the Junctio dextrarum, or *Mithrem* pledge (7 f 4), the raven pecks at the flesh of the slaughtered bull with which the oath is solemnized (9 a 16.2). The raven, like the lion, gave its name to one of the Mithraic grades of initiation. According to the symbols shown in the mosaic floor of the Mithraeum of Felicissimus in Ostia (Fig. 21), the Corvus, or Korax, grade was identified with the planet Mercury, as also in the inscriptions on the wall of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum in Rome (*476 480*). The latter is shown by the more accurate reading in M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (p 156). I regret that this book came to hand too late to be fully used in the present work, and particularly so because of the great importance of this Mithraeum. In the Mithraeum of the Animals, as noted above, the raven is placed on the left side between the benches opposite the cock, which agrees with the placement on the Mithra-Dolichenus relief, whose torchbearers are in the South Iranian positions (3 b 3).

3. It is important to observe the symbols on the sides of the altar to INVICTUS MITHRA ET TRANSITUS DEI in the First Mithraeum of Poetovio (*1496**) and on the altar of Carnuntum (*1706*). On the left face of the former altar a cock is shown standing on the back of a turtle. On the right face at the top of the panel is a seven pointed star, for planetary fire, below which is a raven perched on a bow which in turn rests on the top of a Phrygian sky-cap, and the cap rests on a dagger that points downward. Here the raven is clearly a bird of sky potency of some kind symbolized by the arrow (cf 7 c 1-4). On the Carnuntum altar a serpent and a raven above a stock of grain appear on the left face and a crouching lion on the right. The symbols on the left including the raven appear to emphasize generative powers and the lion on the right ruling force (4 g 3.1).

4. The raven perched on a cave vault, on Mithra's mantle or on a Phrygian cap are parallel symbols since the cave dome, the flying mantle and the starry cap (cf *29 30*) all represent the sky, even if from different viewpoints (4 d; 5 c).

5. The raven, according to the *Bahrām Yašt* (Yt 14), was the seventh incarnation of Verethraghna to whom the *Yašt* is dedicated. Vāregan, the name of the raven, is the same as that of the god, whose name had many dialectical forms[6]. On the monument of King Antiochus of Commagene the name appears as Artagnes, who is equated with Herakles and Ares (*30-32*). The first incarnation of Verethraghna was in the wind (Vata, variant of Vayu, Middle Persian Vāt, Vāy), then in a golden horned bull, a white horse, a male camel, a wild boar, and in a fifteen year old youth. The remaining incarnations look like a parallel group beginning with the raven that is closely connected with the invisible wind. The god is next incarnated in a wild goat with curved horns, then in a wild ram with pointed horns, and finally in a beautiful warrior. As a raven he "*urvatō* (engenders ?) below and *pišatō* (divides, rends) above, the swiftest of all birds" (Yt 14.19). In this last respect he is like the swift Vayu and the moving void (Thwaša, Vāy).

The first six incarnations seem to lay emphasis upon male virility, culminating in a youth of the most virile age, while the last four emphasize the physical power of the god to strike or kill, culminating in the ideal warrior. It is said of the god that he "makes virility and death and resurrection" (Yt 14.28).In a passage to be cited from Porphyrius (4 f) we find the ram as a sign of the zodiac linked with Ares and Mithra both as tauroctonos and demiourgos. It may be emphasized that the two chief characteristics of manly power in ancient gods and heroes like Ares-Mars and Herakles-Artagnes were reproductive and destructive. The close linking together of death and rebirth is fundamental in the Mithraic mysteries, for it underlies the rites of initiation into the seven grades which are stages of life in the planetary *klimakes* (9 a 10-18, cf 4 g 3).

6. It is said of the Vāregan (Yt 14.28) that it longs for the termination of the night and flies up with joy at the break of dawn. In this respect it is similar to the cock, or "foreseeing bird (*parōdars*), the bird that "lifts up its voice against the mighty dawn" (Vend. 18.23) which evil-speaking people call the Kahrkatās, the golden necked vulture (Dalman[7]). The Vāregan, like the Varhrān fire,

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6) E. Benveniste et L. Renou, *Vrtra et Vrthragna,* pp 81ss, cf 77s, 87s.

7) ZZ p 364, note on sec. 27.

had to do with the night that precedes the dawn (cf 6 h 10). On the tauroctones the raven precedes the rising sun with a commanding message to Mithra tauroctonos whose fiery power is both reproductive and destructive. In his *Yašt* it is said of Mithra that he gives both *hvarenō* and *kšathrō* (6 a 3-4), the former being a vital fire, or *pneuma*, that is imparted to all creatures in varying degree but is especially potent in kings and conquerors, whose power is also *kšathrō*, or ruling. The Vāregan, as also Vayu and Verethraghna, was a special bearer of *hvarenō*. The pneumatic force of *hvarenō* may be suggested by the bow in the talons of the raven shown on the Poetovio altar (cf 7 c 3-4). The dagger pointed toward the earth in the same compound symbol suggests the separation of creation into its finite parts. The black raven may be taken as the embodiment of heat, the invisible power of fire, in the wind, while the cock standing on a turtle may be taken as the power of fire in the waters. The latter should be a female power of fire, for according to Porphyrius (*De abstin.*, 4.16), the cock was the special bird of Persephone who would be closely akin to the chthonic Hekate (cf 2 a 3).

The raven is clearly only one form in which the divine potency of the sky revealed itself, other forms among birds being the vulture, eagle, and hawk, and among animals the bull, boar, ram, horse, and the like. This variety of manifestations of Verethraghna power may be due in part to different traditions as well as to different emphases.

d. The Scorpion. The scorpion is very prominent on tauroctones of C and C-conflate subtype from Sidon, Rome, Italy and Middle Europe, whereas it is omitted from reliefs and frescoes of Dura, from many of the AB reliefs of Southeast Europe, and even from some of the ABC tauroctones of type III (cf *1958**). When a scorpion was introduced on an A subtype tauroctone relief in Thrace (*2327*), it was placed at Mithra's genitals instead of the bull's. An ABC tauroctone from Rome (*542*) has two scorpions or a scorpion and an ant (?) at the bull's testicles; another (*548*) has a scorpion at the testicles while the bull ejects his semen on the rocks. An AC tauroctone from Antium (*204*) shows the scorpion as a completely passive symbol below the bull.

1. On two reliefs, one from Rome but now lost (*335*) and one from Bononia (*693**), the scorpion is identified with a tree in full leaf or fruit and with Cautopates, whereas the bull's head is identified with Cautes and a barren tree. On the ABC relief from Dorstadt (*2006*) not only is there a scorpion at the bull's testicles, but Cautopates at the left also holds a scorpion and Cautes at the right holds a bull's head. In these the scorpion is the autumn, or harvest, sign of the zodiac, and the bull is the spring, or generative, sign (3 f), the power of the former being visible in the ripe fruit and of the latter invisible in the dormant tree. On a relief from Sidon (*75**) the signs of a circular zodiac are so arranged that the scorpion is shown at the bull's testicles. This moreover is the only instance to my knowledge where the scorpion seems to be in a position to sting with its tail. In all others where the scorpion is clearly visible it holds the testicles with its tentacles or has its head near the testicles and its tail away.

2. The portrayal of a scorpion in the mosaic floor near the entrance of the Mithraeum (cf 2 b 4) is the only other use of the symbol other than as a sign of the zodiac. The scorpion can scarcely be the hostile creature that Franz Cumont took it to be when he assumed that it was poisoning the seed of the bull [8]. Its association with a tree in full fruit and with the genitals of Mithra as well as of the bull should indicate productivity rather than destruction, although it may be the culmination of productivity that is followed by decay rather than by the period of new growth.

The beneficent aspect of the scorpion in the art of Mesopotamia, and especially among the Hurrians, was pointed out long ago [9]. It was shown that the scorpion was identified with a goddess Ishara, "The Lady of the Mountains and Rivers of the Hittite Land". More recently the connection of Mercury, the scorpion, the serpent and other creatures has been studied in detail [10]. Not only is attention called to the connection between the scorpion and several ancient female divinities but also to the Near Eastern origin of the Mercury-scorpion-serpent type found in Roman North Africa.

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[8] MMM 1, p 190.

[9] E. Douglas van Buren, "The Scorpion in Mesopotamian Art and Religion," *Archiv f. Orientforschung*, 12 1937, pp 1-28.

[10] W. Deonna, "Mercure et le scorpion," *Latomus*, 17 1958, pp 642-658; 18 1959, pp 52-56, 249-261.

3. It is quite clear that the scorpion motive in Mithraic iconography, as well as in that of Mercury, was derived from a Semitic or Anatolian tradition rather than from an Iranian and that the Mercury type is oriental rather than Greek. The Hurrian-Anatolian origin of the scorpion motive as a beneficent creature may explain why it appears encircled with a laurel wreath on coins of the Graeco-Persian King Antiochus of Commagene [11]. This is the same king who said in his long inscription on the monuments of his mountain shrine that the most fortunate roots of his family were Persian and Greek and also that with proper devotion he had set up "these statues of Zeus-Oromasdes, of Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes, of Artagnes-Herakles-Ares, and of my fatherland, all-nurturing Commagene" (*32*). The laurel wreath sacred to Apollo may have indicated the Helios-Apolline aspect of the scorpion as well as of Hermes, which was also emphasized by later Roman authors like Macrobius [12]. The ancient Scorpio month of the Zodiac would approximate the Mithra month in the Iranian calendar, which was the beginning of autumn. In southern Mesopotamia this would mark the end of the barren season and the beginning of the autumn rains, the more ancient form of the zodiacal sign being an Archer-Scorpion (cf 7 c 3).

Both the scorpion and the snake, so clearly connected with an oriental Hermes, appear therefore to have been associated with

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[11] W. Wroth, *Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria,* p 106, nos. 1-10, pl 14.9.

[12] Deonna, op cit p 255. On a tauroctone relief of type V, and probably of subtype D, from Viminacium (Kostolac) in Upper Moesia, the scorpion appears in the circular border of the relief above the bust of Sol, Ljubica Zotović, *Les cultes orientaux sur le territoire de la Mésie Supérieure,* Leiden 1966, pp 71 ss, no 13. Here the scorpion seems to take the place of the raven which is not otherwise evident, although the relief is not well preserved.

It should also be noted that a large swastika appears to the right of the bull's head, as also on a relief from Oescus (*2247*), whereas on a relief from Sarmizegetusa (*2046*) it appears in close association with Oceanos.

Mithra in the same or in a similar oriental milieu. If this were to be found in Commagene itself or in adjacent areas, it would explain why both the snake and scorpion are so prominent on the C subtype of tauroctone, which also seems to have originated somewhere in this vicinity (*Typology,* III 3).

PART THREE

THE TORCHBEARERS, CAUTES AND CAUTOPATES

One of the more conspicuous additions to the tauroctone group was that of the two torchbearers as companions of Mithra. They are, however, omitted from a considerable number of tauroctones. Most of these omissions are found in type I, which, arranged according to subtypes, are the following:

A _11 12 766_
B _586 654_, n 65a, pt 5
AB _1625 2251_
AC _27 75* 92_
ABC _542 546 2204_

C _173 207 357 397 437 554 641* 655 657 692 1839 2289_
CD _245_
CE _1012 1665_
CDE _148 529 598 1306_

D _37* 40* 201 207_
E _607_
DE _690* 692 896 1701 2196_

A comparison of the total number of omissions listed above with the total number of reliefs in each subtype will show that the largest percentage of omissions occur in the primary subtypes as compared with their conflates (AB AC &). These omissions therefore are probably due to a typology of early origin, a conclusion that is supported by their regular appearance on reliefs of types II to VIII. The only exceptions are omission of the torchbearers on a few reliefs of type VI (_40* 1306 1625_).

A type I relief from Italy of good subtype C, now in Leningrad and published by Blawatsky and Kochelenko (pl 14 of op cit in n 15, pt 6) has no torchbearers, whereas all the tauroctone fragments from Charax and Olbia in South Russia show them. These belong to the late second or early third centuries. The absence of sun and moon busts from the Leningrad relief also indicates an early second century date (cf pt 6).

a. The torchbearers appeared on the tauroctone reliefs earlier in the West than in the East, as a further analysis of the data shows. In diminutive size they are grouped at the back end of the bull on the tauroctone statue of Claudius Livianus (_593_) of about A.D. 101. They are well developed on the Capua fresco (_181*_) belonging to the first half or middle of the second century, as also on a Roman tauroctone of about A.D. 181 (*408*). On the other hand, they do not appear on the Sidon relief (*75**) or the Dura reliefs (*37** *40**) of the second half of the second century. Two reliefs of subtype E (*71 1275*) show Mithra's two companions but do not differentiate them by their usual torches. A Naples relief of an eastern conflate subtype (CDE *174*), and apparently of the late fourth century, has two very small torchbearers which are scarcely differentiated; the one to the left seems to thrust his torch *in tauri anum*, while the one to the right stands under the bull's raised right hoof and holds his torch in front of him as he looks to the right and downward (Cautopates?). When fully developed torchbearers appeared on the tauroctones in the East or on Eastern subtypes (C, D and E or their conflates) they differed from the torchbearers in the West in the following ways:

1. The WESTERN torchbearer stands with legs crossed and holds, often with one hand only, a torch which is relatively small; in the other hand he frequently holds some other object (3 f 1).

2. The EASTERN torchbearer stands with legs uncrossed and holds, usually with both hands, a torch which is proportionately large and is sometimes composite in structure.

b. In COMPOSITION the normal position for Cautes, who holds his torch upward, is at the spectator's right (or Mithra's left), and for Cautopates, who holds his torch downward, at the spectator's left. It will be shown below (4 i 5) that under strong South Iranian influence these positions were reversed.

If we arrange the tauroctones of types I and VI according to the above positions and torchbearer types, we find the following subtype distributions:

NORMAL POSITIONS:

WESTERN TYPE	EASTERN TYPE
	A *10*D *2327*
AB *10*A *10*C *1449 1924 1954*	AB *1423 1625 1721 2263*
AC *204*	AC *91*
ABC *366 430 755 1358 1859 2068 2073 2085 2154 2247 2255*	ABC *726 1910 2006 2351*
C *736 759 1859*	C *339 615 2264*

CD *386*	
CE *1014*	CE *172*
CDE *835 1883*	CDE *1281 1882 1907*
	D *1641 1893 1902*
DE *1149*	DE *690* 1643*

SOUTH IRANIAN POSITIONS:

WESTERN TYPE	EASTERN TYPE
AC *1849*	
ABC *417 430 668 2306*	
C *582 588 670 759*	C *435* 1871 1879*
CD *408*	CD *181**
CDE *530*	CDE *2025*
	CE *663*
DE *1314*	DE *88 89*

It may be observed first that the South Iranian positions tend to appear on C and D subtypes or their conflates. Second, the Eastern type of torchbearer also tends to appear on the A subtype as well as the C and D [1].

1. Some tauroctones have one Eastern and one Western type of torchbearer. Cautes is of the Western type on only one of these (*1741*), whereas on all the others it is Cautopates, as also on an altar (*1540*). This suggests that the crossed-leg motive was more fundamentally suitable to Cautopates than to Cautes. While both torchbearers have to do with the fire of life, we shall find that Cautopates has to do more primarily with the embodiment of fire, or the physical world of fate. The crossed legs, like rings and knots, symbolized the entanglement of soul and body in physical life. The tauroctones in this group are the following:

NORMAL POSITIONS	SOUTH IRANIAN POSITIONS
AB *1806*	
ABC *1512 1523 1861**	
C *164 1658 1816*	C *534*
CE *1741*	

1.1. On a Pannonian relief (*1656*) the torchbearer with crossed legs at the right has two torches, one upward and one downward, whereas the other companion of Mithra has no torch but holds or touches Mithra's right knee. On the Dieburg relief (_1247_*) Cautopates at the right holds two torches turned downward. It seems probable that the position of the torches symbolize different aspects or functions whether of one and the same or of twin divinities.

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[1] In the *Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones* (sec. III) I suggest that the A subtype had its artistic origin in northern or western Asia Minor and that the B subtype was a Roman modification of it. The D and E subtypes were more oriental, the D being perhaps North Syrian and the E North Iranian.

1.2. Tauroctones having two companions who hold other symbols than torches or are undifferentiated by their torches are the following:

WESTERN TYPE	EASTERN TYPE
AB _2001 2180 2305_	AB _2171_
ABC _1472_	
CDE _174 1206 1452 1919_	CDE _1468_
	E _71 1275_

Two of these make use of other symbols than torches (_71 1919_). One (_1919_) shows a lamp in the hand of the companion at the left and an axe in the hand of the one at the right. The other (_71_) shows both holding a tall staff (cf 3 c). All of the others but two (_1275 2171_) show both companions holding up-raised torches, which may suggest that the Cautes function is most closely connected with the tauroctonos action (cf 7 e), which perhaps is completed at sunrise. Only one (_1275_) shows both as Cautopates.

2. Following is a list of tauroctones of all compositional types except I and VI which have torchbearers of Eastern type:

NORMAL POSITIONS	SOUTH IRANIAN POSITIONS
AB _2245_	AB _1974 2000_
ABC _1975 2172_	ABC _415 1849 2026_
C _1447 2237_	C _390_* _798_
E _45_* _1206_	

All other tauroctone of these types not listed in the sections above have Western torchbearers in the Normal positions. The total number having torchbearers of Eastern type is therefore relatively small.

It must be noted that all representations of torchbearers found in Syria, including the separate monuments from the Sidon

Mithraeum (*74*), are of Eastern type. This is also true of the Mithra ephippos coins of Pontus (6 c 1). As time went on the Western torchbearer tended to prevail on all the conflate types of relief (IV V VII VIII) and subtype of tauroctone in Europe, and especially outside of Rome and Middle Europe.

3. As for the positions of the torchbearers in the composition, the Normal positions tended to be followed on the A, B and E subtypes, and the South Iranian on the C and D subtypes. Or to speak more accurately, the South Iranian positions are an intrusion on these types (4 j 4).

4. The diversity of the torchbearer types and positions is most pronounced in Rome and Middle Europe where the Classical (I) and Anatolian (VI) types of relief prevail. These are not only our earliest types ot tauroctone composition, but these areas were also most exposed to cross currents of influence. Differences in torchbearer typology and positions were both artistic and ideological.

c. The typology of the torchbearers was based on contemporary archetypes. The western type with crossed legs was probably derived ultimately from a Somnus-Hypnos art type, which could easily be transformed into a winged Cupid-Eros or sorrowing Attis used in funeral motives. A tomb painting found in Ostia, probably of the first century A.D., shows a winged figure of Hypnos (?) standing with legs crossed and leaning on a staff or torch in a posture very similar to Cautes when he gazes upward [2]. The western torchbearers are often shown with a shepherd's staff (*853 1014 1033 1057 1119 1166* et al) which is characteristic of Attis. Only twice does a torchbearer of eastern type hold the shepherd's staff (*2245 2298*). The torches themselves are characteristic of the winged Erotes used in funeral art. The normal Attis type used in Hadrianic art to represent the Province of Phrygia stands with legs uncrossed like the eastern type of torchbearer. Apparently in the Roman or western version of the Attis-Eros type the crossed leg motive was popular and must have emphasized some kind of repose (cf 5 h 1). Some of the reliefs of Southeast Europe having an eastern type of torchbearer may have been under eastern Greek influence, for example, those of Utum (*2263*) and Kral Marko (*2245*; cf *2264*).

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[2] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 14 1938, p 51, fig 18. On the shepherd's staff or *pedum* in Mithraic art see Zotović, op cit (n 12, pt 2), pp 15-17, who indicates that Cautes tends to hold the *pedum* more often than Cautopates, who sometimes holds the bull's tail instead. The pedum often rests against the shoulder of Cautes, as on a relief from Jasen (Romulianum?) which also has the sun and moon in reversed positions (op cit p 71, no 12). A god with a *pedum* may denote a Shepherd of fiery souls (= stars, pt 5, n 98 end).

The eastern torchbearer may have been based on an Attis type found in Western Asia Minor. From there it could easily pass to the west where it was transformed into the western type. Farther east in Anatolia and Syria it may have been based on a Dioscurus type. In the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus these Dioscuri, or Castores, appear to have been two pillars of the cosmos who assisted Dolichenus as the *conservator totius mundi* [3]. In these architectonic and cosmic aspects they are standing figures and do not require horses. Our Mithraic relief from northwest Syria (*71*) shows such figures holding long slender objects in upright positions so as to divide the long horizontal panel into a triptych (cf. *Typology*, II 7). Since there is no indication that the uprights are torches, they must be either staffs or pillars which extend from the floor to the ceiling of the relief. A small relief from the Dolichenum on the Aventine in Rome [4], in which two tauroctones were found (*468 469*), shows not only the sun and moon busts in the upper corners, as on our Mithraic reliefs, but also Dioscuri holding similar but much smaller staffs. The Sidon Mithraeum produced not only statues of the torchbearers of normal eastern type (*80* 81**), but also two other statues (*82 83**) of torchbearers who hold, one in his raised right hand and the other in his raised left, a double axe similar to the double axe held by Jupiter Dolichenus himself as shown on the large relief from the Aventine sanctuary. In their other hands they hold torches that are turned upward, as on some of our tauroctones (3 b 1.2).

d. The difference in the ideology of the eastern and western

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3) P. Merlat, *Jupiter Dolichenus*, p 117s, cf 51 and 118; id in *Syria*, 28 1951, pp 229-249, esp. 243.

4) P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscrip. et mon. figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus*, p 203, pl 22.1.

torchbearer is probably similar to that of the Dioscuri and Attis archetypes. We note that twin busts of Attis type appear in the upper corners of the large Dolichenus relief from the Aventine [5]. These must correspond to the Dioscuri and Sol-Luna figures in the corners of the smaller relief. Similar busts appear in the upper corners of a Mithraic relief from the Esquiline Mithraeum (*350*); they are placed between the busts of the sun and moon and the tops of trees on each side of the cave vault, the tree to the right being barren and the other in full leaf. These twins which may represent Attis and Adonis emphasize therefore opposite but complementary phases of the vegetation cycle. The Dioscuri, on the other hand, probably represent opposite parts of the cosmic globe or egg, a topic to be more fully discussed below (5 c, g 7, i 5).

e. The relation of the torchbearers to the death of the bull is quite clearly represented on a number of reliefs of eastern typology. On the Mithra-Dolichenus relief (*334*) the torchbearers are of eastern type, except that Cautopates is seated. His head is not only turned away from the central motive which shows Mithra standing on the crouching bull and holding a cosmic globe, but his whole attitude is one of sorrow. This attitude is emphasized on a number of tauroctones of subtype C (esp. *435* 759 736 350*). Not only does Cautopates look downward and away from the dying bull, but Luna also repeats the same attitude. Cautes, on the other hand, looks upward and toward the tauroctone action, as also does Sol. These attitudes indicate that the death of the bull is in some important aspect unfavorable to Cautopates but favorable to Cautes, and the same may be said of Luna and Sol (cf. 7 e).

f. The relation of the torchbearers to the seasons has already been noted in my analysis of the scorpion motive (2 d 1). Cautes was identified with the barren tree and the Taurus sign of the zodiac, whereas Cautopates was identified with a tree in full fruit and the Scorpio sign. On the Esquiline relief (*350*), showing

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5) Ibid pl 19. In continuing his discussion of statues (n 5, pt 2) Porphyrius (loc cit sec. 12) says that Attis and Adonis come to hand as an analogy of fruits. Attis is a symbol of the flowers first appearing in the spring and before decline in maturity, that his emasculation (cf n 12, pt 7) is represented to indicate that the vigorous fruits should not come to spermatic maturity; but Adonis is a symbol of the cutting off of ripe fruits.

the Attis busts above the trees and Cautopates looking sadly away from the tauroctone action, Cautopates stands near the tree in full leaf, while Cautes, looking hopefully upward, stands near the barren tree. In some way therefore the full fruited tree and the dying bull belong to Cautopates, while the barren tree and the dead bull belong to Cautes.

1. In the Capua Mithraeum the torchbearers are painted on the side walls near the entrance end; both stand under a leafy arbor. On the right side of the Mithraeum Cautes (*182**) holds a bunch of foliage in his lowered hand; at his feet on the right is a cock with green body and red crest and on the left side is a blazing altar. On the opposite wall Cautopates (*183**) holds a similar bunch of foliage in his raised hand. In both instances the position of the foliage is opposite to that of the torch, which Cautopates holds toward the flame of an altar. With these paintings we should compare a marble base from Novae in Lower Moesia (*2268*) which shows on its left side Cautopates holding a cock by its feet high in the air, and on the right Cautes holding a cock near his knees.

1.1. On an Ostia brooch (*318*) a cock is at the bull's head and a second raven (?) sits on the bull's tail that is branched into wheat stocks. A statue from the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*477*), that was originally a Mercury, shows a cock on a tree trunk against which Cautes-Mercury leans. The cock heralds the new-born light and awaking life (cf 6 h 6.3 and 10).

1.2. That both torchbearers are involved in the total cycle of life is emphasized by a number of tauroctones where Cautes holds ears of wheat (*1683 1697*) or a pine cone (*2306*) and Cautopates holds the bull's tail that ends in wheat stocks (*1275 1972** *2055 2063*; cf *1975 2062*). Sometimes both of them hold a shield (*1765 1770 1791 1816*), or Cautopates only (*1761 1794 1823*), or both of them hold a bow (*181** *1920** *1958**) which is the instrument by which the Aqua vitae of souls in birth is produced (*7* c 1-4). The lower body and genitals of Mercury-Cautes in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*477*) were originally exposed, as were the genitals of the Mithra-Attis of the Panticapaeum tauroctones (*11 12*). A generative action is emphasized on the Salona relief (*1861**) where Cautes is shown with an erect penis in the place of the dog (2 a). His statue from the Sidon Mithraeum (*80**) shows him with a dog, and a relief from Siscia (*1473*) shows him with a dog or ram. On the statue from the Sidon Mithraeum Cautopates is shown with a snake at his feet (*81**), and a snake appears in the rocks near his head on a Roman tauroctone (*408*). The dog and snake in the tauroctone motives are complementary opposites like the torchbearers with which they are associated, and all of these have to do with the life and soul in their cyclic transitions (5 h)[6]. On the Museo di Roma tauroctone (*435**) the column at

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6) A transition of the soul to the otherworld is suggested by the winged figures guarding the doorway shown on Etruscan sarcophagi, cf F. Saxl, *Mithras*, p 14, n 4. These have a parallel in the twin Erotes and Attis figures shown on Roman provincial monuments. Before the inner sanctum (*adyton*) of the Anaktoron in Samothrace stood the Twin gods of Samothrace, who, according to Varro, *De lingua Latina*, 5.58, were males and stood before the gates (*ad portas*). According to Hippolytus, *Ref. om. haer.*, 5.3, their statues showed naked men having their hands stretched toward heaven and their *membrum virile* turned upward, like the statue of Mercury on Mount Kylene. One of these images, he says, represented Primal Man called Adam and the other Pneumatic Man that is born and mortal but whose essence is that of Primal Man. Adam is in reality an Hermophrodite Man and Child, who, from another viewpoint is threefold, one part being rational, one psychic, and one material (op cit, 5.1). In Boeotia they were called Kabeiros and Pais Kabeiros, B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, pp 191, 261. Some Phrygians called the Child (or Boy) Korybas because he derived the beginning of his descent from the cosmic Head and permeates all the *archai* of things that exist. The Perfect Man, called by the Phrygians Papa, is the true Gate of rebirth for the perfect soul that is called a "corpse" because it is buried in the material body as in a tomb (Hippolytus, op cit 5.3). Such a soul passing through such a gate becomes a god. The Phrygians say that Friendship (*ton philon*) is *adam*, cf Hesychius, s.v. *adamnein*: *to philein*, but intercourse between man and woman is the work of swine and dogs. The Phrygians call the whole world of complexity (*plērōma*) "Unfruitful" (= barren) and Aiopolis, because Aiopolis is the revolving cosmos from which the Very Fruitful world comes, and more offspring come from the Barren One than from a woman with husband. By rebirth things become immortal and continue forever in a *plērōma*, but carnal things are all corruptible even though productive (Hippolytus, loc cit).

The ithyphalic Mercury was the Kasmilos (= Camillus, Dion. Hal., 2.22.2; Macrob., *Sat.*, 3.8.6) whom Varro, op cit 7.3.34, called a servant ot the Great Gods of Samothrace and said stood apart from them. By some the two Great Gods, the First (or Head) and the Child, were equated with Neptune (= primal water-energy) and Apollo (= energy in phenomenal world), with Zeus Patroos and Apollo Aristonax (= Best Ruler), with Kastor and Pollux (cf 5 j 7), Hephaistos and Hermes, or Kabiros and Dionysos, Hemberg, op cit the right end is turned with its capital downward, thus emphasizing a downward progression which Luna and Cautopates already express. At the left end the progression is upward. A similar cyclic progression is expressed on the Capitoline relief (*415*), a motive which is directly related to the ideology of an ascent and descent of the soul that is "mystagogued" in the rites.

2. The iconography of the torchbearers indicates certain confusions which arose when eastern vegetational ideology had to be adapted to the western seasons. A subtype CD relief from Rome (*408*), dated to about A.D. 181, has torchbearers of western type in the South Iranian positions and they hold large torches of the eastern type. Here Cautes has a scorpion at his heel and a winged Pegasus above his head, whereas Cautopates has the snake near his head (as noted above) and a dog or small bull behind his legs. This is an apparent reversal of identifications pointed out above (3 f 1) which associate the dog and Taurus with Cautes and the Scorpion with Cautopates. However, as constellations Pegasus and Aquarius are more or less equivalents in heliacal rising and indicate the rainy season, whereas Serpens is the equivalent of Scorpio or Sagittarius and denotes the barren transitional season following the fruit harvest in Europe. If the small animal is a bull he is the equivalent of Taurus, but if a dog he is the equivalent of Canis Major, which marks the beginning of the fruit bearing season like Taurus (2 a 3). These symbols may therefore be intended to suggest that the special period of Cautopates is from spring or summer (*Taurus* or *Canis*) to autumn (*Serpens*), while the special period of Cautes is from autumn (*Scorpio*) to winter (*Pegasus*). If so, Cautes is still identified with the barren period and Cautopates with the fruit bearing period. Statues of the torchbearers from North Africa (*123 124*) show Cautes between a lion and scorpion, which as zodiacal signs mark the barren period of summer in that

pp 99, 262s. Hermes-Kasmilos would represent the psychic *mesotēs* between the rational and material parts of the Hermaphrodite Adam, or Twofold Highest God. The phallic Mercury and the Dog (Canis Major) had to do with the Logos of birth and death (Hippolytus, op cit 4.48). By the Ophites (Naasseni) he was called Logios and as Logos was an interpreter and fabricator of manyfold generation, of its impulse from below upward, as well as a guide and ruler of engendered souls (idem 5.2; cf n 12, pt 7).

region, and Cautopates between an eagle and dolphin, which indicate the period of rains and fertility. Thus the vegetational periods remain the same, but the calendar periods change according to the climate.

g. The color patterns used on the tauroctone frescoes throw further light on the seasonal and cosmic aspect of the torchbearers. The Capua fresco (*181**) of subtype CD has torchbearers of eastern type and in the South Iranian positions. Their Phrygian caps, like that of Mithra, are red, as is also the top side of Mithra's mantle, the red suggesting both vitality and the burning sky or ether. The underside of Mithra's mantle is bluish purple and is studded with the planets (cf 5 a). The mantle of Cautopates is rather inconspicuous; the rest of his clothing is predominantly green and gray. Below him on the corner of the fresco is a female bust representing the verdant period of the year, while above him is the bust of Luna. The mantle of Cautes is red like his cap, on the front of which there is a star, and the rest of his clothing is orange and brown. Below him is a gray bearded bust representing the barren period of the year, while above him is the radiate bust of the sun, of which one long ray penetrates the cave (5 e). There are fringes of green on the clothing of both torchbearers, suggesting here also that both participate in the life process. It is clear that Cautes participates in the process during the barren period of the year. Barren vegetation as also the dead bull mark the beginning of his special period, and therefore at the bull's death he looks upward in anticipation. Cautopates, on the other hand, participates during the verdant period of the year. The harvesting of fruit and the dying bull mark the end of his period, and consequently he looks away in grief at the bull's death.

1. The Barberini fresco (*390**) of subtype C also has eastern torchbearers in the South Iranian positions. Both wear a reddish yellow mantle, Cautopates being artistically illuminated from the right side and Cautes from the left. The clothing of Cautes is earth red mixed with blue, his cap is blue like the sky vault which carries the planets, the flame of his torch is the same as his mantle. Cautopates has greenish clothing as at Capua, but his cap is gray, perhaps to suggest old age or maturity like the bust below Cautes on the

Capua fresco. We should note in passing that the *Deus Aeternus* figure in this tauroctone is of a prevailing yellow ochre color and stands on a blue globe which divides the two halves of the zodiac (cf 5 c 3).

2. Since the seasons for sowing and harvest are quite different in Europe from those of Syria and southern Iran, the problem could arise as to the part of the calendar year to which each of the torchbearers belonged. This is illustrated by a third fresco of CD subtype (*386*) which probably dates from the beginning of the third century and had torchbearers of the normal western type and positions. The cap, mantle and tunic of Mithra and also the mantles of the torchbearers were bluish purple like the lower side of the sky dome. The caps of the torchbearers were yellow or orange red, which are the colors of dawn and twilight. But the trousers of Cautes were green, while those of Cautopates were brown. These colors identify Cautes with the verdant season and Cautopates with the barren, it would appear, but the green may have been intended to suggest the period of germination and the brown of decay.

3. The colors found on the Esquiline reliefs (*350-351*) showed the upper garments of Mithra and the torchbearers in purple, their trousers yellow like the Luna and Attis busts. The solar crown and Mithra's dagger were gold, and the cave was red, not black like the raven. Red may perhaps be taken for physical life or vitality, black for death or materiality, purple for sovereign force and yellow for generative heat. Gold is for sunlight or cosmic fire.

h. The cosmic aspects of the two torchbearers are illuminated by the Natura dei monument of the Third Mithraeum of Heddernheim (*1127*). It is in the form of a tall slender shaft which is sculptured on the face and two sides with an upper and lower panel on each. In the upper panels are *aediculae* framed with pilasters and gable. The *Petra genetrix* is shown on the face together with the inscription: DEO IN. MI. P. GENETRICEM SENILIUS CARANTINUS C. MEDIO. M. V.S.L.L.M., and on the base: SIVE CRACISSIUS. On the left face, and therefore in the South Iranian position (3 b), is Cautes with crossed legs of western type.

In the panel below him is an eagle with a thunderbolt in his claws perched on the dome of heaven which is marked off into four quarters with two planets in three of the quarters and one in the fourth. On the base of the aedicula is inscribed: CAUTE(S), and on the base of the statue: C(A)ELUM. The aedicula on the right face is occupied by Cautopates with crossed legs also. In the panel below is a hooded and bearded figure holding an anchor aloft. He semi-reclines on a mound of rocks or clouds. On the base of the aedicula is inscribed: CAUT(O)P(ATES), and on the base of the statue: OCEANUM.

1. That Cautes has to do with the cosmic fire revealed in the thunderbolt and planetary sky is indicated also by a statue from Gaul (*918*) which shows a cosmic globe at his right foot. Statues of Cautopates (*1110 1163*) show him holding a large key in his left hand, which indicates that he locks or unlocks the storm gates of the sky to let the generative waters fall. In speaking of doors Porphyrius (*De antro*, 27) says that Homer "knew of sky-gates entrusted to the Horae which possess the principles of cloud-producing places whose openings and closings are by means of clouds (*Il.*, 5.749ss)".

2. The association of Cautopates with rain and vegetation is found on a relief from Bononia (*694*). He stands with legs crossed and facing left. At his feet to the right is a shoot of foliage and to left the forepart of a bull. Above at the top left is a crescent moon within its full circle, and a little below is an overturned bowl from which water spills like rain. All of these symbols, including the bull, suggest the world of physical growth. On a relief from Rome (*541*) Cautopates is shown holding aloft in his raised left hand a bust of the moon. It was a common belief in antiquity that still persists that the waxing and waning moon governed growth and decay. Because this is the domain of Cautopates, whose lowered torch represents fire that is hidden in living bodies, his statue from Ostia (*256*) shows him with a *baetylos* (= Petra genetrix) at his left foot. In Iranian religion all life had its origin (Cautes) in the divine fire, which fire in varying degrees became embodied (Cautopates) in the other elements. The conception of fire in Iranian cosmology (5 f) is not dissimilar to the

Stoic doctrine of all-pervading ether that is the Nature, Intelligence and Order of the world.

i. Positions in the Mithraea. The cosmic functions of the torchbearers have a parallel in the normal Mithraeum where the two sides of the sanctuary are assigned to them. For example, their statues in the Mithraeum of the Palazzo Imperiale at Ostia (*254*) stood in niches made in the face of the side benches near the middle of each. They are shown not only in round sculpture but again in relief on the bases of the statues; the inscriptions show that they were dedicated in A.D. 162. They are of normal western type (3 a 1). Their presence on the side walls of the Capua Mithraeum has already been discussed (3 f 1), but it should be noted that these paintings belong to a later period than that of the tauroctone fresco, whose torchbearers are in the South Iranian positions (*181**).

In at least eighteen Mithraea an altar, statue or other representation of one or both of the torchbearers have been found, and in all Cautes presides over the right and Cautopates over the left side of the Mithraeum (as the spectator faces the main cult picture). These Mithraea are the following:

Capua (*180*)
Ostia, Seven Spheres (*239*)
Ostia, Palazzo Imperiale (*250*)
Rome, Baths of Caracalla (*457*)
Rome, Santa Prisca (*476*)
Procolitia (*844*)
Sarrebourg (*965 968*)
Friedberg (*1052 1055-57*)
Ober-Florstadt (*1117*)
Stockstadt I (*1158 1163-67*)
Stockstadt II (*1209 1214-5*)
Wiesbaden (*1230-34*) [7]
Poetovio I (*1487 1498 1504*)
Poetovio II (*1509* cf *1601*)
Carnuntum III (*1682* cf *1670*)
Aquincum II (*1750*)
Jajce (*1901 1903*)
Marino (n 27, pt 4)

I know of only one possible exception to these assignments of the torchbearers; in the Mithraeum of the Painted Walls at Ostia (*264*) a figure of Cautopates seems to be shown on the right wall where members of the various grades of initiation are shown. If this is actually an exception, the reason for it will be fully discussed in connection with the orientation of the Mithraea.

j. The torchbearers will require further discussions, especially

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7) For this information see *Nassauische Annalen,* 14 1916-7, pp 230-250, pls 4-6.

in connection with Iranian cosmology (cf 5h; 5 j 6s) and the Avestan Mithra (cf 6 b 1). They appear with the Natura dei (8 a 5) and Trapeza Mithrou (9 b 6ss). As *dei* they are opposite aspects or functions of Mithra himself.

PART FOUR

THE ZODIAC AND MITHRAIC ORIENTATION

A comparatively small number of Mithraic monuments exhibit the complete zodiac, and only a slightly larger number show an array of stars and planets. In the following listing it will be noticed that only a very few have both. In this and subsequent listings I indicate the general composition by a Roman numeral, the style of the tauroctone composition by Capital letters, the type of torchbearer (e=eastern, w=western) and their positions (n=normal, rev=reversed) or their absence (abs).

SIGNS OF ZODIAC			
Dura I (_40*_)	VI	D	abs
Dura II (fresco, Fig. 11)	VII	E	e n
Dura III (fresco, Fig. 12)	VII	E	e n
Sidon (_75*_)	I	AC	abs
Rome (_390*_, fres.)	VIII	C	e rev
Rome (_635_)	VI ?	?	? rev
London (_810_)	V	CDE	e rev
Friedberg (_1054_) (frag. only)			
Heddernh. I (_1083*_)	VIII	DE	w n
Rückingen (_1137*_)	VII	DE	w n
Grosz-Krotz. (_1149_)	VI	CDE	w n
Stockstadt I (_1161_) (reverse)			
Dieburg (_1271_; frag. only)			
Osterburken (_1292*_)	VIII	DE	w n
Siscia (_1472_)	V	ABC	e rev

STARS AND PLANETS			
Dura I (_37*_)	I	D	abs
Sidon (_75*_)	I	AC	abs
Sidon (_76_)	I	C	abs
Capua (_181*_)	I	CD	e rev
Ostia (_245_)	I	CD	abs
Ostia (_310_)	I	C	abs
Quadraro (_321*_)	VII	C	w n
Rome (_368_)	VII	C	e rev
Rome (_390*_)	VIII	C	e rev
Rome (_435*_)	I	C	e rev
Rome (_546_)	I	AC	abs
Bononia (_693*_)	IV	ABC	w n
Heddernh. III (_1128*_)	V	AB	w n
Stockstadt I (_1206_)	VI	CDE	w n
Stockstadt II (_1216_)	VII	C	?
Fellbach (_1306_)	VI	CDE	abs

	Brigetio (*1727**)	VII	CDE	w n
	Szekesfehervar (*1818*) (frag.)			
Salona (*1870*; frag. only)				
	Sarmizegetusa (*2052*)	II	ABC	w n
	Tavalicavo (*2244**)	III	ABC	w n
	Oescus (*2247*)	I	ABC	w n
	Pleven (*2255*)	VI	ABC	w n

The zodiac also appears on monuments of the *Natura dei* from Italy (*695*), Britain (*860*), and Gaul (*985**), the latter having only the first six signs. It appears between the coils of the serpent of the *Deus Aeternus* (*545 879*) and along the edges of the side benches in the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres at Ostia (Fig. 19).

a. The typology of these signs is the same as that used on Roman coins of Asia Minor [1], and is very different from those used in Egypt and Palestine [2]. The typology of the Mithriac zodiac would appear to be Anatolian in its immediate origin (Fig. 5).

We have already observed (3 f) that the equinoctial signs shown with the trees and torchbearers are a *boucranion* for *Taurus* and a scorpion for *Scorpio*, instead of *Aries* (*Krios*, the Ram) and *Libra*. Moreover the combination of a lion and a bowl (cf 8a4) may be used for *Leo* and *Aquarius* to mark the solstices instead of *Cancer* and *Capricornus*. On the stele of Nebuchadnezzar I, of the twelfth century B.C., the lightning bull of Adad and the scorpion of Ishara (cf 2 d 2) appear on the bottom register together with a turtle and a lamp. If the four symbols refer to the seasons, then from left to right the bull and scorpion represent the spring and autumn, while just above them the turtle and lamp represent winter and summer. It may be noted that at the top of the relief from left to right are shown a serpent, the star of Ishtar, goddess of fertility,

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1) W. Wroth, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gr. Coins*: *Pontus, Paphlagonia, &*, p 89, no 34, pl 20.13, of Julia Maesa from Amastris, showing an eastern order with Aries at the top; W. W. Waddington, et al., *Recueil gén. des monnaies d' Asie Mineure*, vol 1.3, p 407, no 68, pl 68.2, of Hadrian from Nicaea, having zodiac as above, but in field to left is a Sol chariot and to the right a Luna chariot (v. Fig. 5); cf p 416 no 138, pl 70.5.

2) *Ency. Brit.*, 13ed. s.v. Zodiac; for Palestine, cf C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, Vol 2, p 115, fig 146.

then the crescent moon with the head of the serpent above it, and at the right the solar sphere of Šamaš. The motion of the serpent indicates progression upward and to the right.

In the fully developed zodiac of the Graeco-Roman world *Taurus, Scorpio, Leo* and *Aquarius* mark the months that immediately follow the equinoxes and solstices. But in the second millennium before the Christian era they would have marked the positions of the sun at these periods of the year. It seems probable that the new sign of the spring equinox was associated with a ram because it possessed vital characteristics similar to those of the bull. The Balance (*Libra*) was formed out of the shears or claws of the scorpion to mark the autumn equinox. The constellation of the winter solstice was represented by the goat's horn (*Capricornus*) or water-goat, and therefore was associated with the winter rain like the Water-pourer or turtle and the Fish in the following sign, which at the present time marks the spring equinox. The Crab (*Cancer-Karkinos*) was taken to mark the northern turning point of the sun when its heat is most intense. The lion may also have been associated with fiery energy or conquering force. The crab was associated with pinching or constriction as well as with lateral motion.

1. On Mithraic monuments the sign of the vernal equinox (*Aries*) begins the zodiac series, or *Aries* and *Libra* when the zodiac circle is shown in separated halves, but the more ancient signs for *Taurus* and *Scorpio* are still used for the equinoxes when used separately [3]. Religion does not easily exchange symbols which are hallowed by

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3) For critical comments on the dating of the origin of the zodiac, see Otto Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2 ed, esp. pp 104, 120, 170. According to a translation of the *Enūma Elish* (A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2 ed. 1951) tablet V, lines 1-4, Marduk "created stations for the great gods; the stars their likenesses, the signs of the zodiac, he set up. He determined the year, defined the divisions. For each of the twelve months he set up three constellations." This can hardly mean that thirty-six constellations were marked off in the sky, for it was difficult to find twelve in the proper locations. Whether or not this part of the epic goes back to the time of Hammurabi, it is probable that prominent constellations like Taurus and Scorpio were correlated with the spring and autumn equinoxes at a very early date; cf Julius Schwabe, *Archetyp und Tierkreis, Grundlinien einer kosmischen Symbolik und Mythologie*, 1951, pp 23-37. A recent work is by B. L. van der Waerden, *Die Anfänge der Astronomie*, Groningen 1965.

time. The bucranium, decorated with wreaths, represented the source of vital energy like the bull's horn in the cornucopia and harks back to the ancient Bull of heaven that sent the fertilizing rain, while the scorpion marked the end of summer heat and the beginning of autumn.

2. In Mithraic art the opposite halves of the zodiac sometimes have as much significance as the zodiac conceived as a cyclic whole. In the Ostia Mithraeum (Fig. 19) the first six signs (*Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo* and *Virgo*) were represented along the face of the left bench beginning at the tauroctone end. The remaining six signs (*Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius* and *Pisces*) were placed along the right bench beginning at the entrance end, and thus emphasized the opposite halves of the complete circle. The northern signs on the left indicate the course of the sun from spring to autumn, while those on the right indicate the course of the winter sun. Likewise the zodiacs on the larger Dura relief (*40**) and on the frescoes of the Middle and Late periods of the Mithraeum (cf *43**) are separated into two halves by a representation of the *Deus Aeternus* or a Sky god, the former at the autumn equinox and the latter at the spring. On a statue of the *Deus Aeternus* (*545*) the two halves run from the head downward. A similar reversal in the order of the two halves of the zodiac, for example, occurs on a non-Mithraic relief from Transjordan [4]. In the above instances the head, top or entrance is emphasized as the beginning point and the opposite halves or sides are more important to emphasize than a continuous circuit.

b. Two different orders for the representation of the signs are used on our Mithraic monuments; one is eastern and the other western. The eastern order, for example, is used on the Roman coins of Asia Minor as also on the mosaic floor of the Beth Alpha synagogue in Palestine [5]. The western order, on the other hand, is used on such monuments as the Triumphal Arch of Mainz and the Igel monument near ancient Trier [6]. These different orders of rotation are directly related to traditional differences in orienta-

4) *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, 57 1937, p 13, fig 7.
5) C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*, pl 10.
6) F. Saxl, *Mithras*, figs 127 129.

tion between northern and southern peoples, as I shall point out below.

1. The western order runs clockwise and begins at the left side or on the left hand. This is the order regularly found on the tauroctone reliefs from Germany and on the *Natura dei* monuments of Britain and Gaul, the latter (*985**) having only the first six signs. These signs for the spring and summer sun that is toward the north must accord with the ideology of the Birth of Mithra (cf 8 a 1). The larger relief of Dura (*40**) also has the western order, but it should be noted that some of the signs face toward the left as if copied from an archetype having an eastern order. The western affinities of this relief were pointed out in my previous work (*Typology*, IV 5 a) and will be noted further in a later section (5 i 4).

In the Barberini Mithraeum the face of the niche above the tauroctone fresco was decorated with a zodiac of the western order (*389*). This decoration is without doubt considerably later in date than the tauroctone fresco which has a zodiac of the eastern order. When we come to analyze the small side scenes on our fully developed tauroctones, we shall discover that their sequence on the large reliefs of the Rhineland is also of the western order, beginning at the lower left and running clockwise.

2. The eastern order runs counter-clockwise. On one group of monuments the first sign (*Aries*) is at the top. These are the tauroctones from Syria, that is from Sidon (*75**) and Dura, including the fresco of the Second period, the fragment of a relief from Salona (*1870*) and the Modena relief of the *Natura dei* (*695**). On another group of monuments the series begins on the right side instead of at the top. These are the Barberini fresco (*390**), and the reliefs of London (*810*) and Siscia (*1472*). The eastern order is used for the small side scenes on the fully developed tauroctones of Middle Europe and of Southeast Europe. With these we must include the Dura and Barberini frescoes and the Quadraro relief. Two type IV reliefs of Southeast Europe have the first scene at the top right instead of in the middle of the register (*2171**, *2226*).

c. Different orientations. The origin of these different orders appears to be directly related to the question of orientation. The western order requires a southern orientation on the part of the spectator. To the observer facing south the zodiacal sphere rotates, to speak in ancient terms as we must, from left to right. The rising sun and the first sign Aries, arbitrarily assigned to the east, are represented on the left. The rest of the signs are then arranged in the order in which the sun passes through them in its annual circuit, thus placing *Cancer*, the highest elevation of the sun, at the top, *Libra* the most western sign at the right and *Capricornus* at the bottom.

1. The eastern order requires either a northern or eastern orientation on the part of the spectator. The northern orientation, which we shall see is typically Iranian (4 i 4), places *Aries* at the right side, *Cancer* at the top and so forth, whereas the eastern orientation, which is typically Hellenic, places *Aries* at the top which is also at the front.

d. Replica of the Cosmos. The Mithraeum itself was a replica of the cosmos as is indicated by placing the signs of the zodiac in a complete circle along the side benches of the Ostia Mithraeum (*242*) and around the arch of the cult niches of the Dura and Barberini Mithraea (*43 389*). This idea is enforced by the use of stars in the ceiling decoration at Dura and Capua. It must also be remembered that several Mithraea, cut more or less from solid rock, were either circular (*1481-2 1664*) or elliptical (*716*). The Sidon Mithraeum (*74*) was reported by its discoverer to have been built deep underground and to have had twelve sides to its innermost room, each side being decorated with a sign of the zodiac. According to Euboulos, whom we have quoted from Porphyrius (Part 1), the Mithraic cave, whether natural or artificial, was arranged to imitate the cosmos which Mithra as *Pater* and *Poietes* created, and the things within the cave conveyed symbols of the elements and climates. These last probably refer to the winds and seasons and the planets. This cosmic conception of the Mithraeum is but the archetype of the cave portrayed in the tauroctone picture, especially of the strong C subtype.

1. In his subsequent discussion of the cave Porphyrius (*De antro*, 7-9) goes on to say that theologians

> Not only have made the cave, as we have said, a symbol of the physically perceptible cosmos, but they have actually taken the cave

> as a symbol of all invisible powers because of caves being dark and the essence of powers being obscure. . . . . That the theologians, therefore, have established caves as a symbol of the cosmos and of cosmic powers in it, is shown by the foregoing, but in fact they have also spoken of them as a symbol of noetic essence even though they are inspired by different and not by the same ideas. For caves are of the physically perceptible world because of being dark, rocky and watery; they have postulated the cosmos to be of such sort because of the resistant and fluid matter of which it is composed. But conversely caves are a symbol of the noetic essence because of their being obscure to perception, rigid and firm, just as they are also symbolic of the particular and obscure powers, and even more with reference to those in matter. For they have made the caves symbols with reference to their being natural, night-like, or dark and rocky, but no longer certainly merely with reference to their shape, as some have assumed, because not every cave is spherical.

It appears that the Mithraic cave occasionally gave attention to the spherical shape, and especially in the tauroctone picture. Moreover it is also probable that the Mithraic cave suggested noetic ideas which lay beyond the physically perceptible images. The cave was a visible embodiment of the invisible essence of fire as creative mind (cf 12 c 2).

2. The Mithraeum was actually oriented wherever physically convenient, as is illustrated by the elliptical Mithraeum of Angera (*716*). This rock sanctuary was so oriented that the rising sun at the equinox penetrated an aperture above the entrance and illuminated the main cult picture (cf also *895 897*). While the entrance to the rock sanctuary of Rožanec (*1481*) was on the south side of the semicircular room, the main cult picture (*1482*) was placed on the west side so as to face due east. This instance warns us that the actual orientation of a Mithraeum, governed by physical necessities, might differ from the symbolic orientation within. In the case of rock caves or cliffs, they could only be accepted or rejected as possible sites for a Mithraeum, or perhaps modified as at Rožanec. In cities the actual orientation was influenced by street alignment, which was sometimes governed by other religious formulas, or by preexisting conditions which made a complete modification of orientation impossible. For example, the Mithraeum of Felicissimus in Ostia (Fig. 21) is oriented WSW. with respect to its main axis, but a secondary aisle and cult niche is oriented NNW.

Such arrangements probably represent the best that could be done with a given location and financial outlay.

e. Orientation of the Mithraea. In the following listing I indicate the direction in which the main cult picture faced, according to the best information available to me. I also include data on the tauroctone type and subtype and their torchbearers as to type and position (cf Part 4).

GROUP 1. Approximately East.

Mithraeum	*Orientation*	*Tauroctone*	*Type*	*Subtype*	*Torchbearers*
Capua (*180*)	E	*181**	I	CD	e rev
Ostia, Painted Walls (*264*)	E				
Ostia, Animals (Fig. 4)	ESE				
Ostia, Foot Print (*272*)	ESE				
Marino (n 27)	E		VIII	C	w rev
Rome, San Clemente (*338*)	ESE	*339*	I	C	e n
Angera (*716*)	E				
London, Walbrook (*814*)	E	*810* ?	V	CDE	w rev
Borcovicium, Housesteads (*852*)	E	*853*	II	ABC	w n
Aps, Bourg-St.-Andéol (*895*)	E	*896*	I	DE	abs
Les Bolards (*917*)	E				
Wiesbaden (*1236*, n 7, pt 3)	E				
Dieburg (*1246*)	E	(Mithra ephippos)			w rev
Königshofen (*1335*)	E	*1339*	VIII	DE	w n
		1358	VI	ABC	w n
Rožanec-Črnomelj (*1481*)	E	*1482*	VII	C	w n
Poetovio I, Unter-Haiden (*1487*)	ESE	*1512* ?	VI	ABC	w n
Poetovio II, Unter Haiden (*1509*)	ESE	*1510*	VII	?	? n
		1523	VI	ABC	w n
Carnuntum I, Deutsch Altenburg (*1664*)	E	*1665*	?	CD	? ?
Aquincum II, Alt Ofen (*1750*)	E				
Aquincum IV (*1767*)	E	*1768*	I	C	statue
Prozor II (*1852*)	E	*1852*	I	AB	? n
Epidaurum, Sv. Juraj (*1882*)	E	*1883*	VI	CDE	w n
Jajce (*1901*)	E	*1902*	VI	DE	e n
Vizianum, Biljanovac (*2201*)	ESE	*2202*	V	ABC	w n
		2204	I	ABC	abs
Serdica, Sofia (*2322*)	E				

GROUP 2. From SE to SW

Lambaesis (*138A*)	SW
Ostia, House of Diana (*216*)	SSE
Ostia, Aldobrandini (*232*)	SSE
Ostia, Palazzo Imperiale (*250*)	SSE
Ostia, Seven Portals (Fig. 20)	SW

Rome, Esquiline (349)	SW	350	VII	C	w	n
		352	I	C	statue	
Rome, Via Firenze (386)	SE ?	386	I	CD	w	n
Rome, Cancelleria Apostol. (421)	S ?	426	I	C	e	n
Camulodunum (829)	S					
Vindobala (838)	SE					
Procolitia, Carrawburgh (844)	SE					
Segontium, Caernarvonshire (2374)	SSW					
Venetonimagus, Vieux (909)	S					
Sarrebourg (965)	SSW	966	VIII	DE	w	n
Friedberg (1052)	SE	1053	I	DE	w	n
Ober-Florstadt (1074)	SE					
Heddernheim I (1082)	SSW	1083*	VIII	DE	w	n
Heddernheim II (1108)	SSW					
Heddernheim III (1117)	SSW	1118	I	DE	w	n
		1128*	V	AB	w	n
Schwarzerden (1280)	S ?	1281	VI	CDE	e	n
Osterburken (1291)	SSW	1292*	VIII	DE	w	n
Gimmeldingen (1313)	S	1314	I	DE	w	rev
Lentia (1414)	SSE	1415	V	ABC	w	n
Ruše, Maria Rast (1447)	SW ?	1447	VII	C	e	n
		1450	VI	AB	w	n
		1451	VI	ABC	w	n
		1452	VI	ABC ?	w	both Cautes
Poetovio III, Ober Rann (1578)	SSE	1579*	VII	C	?	n
		1589	I	AB	abs	
		1600	VII	ABC	e	n
		Fig. 3	VII	C	?	rev

GROUP 3. From NE to NW

Dura-Europos (34*)	NE	37*	I	D	abs	
		40*	VI	D	abs	
		42*	VII	E	e	n
Susa	NE	fresco of Mithra ephippos				
Ostia, Lucretius Menander (224)	NNW					
Ostia, Baths of Mithra (229)	NNW	230	I	AC	statue	
Ostia, Seven Spheres (Fig. 19)	NNW	245 ?	I	C	abs	
Rome, Aventine (464)	NE					
Rome, Barberini (389)	NNW	390*	VIII	C	e	rev
Rome, Capitoline (414)	N	415	VII	ABC	e	rev
Rome, Museo di Roma (434)	NE	435*	I	C	e	rev
Rome, Baths of Caracalla (457)	NE					
Sutri (653)	NE	654	I	B	abs	
Cosa (662B)	NE					
Spoleto (673)	NW					
Stockstadt I (1158)	NE	1161	VIII	frag only		
		1206	VI	CDE	w	rev

Stockstadt II (*1209*)	NE	*1216*	VII	C	?	?
Scarabantia, Fertörakas (*1636*)	N	*1641*	VI	D	e	n
		1643	I	DE	e	n
Carnuntum II, Petronell (*1681*)	NE					
Carnuntum III, Petronell (*1682*)	NE	*1683*	I	C	?	n
Sarmizegetusa (*2027*)	NE	*2085*	I	ABC	abs	
		2068	I	ABC	w	n
		(similar are *2073 2073 2083 2085 2142*)				
		2052	II	ABC	w	n
		2034	III	ABC	w	n
		(similar are *2036 2046 2048 2050 2055*)				
		2037	IV	ABC	w	n
		(similar are *2043 2051*)				
Tirgusor (*2302*)	NW	*2305*	VI	AB	w	both Cautes
		2306	VI	ABC	w	rev
GROUP 4. Approximately West						
Ostia, Fructosus (*226*)	WSW					
Ostia, Felicissimus (*299**)	WSW					
Ostia, Sabazeum (*300*)	WSW ? or ENE ?					
Rome, Santa Prisca (*476*)	WSW					
Brigetio (*1723*)	W ?	*1727**	VII	CDE	w	n
Prozor I, Vitao (*1851*)	W ?	*1851*	VII	?	?	n
Konjici (*1895*)	WSW	*1851*	VII	CDE	w	n
Kreta (*2256*)	W ?	*2257*	VII	ABC	w	rev

1. An examination of the available data on each of these Mithraea leads to the following generalizations: a) Those oriented toward the east have their origin at a comparatively early date; that is, in the second century, and they are also under fairly strong Greek influence from the Hellenized East. b) Those oriented toward the south, if not later in origin, are under a stronger Latin or north European influence. c) Those oriented toward the north or northeast are under stronger Iranian or Semitic influence. d) The comparatively few definitely oriented toward the west are strongly Graeco-Iranian and tend to emphasize the Mithraic grades in their pictorial symbolism.

2. As for distribution, it will be observed that Mithraea of Group 1 are mainly located in Italy and Middle Europe, the areas in which we have found our Classical and Anatolian types of relief (I and VI) and also our Graeco-Anatolian and Graeco-Syrian subtypes of

tauroctone (C and D). In Group 2 the Mithraea outside of Ostia and Rome are located mainly in western Europe. At least two of the three found in Middle Europe (*1447 1578*) belong to the third century. In Group 3 the Mithraea are quite clearly of eastern origin. In Europe they are located mainly in Ostia, Rome and North Italy, or otherwise in Middle and Southeast Europe. The two Mithraea of Stockstadt have close affinities with the Mithraeum of Dieburg in Group 1 which emphasized the mounted Mithra, as did the Mithraeum of Susa [7]. The Mounted Mithra was also prominent in the Mithraeum of Dura in its later periods (cf Part 6). The Mithraea of Group 4 are most closely connected with those of Group 3 both in distribution and in internal characteristics.

f. Porphyrius on orientation. The orientation of Mithraea is made explicit by Porphyrius in a passage (*De antro*, 22-24) where he tries to explain why the cave of the nymphs mentioned by Homer (*Od.*, 13.109 ss) had its double doors toward the south and north instead of toward the east and west:

> The theologians therefore have established *Cancer* and *Capricornus* as these two gates, but Plato spoke of two mouths, that of these *Cancer* is the one through which souls descend but *Capricornus* through which they ascend. *Cancer* is northerly and descending, but *Capricornus* is southerly and ascending. The north is for souls descending into birth (*genesis*) and correctly the gates of the cave toward the north are descents for men, but the south is not for gods but rather for those ascending to gods. For this very reason, Homer said, the way was not for gods but for immortals, which term generally has to do with souls or self-existing beings or immortals in essence. . . . . Neither to the sunrise or sunset therefore has Homer set the gates, nor to the equinoxes, that is, to the Ram (*Krios-Aries*) and Yoke (*Zygon-Libra*), but to the south and north, and to the most southern gates at the south and the most northern gates at the north, because the grotto was consecrated to souls and to water nymphs, and these places are most appropriate to souls "in birth and from birth" (*geneseōs kai apogeneseōs*). For Mithras therefore they arranged an appropriate seat that is at the equinoxes, for which reason he carries the dagger of the Ram, *Aries* of the zodiac, and is conveyed on *Taurus* of Aphrodite, as the bull also is a *demiourgos* and [Mithras] a *despotēs* of genesis. He has been placed at the equinoxial circle having on his right the northern signs and on his left the southern, the hemisphere being arranged for him at the south that belongs there because of its being hot, but at the north the one

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[7] Information conveyed to me by letter from R. Ghirshman, the excavator.

> belonging there because of the coldness of the wind. But for souls going into *genesis* and withdrawing from *genesis* they properly arranged winds (*anemous*) because of souls being called a *pneuma*, as some have thought, and because of their having the same kind of essence. Now the north wind is appropriate to souls going into *genesis*, for which reason also those at the point of death the northern breeze "revives by blowing upon the one who has unfortuntely breathed out his hot breath" (*thūmon, Il.*, 5.698), but the southern breeze disintegrates. For the colder one integrates and prevails in the coldness of chthonic birth, but the warmer one disintegrates and sends upward to the heat (*thermon*) of the divine.

1. It is clear that the Mithraeum described by Porphyrius was oriented due east and that the tauroctone picture was our Iranian subtype E, for Mithra was being carried on the bull's back. This Mithraeum would belong either to Group 1 or 4, but probably to the former since those in Group 4 are exceptional. In this Mithraeum, as in most, the emphasis was upon Mithra tauroctonos. Therefore I would place his seat near the picture of the bull-slaying at the west end so that Mithra himself would be facing the east. On his right hand, we are told, were the northern signs of the zodiac, which means the signs through which the sun passes while in the northern hemisphere; these are the signs from *Aries* in the east to *Virgo* in the west, the most northern being *Cancer* at the summer solstice.The northern signs are therefore the hot signs, and since they are on Mithra's right they are also on the hot or south side of the Mithraeum. This would be the side of Apogenesis, which is the period from birth or youth (cf 2 c 4), until the withdrawal of the soul from the body and its ascent to the divine *thermon*. Conversely, the southern signs which are the cold ones, from Libra in the west through *Capricornus* in the south to *Pisces* in the east, are on Mithra's left on the north side of the Mithraeum. This is the side of Genesis where souls descend from the divine into mortal bodies and acquire life and consciousness.

2. The iconography of the torchbearers has previously shown (cf 3 e) that the bull's death, on at least one group of tauroctones, marks a transition from the period of Cautopates to that of Cautes. It is reasonably clear that Cautes presides over Genesis and Cautopates over life after Genesis, or physical birth. Cautes has to do with the preexistence and descent of souls into physical birth

when the flame of life, or *thūmos*, is kindled as by a flaming torch, whereas Cautopates has to do with the process of Apogenesis when the *thūmos* is concealed in the body, as suggested by the lowered torch and raised foliage. At death the psychic heat or *thūmos* ascends to the *thermon* of divinity (*theiou*) [8].

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8) In his work on the *Generation of Animals* Aristotle says of *thermon* (736B35), "This is not fire nor any such a power, but on the contrary it is the *pneuma* taken in around the *sperma* and froth, and it is also the *physis* in the *pneuma*." Later he says (762A19-32) that the froth (*aphrōdes*) is formed from the psychic heat (*thermotēs psychikē*) of the *pneuma* and when compacted with earth becomes a shell that contains the life of creatures. Oı again (762A355) the female principle is hylic (*hylikē archē*), and (762B16) the male principle is the enclosed part that causes motion. "What is received in or is separated from the psychic principle in the *pneuma* makes a conception (*kuēma*) and motion." *Pneuma*, or the *physis* in the *pneuma*, is therefore a kind of soul-heat absorbed into the seed and seminal fluid from the outer world (cf 755A15), whereas a connate or ingrown (*symphyton*) *pneuma* is the physical organ in which love or desire resides (cf *De anima*, 433B18). According to Democritus *psychē* and *thermon* are the same, being the primary forms of the spherical particles which he called *nous* and *psychē*.

In the Hippocratic corpus (*Peri physōn*, 3) it is said that "Men's bodies are nourished on food, drink and *pneuma* which in the body is breath (*phūsa*) but outside is *aēr*. In all it is the most powerful of all. An *anemos* (wind) is a flowing current (*rheūma kai cheūma*) of air." Trees and other objects are torn up "by the force of *pneuma*, invisible to sight though visible to the rational sense (*logismon*). All between earth and *ouranos* is full of *pneuma*. It is the food for fire; deprived of air fire could not live. The sea also has a share of *pneuma*" to support fish life. Xenophanes may have been the first to call *psychē* a *pneuma* (Diog. Laert., 9.19). According to Anaximenes (Plut., *Mor.*, 875a) "Our air is like the *psychē*, for it controls us. Air and *pneuma* are synonymous, and they envelop the whole cosmos." But the Pythagoreans took *aēr* for cold *aithēr* and water for wet and dense *aithēr*, both of which are quickened to life by solar heat (Diog. Laert., 8.27) According to the Orphics "The *psychē* of breathing creatures enters in from the universe, being conveyed by the winds" (Arist., *De anima*, 410B28), whereas Pythagoras, Empedocles and others declared that "one *pneuma* exists that goes through the whole cosmos as a kind of soul (*psychēs tropon*) and makes us one with (the irrational animals)" (Sextus Emp., *Adv. Dogm.*, 3.127 = *Pros physikous*, 1.127).

To the early thinkers therefore it seemed probable "that there was a kind of power (*dynamis*) that passed to and fro through matter (*hylē*), just as *psychē* has consorted with us. This power therefore is either self-moving (*autokinētos*) or is moved by another power." But even if moved, ultimately "there exists a power of itself self-moving, which would be divine and eternal" (Idem 3.75s). Thales, even at his early date, seems to have considered such a divine power to be "a *nous* of the cosmos" (Plut., *Placit.*, 1.7.11). Plato in the *Phaedrus*, 245, says the soul is a "self-moving essence".

g. Problem of Thūmos and Psychē. A difficulty arises which Porphyrius does not discuss, and that is the difference between *psychē* (=*anima*) and *thūmos* (=*animus*) which the dying body

The problem of primary and derivative causations was one that continued to occupy the philosopher-theologians. In the words of Eusebius (*P.E.*, 14.14.7-9), summarizing Plutarch (*Mor.*, 877): "Such then is the discord of the first physical philosophers, such their opinion about first principles—no god, creator, demiurge, nor any cause of all things, nor even gods or bodiless powers or intelligent natures (*neotikai physeis*) or rationally ordered substances (*logikai ousiai*), nor anything at all of inner perceptivities residing in the first principles (*archai*). Only Anaxagoras, in his treatise *On First Principles* is recalled as the first of the Greeks to have indicated Mind (*nous*) to be the first cause of everything. He first of the Greeks made a division in the discussion (*logos*) of first principles, for he not only discussed the substance (*ousia*) of everything like those before him, but also the cause (*aition*) moving the same: 'For there existed in the beginning the active elements (*pragmata*) kneaded together, but when *nous* penetrated the same it led them out of disorder into order (*taxis*).' " Mind or intellect, even in Plato, came to be subordinated to *physis* and *hylē*. "They speak to the point who say that Plato (cf *Tim.*, 48Ess), by discovering the element that underlay all generated qualities, which element is now called *hylē* and *physis*, relieved philosophers from many great perplexities (Plut., *Mor.*, 414F, cf 370F)" As for Nature (*physis*), "The better and more divine Physis is of three parts: the intelligent (*noētos*) and matter (*hylē*) and that produced from these which Greeks call *cosmos*. Plato (*Tim.*, 50C-D) is accustomed to call the *noētos* part both design and father, but *matter* mother and nurse, the seat and place of *genesis*, and the product of these Progeny and Genesis" (*Mor.*, 373F). Thus Physis or Nature came to be the element or principle that underlay causation and matter and their offspring. But what is this Physis which in *pneuma* either surrounds or enters into the *sperma* and becomes the male principle of life but at the same time seems to be the female and *hylic* principle also?

The Stoics thought that *physis* was a fashioning fire (*pūr technikon*) that goes its way into *genesis* and was the equivalent of the fashioning *pneuma* of fiery nature, while the *psychē* was a perceptive *pneuma* inborn with us (Diog. Laert., 7.156). This fiery *pneuma* is the *thūmos* that the dying breathe out and that ascends to the heat of the divine (see following note). Are these, *pneuma*, *thūmos* and *physis*, a god, an element or a principle of causation? "A difficulty arises as to how the elements and first principles are related to the Good and Beautiful", says Aristotle (*Metaph.*, 1091A30ss = 14.4.2ss). "There is agreement between the mythologists and some contemporary thinkers who say that only after some evolution of the *natural* order both the Good and Beautiful appeared. Early poets agree with this by asserting that Zeus and not original things like Night, Sky, Chaos or Ocean, became King and Ruler. But Pherecydes and others make the Supreme Good the first Genitor (*to gennēsan*) and so do the Magi and some of the later philosophers like Empedocles and Anaxagoras, the former making Love (*philia*) an element and the other making Mind (*nous*) a first principle."

breathes out. Many Greek thinkers divided the *psychē* into different parts, while Latin philosopher-theologians made a clear distinction between *anima* and *animus* [9].

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[9] Lucretius, *De rerum nat.*, 3.100; Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* in Macrobius, *Comm. in somnium Scip.*, 1.14ss. According to Plutarch (*Mor.*, 390F, 429E), "*Physis* has allotted to us five senses and five parts of the *psychē*: growth (*phytikon*) or nurture (*threptikon*), perception (*aisthētikon*), appetite (*epithūmētikon*), courage (*thūmoeides*), and reason (*logistikon*)." These were the end product of analyses of the soul going back to Aristotle and Plato. In the *Republic* and the *Timaeus* Plato had divided the soul into three parts: the wise or reasoning, the courageous and the appetitive. The Pythogoreans also had divided the *psychē* into three parts which were *nous*, *phrenes* and *thūmos*, of which only man possessed the *phrenes* and only these were immortal. They located *nous* and *phrenes* in the brain (cf 6 g 2.2) but *thūmos* in the heart. *Perceptivities* (*aisthēseis*) were fluid drops from these parts of the soul, whereas the *logoi* (reasonings) of souls were winds (*anemoi*) which are invisible like *aithēr* (see Diog. Laert., 8.30s). The attribution of mind or intelligence to the head and *thūmos* (courage) to the heart was followed by Plato but was a reversal of traditional psychology. In the *Cratylus* (419E) Plato says that *thūmos* comes from the raging (*thūsis*) and seething (*zesis*) of the *psychē*. In this connection it may be noted that *thū-* is related to Sanscrit *dhu-* (move together, agitate), Lithuanian *dumas* and Latin *fumas* (rushing force, vapor of fire). The attribution of immortality, and perhaps the power to receive the *logos* of the winds, to the lungs or brain (*phrenes*) by the Pythagoreans has a striking parallel in the Iranian conception of *hvarenō* (see 6 g 2).

To Aristotle living or "ensouled being (*empsychon*) seems to differ from soulless being (*apsychon*) in two special ways: by motion and by perceptivity (*De anima*, 403B26s)." He takes note that "Anaxagoras identified *psychē* and *nous* as the cause of motion, but that his idea of *nous* was that of self-motion rather than of *logos* (reason, Idem, 404A26)". To Aristotle *nous* seemed to be a kind of substance engendered in us that exists without destruction (Idem, 408B19). "In fact, the soul is the first finite form (*entelechia*) of a body potentially having life" (412A28). "It is a substance that accords with *logos*" (412B10). The soul as physical form and substance but still awaiting life corresponds to the Zoroastrian *advēnak* as part of man (4 g 1). In his *Ethics* (1.13.11ss) Aristotle divides the soul into rational and irrational powers, the latter being appetitive and vegetative. The rational is divided into the intellective or wise as in Plato and a lower power that can rationally recognize and conform to principles. In his *Magna Moralia* (1196B12-18) he divides the rational (noetic) part of the soul into several capacities ranging from perceptivity to wisdom or intellective activity, which would correspond to the Avestan *baodhō* and *daēna* powers of man (4 g 1). But in his treatise on the soul (*De anima*, 414A31-B19, 433B1ss) he considers these powers as *threptikon, orektikon, aisthētikon,* with which the *epithūmikon, phantastikon* and *kinētikon* are in some way connected, and lastly there is the *dianoētikon* capacity (= *logistikon* or *gnostikon*). The *psychē* is the cause and first principle of the living body as the motion, final

1. Similarly the body and soul of man were divided into parts by the Zoroastrians. In the *Bundahišn* (3.11-12) it is said that of the five parts of man the body (*tan*) is from matter, the breath (*ǰān*) is related to the wind (*vāt*) that is exhaled and breathed, the soul (*ruvān*) is related to perceptivity (*bōd*) in the body, like hearing, seeing, speaking and knowing, the *advēnak* has to do with the solar region and the *fravahr* with the presence of the Sovereign Ohrmazd. At death the body rejoins the earth, breath the wind, *advēnak* the sun, and soul (*ruvān*) joins the *fravahr*. As for cattle the five parts are the same except for *mēnōk* in the place of *fravahr*. Gōšurvan received the seed (*tōhmak*) of cattle from the Lunar region and with the help of the Good Rām (cf 5 j 1.1) put it in motion in the material world (*gehān*). At death the body rejoins Gōšurvan (cf 5 f 9.1), the *ruvān* rejoins Rām, the *advēnak* the moon, and the *mēnōk* Vahuman, the *mēnōk* of cattle. Thus we have the correlation:

Man's:	*tan*	*ǰān*	*ruvān*	*advēnak*	*fravahr*
returns to:	earth	wind	*fravahr*	sun	(Ohrmazd ?)
Cattle's:	*tan*	*ǰān*	*ruvān*	*advēnak*	*mēnōk*
returns to:	Gōšurvan	(?)	Ram	moon	Vahuman

1.1. Both the seed and *advēnak* of cattle are connected with the moon (cf Yt 7 *passim*). It is likely therefore that *advēnak* is a technical term for seed or seed-structure or specie. Latin *species* also has the double meaning of appearance and the genus of offspring. The Avestan term for *advēnak* (Yt 13.145) is *urvan*, soul or physical form. *Urvan* is closely related to *urvar*, plants, and appears in Gōšurvan, the Bull-soul or-Plant, as a primary form of life. The cattle form is lunar because the moon makes visible (*gaočihr*) the seed of the bull. The Zoroastrians however tried to make the *tōhm* (seed) of both man and cattle a "seed of fire", while all other seeds were from water (*Bund.* 1.41), a drop of which

purpose and substance (*ousia*) of life. It should be noted that these three causations, material, efficient and final, omit the Aristotelian-Platonic form, or formal cause, which belongs to *nous* or the noetic soul. The motion and essence (*ousia*) of life depend upon the nutritive, or vegetative, soul (note 12), whereas the teleological cause must depend upon the formal cause or be closely connected with it. Order, intelligence and purpose or necessity are closely interconnected in Greek thought, and even for Aristotle the noetic power of the soul was something distinct and immortal (Ibid 413B25s).

was the first creation. Hence the visible structure (*advēnak*) of man is said to be solar. Since *advēnak* has to do with the first combining of the elements (cf 5 f 3.1), it should belong to the moon as the *mēnōk* power of growth or combining instead of being attributed to the sun. The specific force of attraction or love was that of Venus-Anāhita, divinity of vital moisture (cf 10 f 4). Since the *ǰān* of cattle does not join the wind, as does that of man, it may be only a refinement of *ruvān* which joins the wind Rām. This wind which set in motion the seed of cattle in the world was probably moist as well as erotic (5 j 1.1) [10].

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10) The close connections between wind, moisture and the substance and motion of seminal fluid has parallels in Greek thought. According to the Pythagoreans (Diog. Laert., 8.30s), "The seed (*sperma*) is a drop of brain (*stagōn enkephalou*) containing a hot vapor (*thermos atmos*) which emits in the womb ichor, liquid, blood (and other parts of a growing body); *psychē* and *aisthēsis* (= *baodhō*) come from the vapor. Perceptivity (*aisthēsis*) in general and vision (*hōrasis*) by its very form are a kind of vapor that is very hot." This *atmos* that is very *thermos* and imparts the power of perception comes very close to *ruvān*, especially in the *ǰān* of animals. The Pythagorean brainfluid is the marrow (*aiōn*) in the pith of bones and especially in the knees (*genu-*) from which comes the *gen*erative seed.

According to the *Epitomes of Arius Didymus* (Euseb., *P.E.*, 15.20.1s) "Zeno (the Stoic) said the *sperma* is a *pneuma* which man emits with moisture, a piece and fragment of *psychē*, a compound of the seed of ancestors and a mixture of the parts of the *psychē*." According to Sextus Empiricus (*Pros Phys.*, 1.103) Zeno also believed that "the cosmos emits *sperma* of a rational being (*logikon zōon*) not by an effervescent froth (*apobrasmon*) but such as contains *sperma* of rational animals (*logikōn zōōn*) . . . . . . because *spermatikoi logoi* of rational animals are contained in it . . . . . . The cosmos contains spermatic *logoi* of rational animals. The cosmos therefore is "*logikos*" In fact, "God is a *spermatikos logos* of the cosmos."

Subsequent excerpts from Arius Didymus (loc cit) suggest the connections between the perceptive soul, the world-soul and vapor. Heracleitus, according to Aristotle (*De Anima*, 405A25c), called the First principle soul even though it was an *anathūmiasis*. "According to Cleanthes, Zeno says the *psychē* is an *aisthēsis* or *anathūmiāsis* (rising in vapor, or exhalation), just as does Heracleitus (cf 5 f 7). For wishing to show that souls being vaporized are always intelligent (*noerai*), he likened them to rivers, in the following way: 'Some waters flow in rivers themselves and other waters flow in with them, but souls (*psychai*) are vaporized from the fluids.' Zeno therefore, like Heracleitus, shows the soul is an *anathūmiāsis*, but he says that it is perceptive because its ruling (*hēgoumenon*) part can be imprinted from things that really exist by means of the perceptive senses that can hold impressions. These are peculiar to the soul." And after other things he (Arius Didymus) says "There is a *psychē* in the world-whole which they call the *aithēr* and *aēr* in a

Since man is a rational creature his *ruvān* does not return to the wind but to the *fravahr* that comes from the presence of Ohrmazd. When Antiochus of Commagene says (*32*, lines 40s), "The body of my form (*sōma morphēs emēs*) having sent forth my god-loving soul (*theophilēn psychēn*) to the heavenly thrones of Zeus Oromasdes shall sleep until infinite time", he is trying to express Iranian ideas in Greek. He means that the *tan* of his *advēnak* shall

circle about the earth and sea, and from these latter are *exhalations*, but the remainder of souls, however many there are in animals and surrounding space, are dependent upon that soul. Some say the soul in the world-whole is everlasting but the remainder of souls commingle with it at death. But every soul has in it a certain ruling principle which is life and perceptivity and impulse (*hormē*)." The moving impulse corresponds to the Zoroastrian *ruvān-mēnōk-fravahr*, of which the *fravahr* emphasizes the ruling principle, the *ruvān* the moving which imparts life and perceptivity to the body as *ahu* and *baodhō*. *Fravahr* is a typically Zoroastrian substitute for *mēnōk-mainyu*, self-moving mind, which was the essence of Mazda-Masdēs-Mēn, or King Māh (see 5 h 3), and was attributed to solar and cosmic fire instead of to the moon and moisture (cf note 11).

Anathūmiāsis is discussed in a passage of the Pseudo-Aristotle (*De mundo*, 394A9-B13) where two kinds of *anathūmiāsis* are defined, one damp and vaporous (*notera, atmōdēs*) from water, and one dry and smoky (*ksērā, kapnōdēs*) from the earth. From the former come thunder, heat-lightning, winds (*anemoi*) and *pneumata*, lightning bolts, thunder claps and flashes of various kinds. *Aēr* is the clear sky, while *atmōdēs* is that between clear and cloudy that does not produce rain. From the dry *anathūmiāsis* comes *pneuma* which is *anemos* when it is forced by the cold to flow; this is also called *pneuma*, which otherwise is a generative and vital substance (*empsychos kai gonimos ousia*) going through everything in plants and animals. The *pneumata* blowing in the *aēr* are called *anemoi*, but the windpuffs (*ekpnoai*) from water are called breezes (*aurai*, from *aver-*, in *aella*, stormy wind, and *aēr*, dry, still air).

It appears that *psychē* as an *anathūmiāsis*, according to the Stoics, was a dry and warm vapor coming from air or ether and was emitted by the cosmos or otherwise entered the *sperma* as a moving and perceptive principle of life. In fact, for the Stoics it was a rational principle, and thus corresponds to the *jān* of men. The Pythagoreans, and apparently also Heracleitus, took the *psychē* to be a moist principle or substance. The Zoroastrian view of the "seed of fire" comes nearer to the Stoic view, whereas an older or less Zoroastrian view that emphasized water as the generative principle (cf 5 f 7ss) comes nearer to the Pythagorean view and that of Heracleitus if the noetic soul is a "seed of seeds" (cf 5 f 3). Whether Rām, the wind helper, that caused the seed of cattle to flow was a hot *pneuma* or a damp *aura* would depend upon whether fire or water was held to be the primary element in generative causation. Most would agree that both were needed for life, one being the active agent and the other the receptive or otherwise secondary agent.

sleep until the *fraškart* (cf 5 e 2.2) after it has expelled his *ruvān-fravahr* and sent it to Garōdmān, the Treasure House of Ohrmazd (cf 5 c 1-2).

1.2. *Ruvān*, the power of the physical senses, corresponds to Avestan *baodhō* (perceptivity) which is also called the third part of man (Yt 13.147,155; Yas 26.4). In the place of *ǰān* the Avesta has *daēna* (=M.P. *dēn*), the usual word for Religion but more specifically referring to the activity of intelligence (5 e 2ss; h 4), a power that *ǰan* cannot impart to cattle and so cannot come from the source of intelligence (*vāt*) but from moist wind (Rām). Dēn was said to be a Lord over J̌ān (*Dēnkart* M 178.5). The notion of wise and inspired thought being the product of warm breath survives in our word *inspiration*.

1.3. The correlation between the Avestan parts of man and those of the *Bundahišn* are as follows:

Aves.:	ahu	daēna	baodhō	urvan	fravaši
Bund.:	tan	ǰān	ruvān	advēnak	fravahr

The only verbal agreement is therefore in the fifth term, which is actually the primary term in the evolution of a living body; it is the first force or *prin-ciple* of life. The second stage in development is the *advēnak*, the structural appearance, specie or form. This form is that of the *urvan* which is commonly translated as soul but is also very close to *urvar*, the word for plants. The first human offspring of Gayōmard, the heavenly and blessed man, was an androgynous creature in the form of a rhubarb plant (5 j 2.4). The Vedic Puruša was either primeval man or the vitality of plants. This notion of a plant being the first form of man goes back to a very primitive cosmology of the world-tree (5 f 9) and survives in Mithraic iconography as Mithra born from the tree or the tree with triple heads (6 c 2.2; 12 b 2). Another early cosmology traced life back to a world-bull or -ox called in Iranian myth Gōšurvan, the Bull-plant or -soul. These two cosmologies come together in the notion of an Ox-horn tree (Gaokerena), from which the white Haoma came. This Haoma was either the juice of a special plant or the fat of a special ox (6 h 4.2). In the third stage of development the organism acquires sensibilities or perceptiveness from its *ruvān*. This capacity was attributed to the sun in solar cosmologies and to the moon in lunar cosmologies. In Zoroastrianism man was said to acquire his sensibilities from the sun and cattle from the moon, the epithet of the moon being *gaočihr* (ox-visibility) and of the sun being *khšaēta* (the shining). In the fourth stage of development the capacity for intelligent thought and wisdom are acquired from warm breath, or *ǰān-pneuma* (6 g 1). In the final stage the body is fully expanded (*tan*) in its growth and endowed with life (*ahu*) and lordship (*ahu*, cf 5 f 7.2). Death is a reversal of these five stages, so that in passing either way, from the First Principle or from the Body one passes from Alpha to Omega. Which is first and which is last depends upon whether one is considering Genesis or Apogenesis (cf 4 f).

2. In the five parts of cattle we have observed that *mēnōk* appears in the place of the *fravahr* of man. In the *Bundahišn* passage (3.11ss) the Immortal Increasers are said to be Mēnōkān, for *mēnōk* is their essence. This word comes from the Indo-European root *man-* which is found in countless words for mind, madness, man, hand and the like, most of which appear to be derived from a primary notion of *self-motion*, an unmoved-moving force or capacity. The *mēnōk* of cattle returns at death to Vahuman, just as the *fravahr* of man returns to Ohrmazd. *Fravahr* is a Zoroastrian refinement of *mēnōk* (=*mainyu*) just as Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazda) is a refinement of Vahuman, the Good Spenta Mainyu (5 h 3). That this is more than probable appears from the fact that the term *fravahr* or its equivalent is later than the *Gathas* of Zarathustra, or is otherwise non-Gathic [11].

11) In the *Dātastān i dēnīk* (37.34) the *fravahr* is presented as only one part of the embodied *mēnōk*, which in turn is the increasing *ruvān* and the good-self-creator (*xvatāy*) of the moving material body (*gētēh ravišnīh tan*). The passage (transcribed in M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmology dans l'Iran ancien*, p 403) runs as follows: "The creator fashioned the strength of the swift *fravahr* of the blessed (*čēr i takīh ahravān fravahr*) for his own visible garment, that is, a *gētēh* vestment, when he decreed that those *fravahr* desiring conscious life (*vīrān ramah*) should from time to time according to their essence take on physical being (*ēstend*) and go (*rasend*) into a material vestment. Some (*fravahr*) are instrumental within the seed to work bounteously for those of their age: like those of much-accomplishment, for example Fravāk (= pre-voice ? or pre-growth ?), or of prior-creating (*pēšdāt*), like Hošeng (= world-

Herodotos calls the son of Deioces, the first Median King (5 c 2), Phraotes, which transliterates *fravart-*. This word is a compound of *fra-v-* and *art-*; and *frav-* is cognate with Sanscrit *pra-v*, in *pravati*, Greek *pro-t* in *protos*, Latin *pra-e*, *pri-n* in *praeter* and *princeps*. The *v*, *t* or *e* and *n* are euphonic between the elemental prefix and what follows. *Frav* therefore is the pre-*art-* in the origin of man. *Art-* is clearly connected with Vedic *ṛta* and Old Persian *arta* (=M.P. *aša*), the fiery essence that orders the material world (5 c 3). The Avestan form *aši* (or *ašiš*) is to *aša* as Sanscrit *rišis* (spirits of the fathers) is to *ṛta*. The Good (Vanguhi) Aši was the individualization of Aša. She is the embodiment of the Ordering Principle, and in reality therefore the Many as distinguished from the One. The *fravaši* was the first ordering principle of man, and since it runs parallel to *mēnōk-mainyu*, it was a self-moving capacity

mover, 5 f 2.3)." Thus man becomes the material garment of Ohrmazd by virtue of the *fravahr* within him. Coming from before Ohrmazd (4 g 1) the *fravahr* is the preexistent essence (*gohrak*, cf *physis*) embodied within the seed (*toxmak*, cf *sperma*) as a swift and strong force.

In an earlier passage of the same work (3.8-9 = Molé, p 476) it is said that when the Evil Mēnōk set the world in motion (cf 5 h 2.1) and gave to the invisible and unmixed Mēnōk a visible substance and appearance, "the *mēnōk* became the growth-imparting soul (*vaxšāk ruvān*) within the moving material body as a good self-creator. As for vital growth (*'u-š vaxš zīvenāk*) the *fravahr* maintains (*dārāk*), the *vīr* perceives (*āyāpāk*), the (*h*)*uš* preserves (*pāyāk*), the *xrat* discerns (*vičīnāk*), and the *čihr* is its healthful and regulated strength." These five powers, beginning with *fravahr*, are the five parts of man (4 g 1) of which the *fravahr* protects the physical creature, probably as the source of courage (cf 4 g 3; 9 a 13). The *vīr* (lightning bolt, perception) as a light energy that underlays perceptive powers, corresponds to *ruvān*, a soul-energy that causes perceptivity. The *huš* (?) that preserves, perhaps by binding together, is probably related to the girdle worn by the Zoroastrian, which also surrounds the cosmos or world order in the form of Spenta Armaiti (5 f 1.4). As the first visible form it would correspond to *advēnak* which I attribute to Venus (4 g 3). *Xrat* (wisdom) that discriminates with knowledge and understanding corresponds to *ǰān-daēna* that are the divine inspiration and wisdom of man, and *čihr* is the perfection and strength of the physical body that correspond to *tan-ahu*, the covering and strength of the living creature. The *mēnōk* of which these are the parts corresponds more or less to the Greek *psychē* or self-moving power (*autokinētos dynamis*) of the Greek philosophers (note 8 above), while *fravahr* more nearly corresponds to the Stoic *physis* which is fashioning fire (*pūr technikon*) that goes into *genesis*, and *ruvān* would correspond to the Stoic *pneuma aisthetikon* inborn with us (note 8). These complex ideas will require more discussion in later sections (4 g 3s; esp. 6 g 2).

or force having the qualities of *mind*, however those powers were defined at any given time. In a more primitive conception mind was a magic or dynamic power like the Greek *daimōn* or Latin *numen*, but in the more developed Zoroastrianism the *fravahr* was also identified with the blissful soul of the dead. The more primitive ideas survived in the notion that inanimate objects as well as animate things have a *fravaši* (cf Yt 13 *passim*) and thus parallel the ancient ideas of *daimōn* and *numen*.

As a first principle of life the *fravaši* was said to support each part of the foetus (Yt 13.22, cf 11). "All animals and plants are sustained and brought to fruition and made to increase by the sustaining and nutritive power called in Religion the Fravahr, which cooperates with nature" [12]. For this reason the Fravahr could

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12) R. Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi*, p 62 = *Shikand Gūmānī Vazār*, 8.60. The *fravahr* as a preexistent and ruling principle of life corresponds to the Greek *daimōn*. "Xenocrates says the *psychē* of each is a *daimōn*" (Arist., *Topica*, 112A39). The *daimōn* is the essence of *psychē* before the latter begins to mingle with *anathūmiāsis*, or exhalations, in the region below the moon (pt 10, n 4). The daemonic *psychē* controls the growth of the body and maintains it as a ruling principle. In this sense the *daimōn* is the fate (Hom., Il., 8.166), fortune (Od., 5.396; 10.64) or character (Heracleitus, frag. 119 Diels) of man, and in this respect corresponds to Middle Persian *xvarr* that joins the *ruvān-fravahr* to fix the fate and fortune of man (5 f 3; 6 g 2s). The *fravahr of the blessed*, on the other hand, which returns to the presence of Ohrmazd, corresponds to the Greek *hero*, or daemonic hero.

According to Thales, Pythagoras, Plato and the Stoics (Plut., *Mor.*, 882D), "*Daimones* are *psychikai ousiai* (soul-substances), but *heroes* are *psychai* separated from bodies." The Pythagoreans believed that, "The whole air is full of *psychai* called *daimones* and *herōes* that send signs of sickness and health." In his discussion of the Stoic belief that souls are not dispersed like smoke from the body, Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. Dogm.*, 3.72s) says, "For it was not the body that was previously in control of souls, but the latter were the cause of the body's coherence (*symmonē*) and even more of their own. Disembodied (*ekskēnoi*) they therefore inhabit the place below the moon (cf pt 10, n 4), and there because of the unmixed state of the air they take a longer time for continuing (*pros diamonēn*) and use the exhalation from the earth for a suitable food, like the rest of the stars also, and in those regions there is nothing to cause their dissolution. Therefore if they continue as *psychai*, they become the same as *daimones*, and if *daimones* exist, gods must also be said to exist . . ."

After mentioning Plato's great contribution in discovering a primary causation like *physis* and *hylē* (note 8), the speaker (in Plut., *Mor.*, 415A) goes on to say that, "They seem to me to have resolved more and greater difficulties who have postulated a race of *daimones* between gods and men be collectively called the Increasing (Spenta) Fravašayo (Yt 10.3). Because of the ruling power as well as the increasing, King Phraortes (=Fravart), in the Behistun inscription of Darius, could be called his Majesty or Lordship (=Khšathrita).

3. In late classical speculations the powers of the soul were also divided into five parts (Plut., *Moralia*, 390F and 429E) and were attributed to the planets by Proclus (*In Timaeum*, 348A-B) and Macrobius (*Sat.*, 1.12.14-15). These identifications may be correlated with the Iranian parts of the living being and with the Mithraic Grades of initiation (9a10). In the following tabulation the listing is in the order of the Grades and the definitions of powers in the order of Plutarch, Proclus and Macrobius.

GRADE	PLANET	POWER OF PLANET AND SOUL	PART OF BULL-MAN
Corvus	Mercurius	Aisthētikon. Cause of motions of Phantasia. Motum pronuntiandi et interpretandi quae sentiat.	Ruvān
Nymphus	Venus	Epithūmētikon. Substance of epithūmētikon. Motum desiderii.	Advēnak or Urvan
Miles	Mars	Thūmoeides.	Fravahr

and thus discovered a way to draw together and unite our fellowship (with the gods), whether this reasoning comes from the Magi of Zoroaster or from the Thracian Orpheus or from the Egyptians or Phrygians . . . . . . Hesiod was the first to distinguish clearly four races of rational beings: gods, daemons, heroes, and after all these, men, from whom he seems to make a transition, from those of the golden age to many good *daimones*, but from those adjudged demi-gods (*hemitheon*) to *heroes*. Others make a transition for bodies and souls alike, just as one sees generated from earth water, from water air and from air fire whose substance is carried upward, even so the best souls receive a transition from men to heroes and from heroes to daemons. Out of the daemons a few souls, when purified after a long time by virtue, share divinity completely."

These passages make it reasonably clear that the sharp division of *psychai* into daemons and heroes was the work of later philosophers rather than of the early poets, for both the daemons and heroes of Hesiod are departed souls, the former of golden-age men and the latter of epic heroes who were god-men or demi-gods. Likewise the distinction between *mainyu-mano* (*mēnōk*) and *fravart-fravaši* (*fravahr*) was the work of theologians rather than of prophets. The division of *psychai* and *mēnōkān* into parts and functions was a speculative product.

		Substance of thūmoeides or motions according to physis. Ardor animositatis.	
Leo	Jupiter	Physis. Common substance of all vital powers. Vis agendi	Tan or Ahu
Perses	Luna	Phytikon, threptikon. Cause of physis, or self-visible image of cause. Natura plandandi et augendi corpora.	Mēnōk
Heliodromus	Sol	Aisthēsis. Demiurge of all perceptivity, substance of perceptivity and phantasia. Natura sentiendi opinandique.	Baodhō
Pater	Saturnus	Logistikon. Common substance of gnostic powers. Ratiocinatio et intelligentia	J̌ān or Daēna

Since the Mēnōk was the first principle of the bull and the seed of the bull was closely connected with the moon (4 g 1), the *mēnōk* power or motion may be correlated with Luna, whereas Venus as the substance and motion of desire may be correlated with physical and elemental structure (*advēnak*), which is a combining of the elements (5 f 1.3, 3; cf 9 a 12; 10c). The *fravahr* as the vital and ruling force in man must be correlated with Mars, patron of warrior, ruler and hero. The close connection between the powers of the planetary Mercury and Sol accounts for their being equated in the inscription of Antiochus of Commagene (*32*). Mercury, Apollo, and Mithra are motions of fire which has its substance (*hypostasis*) in the sun. The elemental structure of body and motion of mind are fundamental to perceptive (*ruvān, baodhō*) physical being (*advēnak, urvan*). Hermes as a *daimōn* in the company of Aphrodite was called Tychōn (Liddell-Scott-Jones, Lex. s. Tychōn). Such a male Fortunus corresponds to the Iranian Xvarr as the Fate-Fortune of the embodied soul (6 g 2). According to the Emperor Julian (*To the Mother of the Gods*, 179B-C) Hermes was also called Epaphroditos, "For thus this god is called by the *mystai*, as many as say that he kindles the torches for Attis the

Wise (cf. n. 12, pt 7). Who then has a *psychē* so dense as not to understand that by means of both Hermes and Aphrodite are called up everything everywhere having to do with *genesis* for the sake of what is altogether and wholly characteristic of the Logos. And is not the latter Attis who shortly before was witless (*aphrōn*), but now by paying attention (*akouōn*) because of his castration is wise (cf n. 12, pt 7)? On the one hand he is witless because he was attracted to matter (*hylē*) and turns toward *genesis*, but on the other hand is Wise because he gave cosmic order to this material refuse (*skybalon*) and transformed it into a beauty such as no human skill or understanding could devise".

3.1. Of the grades named for a bird or animal the Raven is identified with perceptivity as the motion and cause of mental conceptions and imagery, whereas the Lion is identified with the *physis* (*natura*) of the lordship and vitality (*ahu*) of bodily existence (*tan*). The demigod or mutable Attis, according to Julian (*To the Mother*, 168B), "is at the head of the lions who, by sharing with their executive Leo an essence fiery with inner heat, are causes of fire first of all, but also because of the inner heat, are causes of both energy and motion and of health to others". At Dura the Raven was called *hagnos*, holy, and the Lion *habros*, tamed (9 a 11, 14). Moving mind is more holy than body that must be disciplined. A perfected body was the end goal of Iranian religion unaffected by a Platonism that emphasized mind over matter. The progression of these two grades was therefore from immaterial causation of mind to full material incarnation of the same, the essence of mind being some kind of fire.

The progression of the other five grades is as follows:

Nymphus	Venus	attracting love inclining toward physical birth.
Miles	Mars	motion of nature as a fiery force or substance.
Perses	Luna	power of visible and physical growth.
Heliodromus	Sol	power and embodiment of perceptivity.
Pater	Saturnus	power and embodiment of reason and intelligence.

Here the progression is from generative desire and the fiery motion of nature to physical growth (and decay) that may achieve the powers of perceptivity and rationality. This is a modification of the first progression that could easily lead to a complete reversal, a subject to which I shall have to return (7 g).

3.2. If we combine the two progressions, that of the Raven and Lion, with the other five, we arrive at the following series:

Corvus	Mercurius	motion of perceptive mind.
Nymphus	Venus	motion of physical desire.
Miles	Mars	fiery motion of nature.
Leo	Jupiter	physical force.
Perses	Luna	physical growth
Heliodromus	Sol	perceptivity and imagination.
Pater	Saturnus	rationality and intelligence.

3.3. So far as the last two grades may have emphasized their states of being as developments within the physical body they would be in accord with Aristotelian and Iranian thought, but if in the initiation rites the emphasis was upon a liberation of mind and intelligence from the body they would accord with Platonic-Pythagorean thought. A fusion of these two viewpoints which postulated a pneumatic or otherwise less physical type of body as one progressed through the grades would accord with the Neoplatonism of Iamblicus and Julian, who tried to retain the best of both worlds by combining the material and moving ether of Aristotle with the immaterial and intelligent mind and form of Plato even if it required an intermediate world of Mind-Matter to do so, or three vertical worlds of successively purer Mind-Matter (n. 12, pt 7). By virtue of seven grades of initiation one either became successively more perfected in body and mind, or otherwise went downward through Leo to a perfected body and thence upward through the Pater to an immaterial state of *gnosis* or unity with Logos and Nous. Iranian thought was diametrically opposed to Platonism in its materialistic conception of man as being an intelligent body rather than an intelligible mind, and in the view that the end of man was perfect embodiment rather than an escape from body.

4. The attribution of growing powers to the moon is closely connected with the notion that souls descend into birth through the Luna gate. On this Porphyrius writes as follows (*De antro*, 29):

> According to these things therefore the north is appropriate to a tribe both mortal and subjected to Genesis, but the south is appropriate to the more divine, just as the east is to gods and the west to *daimones*. Since physical production has been initiated from a very different origin everywhere, the double door has been made a symbol of this physical nature. For progression is either through the intelligible or through the sensible; and of the sensible it is either progression through the fixed or through that which has been wandering, and again either through the immortal or through the mortal. There is a pole above the earth and one that is under the earth, one that is eastern and one that is western. In one direction is the left and in the other is the right, both night and day. The harmony of the drawn bow for this reason shoots by means of opposites. Plato says there are two mouths, one through which souls ascend into the sky and through the other they descend into the earth; and the theologians fix the sun and moon as gates of souls. Through the sun they ascend and through the moon they descend.

It follows that the soul as a moist breath (*psychē, anima*) enters into Genesis through the Luna gate which is in Cancer at the extreme north, in which constellation was the exaltation or house of the Moon (cf 4 f). The soul ascends to a Hot Breath through the Sun gate in Capricorn. This zodiacal sign, however, was not the house of the sun, but rather of Saturn (cf 4 h 3), the house of Sol being in Leo at the summer solstice. This may account for the highest Mithraic grade, that of Pater, being under the protection of Saturn instead of Sol. According to Ptolemy (*Tetrab.*, 2.3.64) in parts of Syria Saturn was called Mithras Helios, which would be Mithra of the winter or hidden sun.

5. Beginning with the death of the Bull, Genesis was apparently under Cautes, whereas Apogenesis which was either after birth or withdrawal from physical life was under Cautopates. In the Mithraeum described by Porphyrius Cautopates would hold the place of honor, for he would stand on Mithra's right, as in most Mithraea (cf 3 i). His name indicates that he is the Cautes-Lord, for *pates* is the Avestan *paiti*, Old Persian *pat* or *bat* as in *šatrapat* and Ag*bat*ana, and a cognate of Greek *posis, potis*, lord, master (cf Lat. *pot* in *possum*). Cautopates would correspond to Mithra as Pater and *despotēs*, whereas Cautes would correspond to Mithra as Dēmiourgos and *poiētēs* and both are but aspects of the God of Fire (5 j 5). It is to the point that a bilingual inscription (Dessau,

ILS 3737) translates Despoina Nemesis into Latin as Justitia Nemesis, for *justitia* corresponds not only to Greek *dikē*, *dikaiosunē* but also to Indo-Iranian *ṛta-arta-aša* over which Mithra and Varuna or Mithra and Ahura preside. *Aša* was the law of the cosmic wheel, the latter also being a symbol of *Despoina* Nemesis. Cautopates presiding over Apogenesis was the *Despotes* and Nemesis of Genesis, which in turn was induced by Cautes (cf 6 h 8). Cautes and Genesis were toward the north "because the north is great for beginnings and the south for completions" (*De antro*, 25).

6. The Aphrodite whose bull was also a Demiourgos of Genesis, according to the passage cited above (4 f), can have little to do with the classical Greek Aphrodite. Syro-Cappadocian cylinder seals show a naked goddess, between a solar and lunar god, seated above a bull [13]. The Phoenician Europa was carried on the back of a "Zeus" bull to Crete, and the Colchian Pasiphaë, wife of King Minos, mated with a white bull of Poseidon and brought forth the Minotaur. A cult of Artemis Tauropolis, more or less connected with the Tauric Artemis-Iphigenia, may also have arisen from eastern associations of the bull with a great female divinity, as in Hittite religion. It is certain that on the Mithraic tauroctones the bull is closely connected with the Moon divinity. A crescent is carved on the bull's body as shown on the Esquiline relief (*350*), a relief whose carving shows the influence of Egyptian sculpture.

13) G. Contenau, *Manuel d'arch. orient.*, p 949. The Phoenician "Astarte (Megistē) put a bull's head on her own head as a characteristic sign of royalty", Euseb., *P. E.*, 1.10.31. The close association of Aphrodite with the moon and bull has a parallel in Isis, as reported by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*): "Osiris like Dionysus is a bull, or the Apis bull is his image" (359B, cf 368C). "They regard both the cow and earth (= soil of the Nile valley) as an image of Isis" (388E). "Isis being *genesis* is associated with Osiris whose power is located in the moon" (368C). "Some think Osiris is the sun and is called Sirius (= Dog Star) by the Greeks. Isis is the moon; her statues bear horns in imitation of the crescent moon and, symbolic of the darkened moon, she wears dark garments in which she pursues the Sun with desire" (*pothos*, cf 5 j 2). "Hence this lunar Isis is called upon in love affairs, of which Eudoxus declares she is a divinity" (372D). "Isis is actually the female of nature and is receptive of all *genesis* (i.e., of the bull Osiris). She has an innate love (*symphyton erōta*) of the first principle and the most ruling of all" (372F). The latter would be the male principle in Osiris, the bull that carries the female on his back. Mithra tauroctonos, however, a higher principle of male fire, masters the bull, the ancient watery principle of creation (7 d).

A small crescent is placed above the back of the bull in the zodiac on the larger Dura relief (*40**); the other five of the first six signs show a star with each. Other connections between the moon and bull will be presented in a later section (5 g 3). The association of the moon and bull was particularly Iranian. The fusion of the Moon goddess with that of the planet Venus-Aphrodite could easily have taken place in Syria and Anatolia, where the cults of Isis, Ishtar, Astarte, Cybele, Hekate and even Anahita exercised varying degrees of influence. The functions and characteristics of great divinities like these tended to overlap and gave rise to syncretism in identifications. In the period when the mysteries of Mithra were in formation Isis was called the goddess of a thousand names, an illustration of the movements toward syncretistic monotheism.

The planet Venus, called by the ancient Sumarians Nanna and by the Babylonians Ishtar, was known to the Iranians as Anāhita and to the Greeks as Aphrodite. In the development of astrology this planet was said to have its exaltation or house in the sign of *Taurus*. The attribution of the Bull to Aphrodite therefore was due in large measure to planetary theology. In ancient religious usage this sign marked the spring equinox, which was sooner or later regarded as the special period of Aphrodite [14].

7. *Krios-Aries*, the sign of the spring equinox in the classical

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[14] *Hom. hym.*, 6.5; Paus., 5.15.3. Horace, *Carm.*, 1.4.5. Otherwise Aphrodite's season was summer and Persephone's spring (Plut., *Mor.*, 378F). The cosmic ideology of the Porphyrius passage is Platonic-Pythagorean. According to Plutarch (*De Iside*, 361A) "Plato (in *Laws*, 717A) assigned to Olympian gods right hand regions and odd numbers, but to *daimones* the opposites." These daemons therefore should be of female powers and receptive of male principles in accord with the Pythagorean table of opposites (note 87, pt 5). When located at the west they could be daemons departing from the dead, which at the south will become disembodied heroes and at the east immortal beings who share divinity in the presence of the gods. Whether they would ever be attracted again to water and birth in the north would depend upon one's view of cyclic births. For Zoroastrians there was only one cycle for each soul or *fravahr*, which ended in the Treasure House of Ohrmazd (4 g 1.1), where presumably the purified *fravahr* would wait for the complete restoration of the material order (5 e 2.2) including that of individual bodies. In Mithraism there may have been a belief in several transmigrations (2 b 7) according to the number of gradies of initiation (cf 9 a 8).

period, was said to be the house of the planet *Mars-Ares*. This association of *Ares* with the Ram was of the same order as that of Aphrodite with the Bull. This association lies behind the idea of a "dagger of Krios, the *Aries* of the zodiac". But a dagger of the god *Ares* is alien to Greek mythology, for his weapon was the more ancient spear, which was however less primitive than the club of Herakles, to whom the planet is attributed in the Commagene dedications (*31*). In the *Mihr Yašt* the characteristic weapon of Mithra is also a club and not a dagger (cf 6 a 3).

As for a dagger of *Ares*, according to Clement of Alexandria [15] the Persians, Medes and Sauromartians not only worshipped Ares in the form of a dagger but also considered fire as the chief god, as did the Macedonians. Herodotus (4.59-62) tells us that the Scythian *Ares* was represented by a dagger (*akinakēs*) which was planted point upward at the top of a very high mound of brushwood. Each year cattle, horses, and every hundredth prisoner of war were sacrificed to it. The blood of the prisoners was carried to the top of the mound and poured over the blade. Their severed right arms were also hurled into the sky and left wherever they fell. The lofty mound and the throwing of the fighting arm of warriors into the air indicate that the Scythian *Ares* was some kind of a sky god (cf 2 a 2; 6 f 4), but inasmuch as he was the only one of their gods that was represented in any material form, it seems likely that the cult was borrowed in part at least from other peoples. According to Clement the Sarmartian *Ares* was also represented by a dagger planted upright. The dagger god was probably akin to the Iranian Verethraghna (Artagnes) who was closely associated with Mithra in his *Yašt* (*10*), and is the *Ares-Herakles-Artagnes* of the Commagene inscription. The special weapon of Mithra in the mysteries is also a dagger with which he kills the bull but which he also holds upright along with the torch in the *Natura dei* symbol (8 a). The dagger was not exclusively an instrument of death, but was also an instrument of creation and Genesis, like the blade in the myth of Marduk and Tiamat. Creation was conceived to be the separation of formed parts from an unformed whole both in

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15) *Protreptikos*, 56P, cf 40P.

ancient cosmogonies and also in the more refined philosophy of the One and the Many (7 c 4).

8. In the Mithraeum of Porphyrius, *Ares* and Aphrodite as well as Mithra would have their positions at the equinoxes, whereas the torchbearers would have their positions at the solstices. This would be true of all Mithraea oriented approximately toward the east or west. Although the Dura Mithraeum (*34*) was oriented northeast in accord with the building and street plan, the frescoes of the second and third periods were symbolically oriented due east. This is indicated by placing *Aries*, the eastern sign, at the top of the zodiac circle. On the tauroctone fresco located above the zodiac arch, Cautes stood at the spectator's right and Cautopates at the left, which agrees with their normal positions in the Mithraea (cf 3 i) and also with our analysis of the Mithraeum described by Porphyrius. The Sidon relief (*75**) having a circular zodiac was also oriented toward the east since *Aries* was at the top as on the Dura frescoes and the Scorpion was below at the testicles of the dying bull.

h. Problem of Solstitial Orientation. If the torchbearers were placed at the solstices in the Mithraeum of Porphyrius, how can we explain their identification with the equinoxes, as previously noted (3 f) ? Why is Mithra's seat often placed, not at the autumn equinox, but at the summer solstice in the Mithraea of Group 2 (4 e) and at the winter solstice in those of Group 3 ? If Mithra is placed at the solstices and his torchbearers are on his right and left, it follows that they must shift their positions to the equinoxes. The basic question therefore is why the position of Mithra tauroctonos is shifted from west (*Scorpio*) to north (*Leo*) or to south (*Aquarius*), and in a few instances to the east (*Taurus*).

1. Let us assume that the position of Mithra tauroctonos in an oriented Mithraeum was more of less governed by the traditions of a vegetational calendar which attributed the seasons of germination and decay to particular compass points. If the slaying of the bull is a generative action, it should be placed at the point in the complete seasonal cycle at which the soul becomes embodied by the process of Genesis, but if it is apogenerative, it should be placed at the point where the soul prepares its *transitus* to the

supramundane world. The point of the cycle at which the soul makes its *kathodos* into a body and thus completes its disembodied existence should be under the care of Luna who makes visible the seed of the bull in a growing body or of the *Deus aeternus* whose many symbols indicate that he is the god of material being (11 b 1-5). We find such an arrangement at Capua (*180*) where the Luna chariot occupied the east wall above the entrance and the *Deus aeternus* was placed on the adjacent part of the north wall below (cf 9 a 7). Whether the bull-slaying was generative or apogenerative is a problem in the development of Mithraic theology which will be discussed later (7 g 1). On the Barberini fresco (*390**) which has the torchbearers in the South Iranian positions the *Deus aeternus* stands between Virgo and Libra at the autumn equinox, which was the Mithra month, whereas on the Dura frescoes this god as a youthful Saturnus (11 c) separates *Aries* from *Pisces* at the spring equinox. This is a reversal in the seasonal reference, just as the torchbearers were also reversed in their positions.

2. We should not expect to find agreement among ancient peoples about the seasons of vegetation since both climate and traditions differed very greatly. For example, the seasons of vegetation in southern Mesopotamia and in northern Iran are almost completely reversed with respect to a solar calendar; in the former area the cooler months are the time of growing vegetation, whereas in the latter they are the time of death and decay. A similar difference exists between southern Syria and the high plateau of Asia Minor. Which winds or quarters were considered to be favorable to the growth of vegetation would depend upon location. In Greece the West Wind, called the gentle Zephyr, was traditionally associated with spring. But the fruit bearing Garden of the Hesperides with the Charites and Horae located in the far west was also the place of the hero's final reward. Death and birth were not far separated in Greek religion. Thus the day of rites for all the dead was called Genesia, and rites for individual dead were observed on birthday anniversaries. The dead were placed on verdant branches or crowned with wreaths as tokens of life. West was the place where the sun of each day died and the new

sun was engendered, for night was the end and the beginning of the daily cycles.

3. It must be observed that the attribution of the planets to the various signs of the zodiac involved this type of opposite qualities in some of the planets. The attributions were based on the progress of the sun from the winter to the summer solstice. This was the annual rising of the sun. The ancient solstitial month *Aquarius* was given to Saturn, the most remote of the planets, because the southern solstice was believed to be most remote from the civilized world which lay under the northern tropic. The next month *Pisces* was assigned to Jupiter, the second most remote of the planets, *Aries* the third to Mars, *Taurus* the fourth to Venus, *Gemini* the fifth to Mercury, and *Cancer* the sixth to the Moon. *Leo* the first month of the setting sun was given to the sun itself. In remote antiquity this was the solstitial month. The sun and moon therefore held the highest, or most northern, signs of the zodiac. The remaining months of the solar setting were given to the planets in reverse order so that *Virgo* fell to Mercury, *Libra* to Venus, *Scorpio* to Mars, *Sagittarius* to Jupiter and *Capricornus* to Saturn. For two winter months therefore the sun was in the constellations held by Saturn, for which reason Saturn could be considered god of the winter or dark sun who presides over its death and rebirth, just as the *Pater* in the Mithraeum, under the protection of Saturn, presided over the death and rebirth of the initiate who was clad in the insignia of Sol-Helios (cf 9 a 4 and 16). The signs of the rising sun were assigned to the east, those of the setting to the west. Consequently the planetary gods of the signs near the equinoxes received opposite characteristics associated with rising and setting, so that Mars of the spring month could be generative but of the autumn month apogenerative. This was a paradox of manly force for ancient thinkers that it could be either reproductive or destructive like an Attis and Adonis or an *Ares* and Herakles [16].

i. The Different Orientations. Since at least some Mithraea were laid out with reference to the cosmic elements and climates,

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16) Porphyrius, *De antro nympharum*, 22; see pt 3, n 5.

we must give attention not only to the orientation of our different groups of Mithraea (4 e) but also to the effect of the seasons on their internal arrangement in the different *klimakes* of the ancient world.

1. We have already studied in some detail the orientation of Mithraea in Group 1, that is, those oriented due East. These, we have seen, not only located the tauroctone at the west end so that Mithra tauroctonos faced eastward, but they also placed the torchbearers at the solstices with Cautes toward the north and Cautopates toward the south. This was the normal position of the torchbearers with reference to Mithra both in the Mithraea and on the tauroctones.

An eastern orientation was typical of Greek temples and appears also to have been typical of Iranian fire temples. It may be noted that the east was the "face" of the sky in the *Rigveda* and in Egyptian, Sumarian and Hittite documents as well as in Homer. An eastern orientation of the Mithraeum in a relatively northern climate would cause Cautes to be identified with cold, rain and Genesis, and Cautopates conversely. Such identifications are found. In several Mithraea of eastern orientation a Fons perennis was located on the north side of the aisle (cf 9 a 8.2). On several Southeast European reliefs a large bowl stands near the feet of Cautes above which a lion is shown head downward (cf 8 d). This may indicate progression in time from *Leo* to *Aquarius* or in Genesis from fire to water. On other tauroctones Cautopates seems to be associated with a lion or lion's head (cf 8 d 4). This may also be intended to signify *Leo* in the zodiac as the maximum power of solar fire in the world, for the lion was a physical *principium* of fire (cf 4 g 3.1; 6 d 1-2).

2. A considerable number of Mithraea were oriented either to the northeast or to the southeast (in Groups 2 and 3). These orientations may have been due in some measure to Semitic influence, for among the Semites in particular the corners rather than the sides of their buildings were oriented toward the cardinal points, which were regarded as the "corners of heaven". This may also explain why their great towers, or mountains of heaven and earth, tended to be square rather than rectangular in ground plan,

which was also true of the Iranian fire temple. On the other hand the orientation of Mithraea in these directions may also be due in part to a desire to have the buildings face the solstitial risings of the sun rather than the equinoctial. Hence these orientations may be a modification of an eastern, or a northern, or a southern orientation.

In southern Semitic lands vegetation begins to wither by the time of the spring equinox, or soon after, and farther north by the time of the summer solstice. Generally therefore during the half year following the vernal equinox the god of vegetation, whether Tammuz, Adonis or Aliyan, was believed to be in the underworld (cf. Macrob., *Sat.*, 1.21.). His union with the great mother, whether Ishtar or Astarte, and ascent to the upperworld were correlated with the coming of autumn rains and the return of vegetation. In the *Yašts* and later Zoroastrian writings Anāhita, the great goddess of virgin purity, was the bringer of fresh water and winter storms. Because of her virginity she was equated with Artemis, but otherwise with Aphrodite as in Herodotus (1.131). She was the oriental Venus of astronomical speculations [17]. In earlier Indo-Iranian religion the water bringer was a dragon slayer, whether Indra Vṛtrahan, Tištrya or Verethraghna, the dragon being the Water-withholder Vṛtra or Apaoša (2 a 2.1; 6 h 2).

In geography and climate the Semites generally occupied an intermediate position between the extreme northern and southern limits of the Iranian peoples upon whom they exercised considerable influence during their long history of mutual contacts. From the Semites came the emphasis upon the four ancient zodiacal signs which we have found emphasized in our Mithraic iconography, and the same may be said of the planets, and especially of Kēvān (Saturn), the planet of the vital waters (cf 9 a 17), whose name was borrowed from the Semites [18].

17) Cf Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 1.4 and *passim*, esp. 1.21. For connections in the Semitic calendar between Ishtar, Venus-Aphrodite-Artemis and the gods Tammuz, Adonis, and Orion, and for the lamentation of the god's death in the summer by the time of the rising of Canis Major, see S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendars*, esp. pp 112-115, 118s, 121-125. For a treatise on the planets see Gundel in PWRE *s.v.* Planeten.

18) ZZ p 152, n 3.

3. Our Mithraea of Group 2, located especially in Middle Europe and the Rhineland, have a southern orientation. In this orientation Mithra's left hand is toward the east, and the east is identified with spring and not the west as in the ideology expounded by Porphyrius. In boxing the compass Porphyrius passes from north to south and from west to east, or from east to west and from south to north. In the first sequence he has in mind a progression of the seasons from winter (north) to summer (south) and from spring (west) to autumn (east), which are progressions from birth to death and from growth to decay (or from *daimōn* to god). In the second sequence he has in mind progressions of the sun from daily rising to setting and from solstitial rising (south) to solstitial setting (north). This makes for a counter clockwise rotation of the seasons (north, west, south, east) [19] which we also find in the eastern zodiacs (4 b 2), whereas the northern orientation with spring at the east makes for a clockwise rotation (north, east, south, west), which is traditional in our own culture. This latter rotation was normally motion *to the right* for the Greeks (as in Homer and Pythagoras), whereas motion from the right hand to the left and in front was motion *to the right* for Egyptians (Herod., 2.6) and perhaps also for orientals who wrote from right to left. Porphyrius, like Iamblicus and other Neoplatonists, was greatly impressed by Egyptian and oriental learning. The Pseudo-Aristotle who wrote the *De mundo* also construed motion *to the right* to be toward the left hand.

The influence of the southern orientation is visible in the modification of the Barberini Mithraeum of Group 3 during its later period when the order of the zodiac was reversed to clockwise (4 b 1). In Mithraea oriented toward the south winter and germination are behind (north) and to the left (east); summer and fruit time are in front (south) and to the right (west). Therefore Cautes should still stand on Mithra's left and Cautopates on his right, as in the eastern orientation. But now they stand toward the equinoxes instead of toward the solstices; consequently Cautes may properly

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19) A similar boxing of the compass can be found in Babylonian and Iranian documents, cf E. Dhorme, *Les rels. de Babylonie et d' Assyrie*, p 145; *Enūma Elish*, IV 43; and ZZ p 159 = *G. Bund.* 52.3ss; 57.7; *Sel. Zātspram* 34.32 = ZZ p 351.

hold the Tauric or spring sign of the zodiac and Cautopates the autumn sign, as they sometimes do (2 d 1).

4. Mithraea of Group 3 are oriented toward the north, a direction which is in harmony with the Iranian notion of the importance of the Great Bear (Haptōiringa stars) and of the Pole star as being the "Nail in the middle of the sky" and commander of all the signs of the zodiac [20]. Heracleitus recognized the Bear as the limit of the material world reaching from the dawn to twilight and the point opposite to the Bear (the south) as the boundary of bright etherical Zeus [21]. The zodiac was a measurer of Finite Time, which in Iranian cosmology was Zamān under the name of Zurvān, the Long-enduring Self-created (*darengō xvadāta-*, or *derang xvatāy*).

Because the ancient gods (*daevas*) whom Zarathustra rejected were particularly connected with the cold north (cf 5 h 3.4), this quarter was assigned to the Evil (*Aka*) Mainyu and the south became the especially divine quarter. This was in keeping with Zoroastrian exaltation of fire as the divine and ordering element, the very essence of *aša*. Yet the more ancient primacy of water or vapor, which was attributed to the colder north, never actually lost its first place in sanctity. A primary virtue of Arda Viraf was the great tank of pure water which his piety had accumulated in heaven in advance of his arrival. The Zoroastrian dogma of the evil north was so strong that the Parsi avoid having the head of a corpse turned toward the north [22]. It was a Zoroastrian belief that in the blowing of a warm fragrant south wind a good man's *daēna* would meet him at the Činvat Bridge in the form of a beautiful maiden, whereas the evil man's *daēna* would come in a cold stinking north wind as a repulsive female [23]. The ancient sanctity of the north, however, survives in the myth that Mašyanē, the first woman, poured cows's milk toward the north in her worship of the gods [24]. In a non-Zoroastrian version of this myth it is quite certain that this *haoma* type of offering would have been made

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20) ZZ pp 147s, 163 A.
21) Frag. 30 of Heracleitus in LCL vol. *Hippocrates*.
22) J. D. C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, p 10, n 1.
23) *Yašt* 22.1, 7s; cf 2.5s; *Vesp.* 53-65; *Arda Viraf* 17.
24) That is, *daeva* = *dēv*, *dīv*, *G. Bund.* 14.12.

by Mašyē, the first man, rather than by his female twin and the offering would have been made to good gods worthy of praise (Yazdān) and not to evil *daevas*. For Mithraists Angra Mainyu was not evil (*aka*) but rather the *Deus Arimanius* (11 b 6) whose quarter at the north belonged to Self-created Time that encompassed all generation rather than all death. This is the conception of the north that appears in the Mithraic passages cited from Porphyrius above (4 f, g 4).

Several Mithraea in Group 3 reveal very strong Iranian characteristics in their inscriptions, membership, or otherwise, a subject that cannot be gone into here. If we assume that northern Iranian peoples constructed Mithraea facing the north, then barren winter would be in front and spring to the west or counter clockwise like the zodiacs. Cautes would still stand on Mithra's left as in the southern orientation. However, he would now be toward the western equinox instead of toward the eastern, which would be the position of Cautopates. Mithra tauroctonos at the south would now be in the quarter of maturing vegetation (Apogenesis) rather than of barrenness (Genesis).

5. If in southern Persian regions Mithraea were still oriented toward the north, then Mithra tauroctonos placed toward the south would be in the quarter of barrenness, but it would be the barrenness of burning summer and not of the cold winter. Behind and to the right would be summer and autumn, the station of Cautes, in front and to the left would be the quarters of vegetation and the station of Cautopates. Thus their positions with reference to Mithra tauroctonos would be reversed in what I have called the South Iranian positions.

5.1. These reversed positions are found on a number of tauroctones and perhaps also in the Mithraeum of the Painted Walls (*264*) in Ostia. The positions are reversed on the Capua fresco (*181**) which belongs to the earlier period of the Mithraeum, whereas in the later frescoes on the side walls they have the normal positions (*182*183**). At the left below Cautes in the tauroctone is a gray bearded head indicating old age and barrenness, whereas a female head wreathed with flowers and fruits is placed beneath Cautopates at the right. Moreover the latter wears on his breast a plaque which may represent a "Tablet of Fate" such as was likewise worn by the Babylonian Marduk, Sovereign of the created world (5 c 3). In Iranian cosmology fate (*baxt, brēh*) was attributed to *tan* (body) and the material order (*gētēh rādēnišn*) in contrast to productive motion (*kunišn, kār kunišn, ravišn*) which was attributed to *ǰān* (breath-soul) and immaterial order (*mēnōk rādēnišn, rāstīh mēnōk*) [25]. The Long Self-created Zurvān was more or less equated with *baxt* (ZZ, p. 428, F 2). The Gētēh order would be under Cautopates, the Mēnōk under Cautes. On the Capua tauroctone both torchbearers are armed with bows and arrows (cf 3 f 1.2), which is as typically Iranian as the Mounted Mithra armed with bow and arrows (cf *52**). It should be noticed that at least five Mithraea oriented toward the north had a tauroctone with torchbearers in the South Iranian positions (cf 4 e).

5.2. A Roman tauroctone having these reversed positions (*408*, cf 3 f 2) shows a scorpion at the heel of Cautes and a winged horse above his head, while a crouching bull and a crawling snake appear near Cautopates. A scorpion at the heel reminds one of Orion whose death and translation to the sky were started by a scorpion's sting in his heel, while the winged horse reminds one of Pegasus the Water Horse which was instrumental in the destruction of the drought demon Chimaera. The rider of Pegasus was the monster slayer Bellerophon, whose name is, I believe, an exact linguistic parallel of Verethraghna, the slayer (*ghna=han*) of Vṛtra. *Bellero-* should be a cognate of *vrtr-* (*vltr-* and *vllr-*), and *-phon* of *han*. The scorpion and winged horse near Cautes suggest that his period is from death or autumn to the return of rain and vegetation, whereas the bull and snake near Cautopates suggest that his period is from birth and spring to the *transitus* of the soul at death. Both the Bononia plaque (3 h 2) and the *Natura dei* monument of Heddernheim (3 h) identify Cautopates with the waters of the sky or of all encompassing ocean, and on the latter monument, which has the torchbearers in the South Iranian positions, Cautes is identified with the swift moving sky of the fiery thunderbolt and stars. Fire and water were considered to be the two basic elements of all generation (5 f 3.2, 7).

25) ZZ p 389, Z 20; p 404s, Z 33a, Z 34a, b.

6. This analysis of Mithraic orientation shows that the South Iranian (and southern Semitic) alone had to reverse the positions of the torchbearers in order to keep them in harmony with the vegetational seasons of a very hot climate. We have also observed that in the North Iranian Mithraeum the dying bull was located in the quarter of full vegetation rather than of barrenness. We must now observe that this would also be true of an eastern orientation which identified the west with spring instead of with autumn. The association of the dying bull with full vegetation in certain areas and with complete barrenness in others seems to be connected with a parallel phenomenon found on the tauroctones; that is, on the typically C subtype tauroctones Mithra tauroctonos is closely connected with the "theft of the bull" as in the Firmicus Maternus passage (1 e), whereas on typically A subtype tauroctones, by contrast, Mithra tauroctonos is most closely connected with the *Deus saxigenus* (8 a 1). This is the most characteristic addition to the tauroctones of AB subtype in Southeast Europe where Greek influence was strong. In this connection it is of significance that the *Petra genetrix* or *Theos ex petras* rites appeared to Maternus (*De errore*, 20) to be so distinct from the Mithra bouklopos rites that he does not connect one with the other or even associate the former with the "Persians", whereas he emphasizes that Mithra *bouklopos*, together with a Dea triformis entwined with snakes, was the very essence of Persian religion and had to do with the power of fire. It will be suggested by subsequent analyses that the Theft of the Bull signifies the beginning of Genesis in the immaterial world (8 b), whereas the Birth from the Rock (cf 8 a 1.4) emphasizes that of Apogenesis from the material world (8 a).

j. Tauroctones of the South Iranian group. The confusions which South Iranian, or Semitic, ideology introduced into Mithraic iconography, particularly with respect to the positions of the torchbearers and their proper identifications with the seasons, were considerable. To obtain a better view of the extent of these confusions I shall give further attention to the tauroctones which have these reversed positions. Those found in the Mithraea are the following:

PLACE	ORIENTATION	TYPE	SUB-TYPE	TORCHBEARER
Capua (181*)	E	I	CD	e (fresco)
Rome, Barberini (390*)	N	VIII	C	e (fresco)
Rome, Capitoline (415)	N	VII	ABC	e
Rome, Mus. di R. (435*)	NE	I	C	e
Marino (n 27*)	E	VIII	C	w
London (810)	E	V	CDE	e
Stockstadt I (1206)	SE	VI	CDE	w
Dieburg (1247*)	E	VIII (ephippos)		w
Gimmeldingen (1314)	S	I	DE	w
Poetovio III (1599*)	SSE	VII	C	?
Kreta (2257)	W ?	VII	ABC	w
Tirgusor (2305)	NW	VI	AB	w (both Cautes)
(2306)		I-VI	ABC	w

The others arranged according to place are:

Secia, Syria (88)	I	DE	e
Secia, Syria (89)	I	DE	e
Corniculum (321 bis)	I	C	w
Rome (334)	I	. . . . .	e (M.-Dolichenus)
Rome (337)	I	CDE	e (copy of fresco)
Rome (368)	VII	C	w left torchbearer, wrongly restored
Rome (408)	I	CD	w
Rome (417)	I	ABC	w
Rome (430)	I	ABC	w
Rome (530)	I	CDE	w
Rome (532)	I	C	w
Rome (534)	VII	C	one each
Rome (588)	I	C	w
Nersae (650*)	VIII	C	w
Pisae (663)	I	CDE	e
(In Florence) (668)	VI	ABC	w
Interamna (670)	VII	C	w
Verona (759)	I	C	w
Troia, Spain (798)	VII	?	e
Sinac, Dalmatia (1849)	II	ABC	e
Salona, Dalmatia (1871)	I	C	e
Narona, Dalmatia (1879)	I	C	e
Apulum, Dacia (1974)	IV	AB	e
Apulum, Dacia (2000)	IV	AB	e
Nicia, Dacia (2025)	I	CDE	e
Aquae, Moesia Sup. (2026)	II	ABC	e

1. This tabulation shows that the number of tauroctones having reversed positions for the torchbearers is comparatively small when the total number of tauroctones is taken into account.

They are found mainly in Middle Europe including Rome and Italy. Even the silver plaque of Stockstadt and the two reliefs of Tirgusor are of Middle European type (VI). Many of the type I tauroctones are fully developed like the Capua fresco, showing a multiplicity of symbols. In this respect they have an interesting parallel in the Mithra-Jupiter Dolichenus relief (*334*) which presents eastern type torchbearers in the reversed positions. The dedicant of the Tirgusor reliefs appears to have had his origin in Syria (cf 5 g 4). One of his reliefs (*2306*) reverses the positions of the sun and moon, which is a Mesopotamian characteristic (5 g 4). The advanced types of composition (IV, VII and VIII) make it probable that this South Iranian motive was somewhat later in reaching the West than the northern orientation even though it reached Capua and Rome early in the second century. Use of the western type of torchbearer on many of these tauroctones indicates a tendency to conform to western styles, as for example, on the Tirgusor reliefs and in the fourth century Mithraeum of Gimmeldingen, which also conforms to the orientation of German Mithraea in general.

2. The South Iranian positions seem to adhere most closely to the C and D subtypes or their conflates. On one of the Tirgusor reliefs both torchbearers are Cautes, while on the Dieburg relief Cautopates also holds a Cautes torch. When these are compared with the group of reliefs having undifferentiated torchbearers (3 b 1.2), it will be seen that the latter characteristic seems to adhere to the AB and E subtypes, the A subtype probably being northern Anatolian and the E northern Iranian, both of which emphasized in the tauroctone picture a passage of soul through physical life. The second Tirgusor relief (*2306*) shows Cautes with a pine cone, a symbol of perennial life, and Cautopates with a scorpion, a symbol of autumn and the beginning of the autumn rains that bring the return of fertility (4 i 3).

3. A survey of all the Mithraea listed above (4 e) shows no clear correlation between the orientation of the Mithraeum and the subtypes of tauroctone, probably for the reason that the remains of the various Mithraea represent a late stage in their development. Many of them went through more or less complete rebuilding

and changes in decoration as well as in membership. Differences tended to disappear as time passed and intercommunication developed. On the other hand, ideological differences as well as iconographic and inscriptional can still be detected in the remains that have come down to us. Attention has been called to some of these already and others will be noted hereafter.

3.1. Here I must call attention to the different emphasis upon the importance of blood and semen in the C and D subtypes. The flowing blood of the bull, licked by the dog and snake, is prominent on many C subtype tauroctones (cf *417 435* 650**), whereas on the D tauroctones of Dura (*37* 40**) both the dog and snake attack the bull from in front. On the DE reliefs of Secia (*88 89*) the snake drinks the semen of the bull instead of the blood. These D and DE reliefs do not emphasize the flowing blood motive even though the wound is shown, nor do they show the end of the bull's tail branching out into wheat as do the C tauroctones generally.

These differences become more significant when one observes that much is said in Zoroastrian literature about birth (and creation), about the seed of men and cattle and of all living things, but almost nothing about blood either as an origin of life or a vehicle of purification. Even Herodotus (1.131) observed that when a Persian offered an animal to a god he used no altar, fire, or libation of any kind, but laid out the pieces of boiled meat on tender grass or leaves, while he wore a wreath of myrtle about his turban. By way of contrast, blood was a prominent feature in Semitic religious rites [26].

3.2. A fusion of the blood and semen or seed motives can be detected in Mithraic iconography. The very early tauroctone in the British Museum (*593*) shows three branches of wheat instead of blood issuing from the bull's wound. On other tauroctones the bull's tail grows out into wheat stocks while the bull is bleeding

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26) W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp 233-238, 334-339, 350-352. A sharp distinction between blood offerings and fruit offerings may underlay the myth of Cain and Abel, for "Abel was a keeper of sheep but Cain was a tiller of the ground . . ." YHWH rejected the fruit offering of the farmer and accepted the blood offering of the nomad. On Cain and Abel as Canaan and Baal or Agenor and Belus, see R. Graves and R. Patai, *Hebrew Myths*, p 95, n 5.

to death. Thus the emphasis is upon the generation of physical life whether from the blood or the marrow of the spinal column which terminates in the tail. Wheat growing out of the bull's body is a representation of Gōšurvan, the primal Ox-plant (4 g 2) out of whose body came all forms of life beginning with a primary one (cf 7 b 2). The Salona relief (*1861**) which omits the dog but shows Cautes holding his own erect penis on the bull's wound (cf 2 a) emphasizes the identity of seed and blood, as does the erect penis of the dog that sniffs the blood as shown on the Judovje relief (*1482*). The drinking of the blood by a three headed serpent on the Poetovio triptych tauroctone (Fig. 3) must refer to the world of multiplicity and generation in much the same way as does the triple goddess entwined with serpents (1 e). Nor can the snake drinking the blood of the slain bull be wholly separated from the snake that encircles the Deus saxigenus and Deus aeternus, and these have to do with the world of physical generation, of time and fate (11 c).

Thus the blood motive which in origin is more Semitic than Iranian becomes fused with the semen motive which is particularly Iranian to form a composite picture which still emphasizes Genesis or Apogenesis through transitions of the seed and soul (cf 4 g 1). Among other things this composite picture incorporates the dog, so highly esteemed by Iranians because "it had in it something of the seed of Gayōmard" (cf 2 a 2), and the serpent esteemed by Greeks as having in it the *pneuma* of living things (cf 2 b 8). On C subtype tauroctones especially, the scorpion, so prominent in Mesopotamian cultures, seems to have been used as an Agathos Daimōn of the fertile seed that endures through the cyclic seasons of harvest. The *Scorpio* month of the zodiacal year was the same as the Mithra month of the Iranian calendars, being the seventh and intermediate between one vegetation year and the next. The shears of the scorpion, which regularly hold the bull's testicles on the tauroctones, became the zodiacal sign of the seventh month, and was called the month of the balances (*Libra*). The Thracian relief having the scorpion at Mithra's testicles instead of the bull's (*2327*) may emphasize Mithra tauroctonos as god of the Scorpio month, the month of completions and beginnings.

4. South Iranian characteristics on C and D tauroctones in particular raise the question of the origin of these subtypes and of their relation to southern Iranian peoples. It must be emphasized that the total number of tauroctones having the torchbearers in the reversed positions is neither very large nor widely diffused. Only a few are found on reliefs of type VI, whereas there are at least ten on reliefs of types VII and VIII which are advanced developments of type VI. Several on reliefs of type I have a multiplicity of symbols which indicates advanced developments as compared with the more usual type I relief.

It appears therefore that the South Iranian tauroctone was not only moderately late in reaching the West, but that it was also a prime factor in the development of a complex cult picture. Its frequent use of a painting medium points also to the latter probability [27]. Actually the composition of the grave sculptures, or reliefs, of King Darius at Persepolis [28] shows the closest parallel to the composition of the Nersae relief (*650**) or Barberini fresco (*390**) that I have been able to find in more ancient art, nor am I forgetful of fourth century Greek vase paintings [29]. I do not assume that a composition having a central panel bordered by small side panels was created *de novo* by Persian artists. It seems rather to have developed under Persian patronage of foreign artists, whether Ionian or Egyptian or others.

Although the eastern type of torchbearers and the reversed positions come together on the reliefs of Secia and on others in the West, they are separate phenomena. The eastern type of

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27) These observations are still further strengthened by the discovery of a tauroctone painting at Marino, near Rome, in a Mithraeum that is to be more fully published by M. J. Vermaseren. The painting, as reproduced in ILN, Feb 23, 1963, shows that it is of type VIII in its composition and of subtype C in its bull-slaying motive, and is therefore closely akin to the Barberini painting. Like the latter also it has the torchbearers in the South Iranian positions. Moreover Sol is strongly radiate with one of the rays enlarged and extended into a bar of light that reaches the head of Mithra tauroctonos (cf 5 e). Luna is in a nimbus and looks to the right away from the tauroctone action. On each side of the central picture is a vertical series of four panels, which makes the total composition intermediate between the Nersae relief and the Barberini painting (cf note 5, pt 12).

28) F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, pl 33.

29) E. Will, *Le relief cultuel*, pp 331ss; cf p 351s.

torchbearer (cf 3 a 2) appears on all tauroctones from Syria having torchbearers as also on type VI tauroctones in Middle Europe. It is to be concluded therefore that the eastern type of torchbearer came from a wider area than that of the reversed positions and was probably earlier in origin.

The foregoing analysis points to the probability that the South Iranian modifications of the C and D subtypes were made by peoples having a strong southern Iranian or Semitic background. Where these peoples were actually living when they introduced the modifications is not very important since traditional ideologies, especially in religion, are not immediately changed even by a change in habitat. The modifications may therefore have been introduced elsewhere than in southern Iran or Mesopotamia by peoples who came from there for commercial, military or other reasons. Such peoples in fact continued to maintain their southern viewpoint and iconography even in Rome and Middle Europe where these were out of harmony with the changed seasons. As time went on however the tendency to readjust the cult picture to the requirements of the environment must have become compelling [30]. These adjustments, or attempted adjustments, caused the confusions which we have been discussing.

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30) In this connection a passage in Julian, *To King Helios*, (148A-B) is of particular interest because it may allude in particular to Mithraic ideology: "It is said, even though not all are ready to accept it, that the solar disk is carried about in the starless region far above the planets (cf 5c1), and hence is not in the middle position of the planets, but rather of the three worlds (cf n 12, pt 7) according to the hypotheses in the initiation rites, if one must call the like hypotheses rather than dogmas, but the study of the spheres hypotheses. For the former say what has been heard from gods or great daemons, but makers of hypotheses speak the plausible in harmony with phenomena. Therefore it seems proper to commend the latter, but whoever thinks it much better to believe in the former, him I admire and respect whether I jest or am serious." This reminds one of the position of Cotta, the Roman pontifex, as presented by Cicero, *De natura deorum*, 3.2.

John Lydus (*De mensibus*, 3.26 = p 43 Bekker) represents the makers of hypotheses that are derived from both religion and phenomena when he says that, "Because the quarter of the setting sun is attributed to the element of earth, it is proper for the Romans to take care of it, whence also they appear to have honored Hestia (Vesta) before all, just as the Persians have the Rock-born Mithras because of the center of fire, and those under the Bear the watery essence because of the center of water, and the Egyptians Isis, instead of the Moon, as the Ephor of Air."

5. The intrusion of South Iranian influence is quite noticeable on the Sinac relief (*1849*). Not only is a type II relief in Dalmatia unusual, but unlike the normal type II relief this one has a strongly radiate solar bust and the bull's tail issues in very visible stocks of wheat. Like the normal type II relief, however, it omits the scorpion. The Aquae relief also of type II (*2026*) is unique in the selection of symbols shown on its bottom register (8 a 1.1). The two reliefs of Tirgusor whose general composition was influenced by type VI are in this respect unusual in Southeast Europe and point to Middle Europe or oriental derivation.

PART FIVE

STARS AND PLANETS, WINDS AND SEASONS

On a limited number of tauroctones, especially of subtype C and C conflate, there is an array of stars or of the busts of the planets, whereas the signs of the zodiac appear more characteristically on subtypes D and E. A comparison of the types and distribution of these tauroctones may be made from the list presented at the beginning of Part 4.

a. Tauroctones with Stars and planets. Seven or more stars appear in the field of several tauroctones (*368 1128* 1206 1216 1727* 2052 2244* 2255*). On others the planets (including Sol and Luna) are shown on the under side of Mithra's mantle (*181* 245 310 321* 390**, cf *1818*); the two from Ostia have the crescent moon added as an eighth symbol. On most of these the mantle is puffed up in imitation of the dome of heaven, a resemblence which is further emphasized by the color symbolism previously described (3 g) as also by the *templum* drawn on the top of the robe (2 c). This motive is intended to represent the sky garment which revolves the planets in their courses. Such an idea is alluded to in the lines of Claudian (*De consulatu Stilichonis*, 1.62 ss) which say that the "King himself tips the cup with his right hand and calls to witness the mysteries of Bel and Mithra who rotates the wandering stars".

1. The Quadraro relief (*321**), in addition to the seven planets on the underside of the mantle, has twelve stars representing the zodiac in the field of the relief. A similar array of stars and planet appears on the Barberini fresco (*390**), but in addition three much larger stars appear to the left of the double solar rays issuing from the eye of the sun. These three could represent Jupiter, Mercury and Mars as on the Commagene Lion relief dedicated by King Antiochus (*31*). On the other hand they probably represent Sol, Luna and Mithra-Mercury as they apparently do on the smaller Dura relief (*37**) and on the relief of the Museo di Roma Mithraeum (*435**). On the latter, four planetary stars appear at the top of the

field to the right of Mithra and another on the front of Mithra's cap, which together with Sol and Luna make up the seven planets. Likewise on the Dura relief there were originally inset jewels representing the planets, four in the upper border of the relief, one in the solar rosette and one in the lunar rosette, and also one in the front of Mithra's cap. A star on Mithra's cap is also shown on the Sidon relief (*75**) and on the Capua fresco (*181**). This star must represent the planet Mercury, the solar messenger, and not Sol himself, for otherwise Sol would be represented twice and one of the other planets not at all.

2. A star within a crescent, however, is shown on the front of Mithra's cap on the Sidon statue (*76*), and a similar symbol represents the moon on the smaller Dura relief (*37**) and in the mosaic floor of the Ostia Mithraeum of Felicissimus (Fig. 21). The latter is of particular interest because the symbol is clearly that of the Moon and is connected with the Perses grade (cf 2 c 2; 4 g 3). An altar in Rome which has a radiate bust of Sol on the face has also a star within a crescent on the back, and is inscribed: INVICTO SOLI FELICISSIMUS ET PHILOCURIUS AED(EM) D(ONUM) D(EDERUNT). A pitcher on the right side and a saucer on the left are symbols either of a priest or of the rites.

2.1. A star within a crescent or circle is used on a non-mithraic relief from Trier [1] to indicate the thirty days of the lunar month. The seven days of the week are shown in the top register from left (Saturn) to right (Venus), and in the lower register are the busts of the four seasons, while a helmeted goddess writing on a shield (Nemesis?) is seated in the middle. On the left border from the bottom to the top are the fifteen days of the waxing moon, having the horns of the moon turned upward and each crescent coming nearer to the complete circle at the top. The fifteen symbols repeated on the right border from bottom to top show the crescents inverted (Fig. 6). The crescent with the horns turned downward as in the Felicissimus mosaic represents the waning moon. This and not the waxing moon would be suitable to Perses, for Perses with his pruning knife was "a guardian of fruits" (cf 9 a 15),

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1) *Jahresbericht des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier*, 1933, p 168, pl 17.1 (v. Fig. 6).

who had therefore to do with mature fruits and not with their *genesis*. It is of interest that Melqart, the Tyrian Herakles, was also identified with an inverted crescent [2]; and an oriental Herakles-Mars-Artagnes was one of the three great divinities in Mithraism (cf 6 c).

2.2. On the Bononia plaque (*694*) showing Cautopates and the rains (3 h 2) the complete lunar sphere appears within the crescent. On the tauroctone relief of Mauls (*1400**) the moon is represented by a female bust with large crescent horns springing from her shoulders. This bust is shown within a large sphere represented by a circle, while on her head is another smaller sphere which might be taken for horns [3].

b. History of Star in Crescent. The star within a crescent, which appears on the coins of Eupator of Pontus and Ariarathes IX of Cappadocia [4], had a long history in Anatolia and Syria. A sphere within an inverted crescent appears on the breast of an ancient Syro-Hittite god in the vicinity of Sidon [5]. A ball and crescent equipped with wide spreading wings is shown above the head of Teshub from Tell Ahmar [6], and a similar motive is found on an orthostart from Carchemish [7].

1. A winged sphere seems to have been the symbol of Hittite kings, and the sphere in rosette form instead of a disk was apparently borrowed from the Babylonians [8]. The winged disk as found in Egypt was borrowed by the Mitanni, but to them it signified the winged sky as conceived by their Indo-Iranian ancestors (cf 5 f 10) rather than the sun [9]. The Assyrian sky god Ašur seems to have borrowed his winged disk symbol from the Babylonian Šamaš [10], and this with modifications was taken over by the Achaemenids as a

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2) *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, 151, 1957, p 8, fig 2.

3) E. Will, *Le relief cultuel*, p 273, fig 50.

4) Wroth, op cit (pt 2, n 11), p 38, pl 7.1; id, op cit (n 1, pt 4), pl 8, figs 4, 6, 7; cf pl 6, fig 1.

5) G. Contenau, *Manuel d'arch. orient.*, p 1473, fig 393.

6) Ibid p 1008, fig 705.

7) S. Lloyd, *Early Anatolia*, pl 16b; for other examples, Contenau, op cit p 946, fig 653; p 952s, figs 663, 664; p 1474, 1477, figs 895, 899.

8) O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p 211s.

9) Loc cit.

10) Dhorme, op cit (pt 4, n 19), pp 60s, 162s.

representation of Ahura Mazda. An arrow on the string of a drawn bow in the hands of the god emphasizes some form of sky power.

2. The crowns worn by Sassanian kings emphasized the winged sphere of sovereignty. Ardašir, at his confirmation by Ohrmazd [11], carried upon his head a huge ball draped with a veil to which wings were attached [12]. A veiled ball rests within the high tiara of Šapor I and Bahram I [13]. When we come to the later kings we find within the high tiara of Bahram V (A.D. 420-438) a star studded sphere resting within a lunar crescent. A sphere, crescent, and wings appear on the head of Khusrau II (A.D. 510-528) [14].

3. The star within a crescent therefore may represent the new moon which is veiled in darkness or otherwise the veiled sky-globe which moves in swift flight above the region of the moon. The super lunar cosmos was sharply divided from the sub lunar world by Aristotle as well as by later classical authors [15]. The symbol of the winged sky compels us to give attention to Iranian astronomy, for on Mithraic reliefs the stars and planets are not arranged according to current Graeco-Roman astronomy but rather more nearly in accord with a traditional Iranian astronomy or cosmology.

c. Iranian conceptions of the *āsmān*. According to Indo-Iranian cosmology the sky was formed of a more or less transparent crystalline substance, sometimes said to be ruby (*Bund.* 30.5), and was called the *āsmān* (cf Greek *akmōn*; Skt. *açman*; Lith. *akmu*), a word with a wide range of meanings from stone, thunderstone and sky to anvil and pestle [16]. The shape of the sky was conceived to be either the lofty dome of a world cave, like those shown in the Mithraic tauroctones, or in the later literature a great globe about the earth. In the *Pahlavī Rivāyat* [17] there is said to be an *āsmān*

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11) Sarre, op cit (pt 4, n 28), pl 70.

12) R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (Penguin), p 336, fig 104.

13) Sarre, op cit pls 74, 78.

14) Ibid pl 104 (Bahram), 107 (Khusrau).

15) Aristotle, *De caelo*, 278B8; Plut., *Moralia*, 369D; Macrobius, *Sat.*, 1.12.15, see n 87. For a discussion of planetary astronomy see PWRE *s.v.* Planeten.

16) Cf A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, p 925.

17) ZZ p 360s; cf Empedocles (in Plut., *Mor.*, 889B, cf 928B): "The sky is solid, of crystaline form compacted by fire from air, containing the forms

above the earth and another below, which is probably an idiomatic expression for all about the earth, just as it is said that mountains of the earth grew both upward and downward. Between the *āsmān* above and below, in an ascending order, are "this place", then the station of the stars, the station of the moon and highest of all the station of the sun. In this conception the sky is essentially spherical, as in the *Bundahišn* (1.43) which says that the *āsmān* was created in the form of an egg of shining metal (*xvan āhēn*) like steel (*gōhr almāst*). Elsewhere it is said [18] that the earth is like the yolk of an egg that is equidistant from the *āsmān* on all sides. According to the cave or mountain conception in the *Rivāyat* passage, the *āsmān* has a surrounding wall called Harburz whose depth is equal both to the breadth of the earth and to that of the void, the latter being described (*Bund.* 1.5) as the place of mixed light and darkness between the pure light above and the complete darkness below. This would correspond to the interior of the Mithraic cave. Harburz began as the Elborz mountains in northern Iran, but like the Greek Olympos, became the sky-mountain. In the *Avesta* it was called the Hara Berezaiti, that is, the Lofty Hara (cf Yt 10.50), on whose summit the house of Mithra was located and whose peaks were first illuminated by Mithra's morning light. His mansion (*maēthan*) was said to be in harmony with the sun (*hvare razaoša*) and from it he surveys the whole living world (*ahūm astvantem*). Around this mountain the heavenly orbs were said to revolve (Yt 12.25). It is clear that this mythical or cosmological mountain, sometimes called the Hindu Kuš, was the Iranian equivalent of the Mountain of Heaven and Earth in Babylonian cosmology. In later Iranian cosmology the Činvat Bridge which separated the two worlds was said to stretch from the foot of the Hara at the north to the summit at the south (*G. Bund.* 30.1 = *Bund.* 30.33). The way of immortals, therefore, is southward and upward, as Porphyrius argues (4f).

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of fire and air in each of the hemispheres." According to Anaximander, Metrodorus of Chios and Krates, "The sun is located the highest of the planets, after it the moon, and under them the fixed stars and the planets" (Idem p 889A = *Dox. Graeci*, p 345a7-12). See also n 30, pt 4.

[18] ZZ p 349, Z 5 = *Sel. Zātspram* 34.20.

1. The idea that the sun and moon were the highest of the celestial lights and were at the summit of the mountain above the world cave, as shown on our tauroctones, is akin to the Sumarian and later Babylonian conception of the stepped tower as the mountain of heaven and earth whose summit (the *siqurat*) was dedicated to the moon or sun and the lower stages to the other planets. According to an Avestan description (Yt 13.2-3) the sky looks like a palace built of heavenly substance (*mainyu-tāstō*) with a body of ruby, a garment inlaid with stars and made of heavenly substance which Mazda puts on along with Mithra, Rašnus and Spenta Armaiti. In the *Bundahišn* (3.7) the Garōdmān (or House of Treasure) [19] and the realm of Endless Light were located in the station (*padak*) of the sun, while in the *Rašn Yašt* (12.34 s) the Garō-nmāna was elevated to a level above that of the sun, as also in the book of *Arda Viraf* (6-10). I shall have to return to these conceptions of the cosmos as a great mountain or a vast egg in later sections (5 j 2, f 8-9). The representation of the *Natura dei* (*695* 860 985**) and even the tauroctone action itself within a circular zodiac (*810 1472*) was inspired by the conception of the cosmos as being a sphere or egg bounded by the zodiac of fixed stars and illuminated by the sun and moon on the outside of the egg.

2. A glimpse into an Iranian cosmology which may well be pre-Zarathustrian is preserved in Herodotus' description (1.96-100) of the royal city of Hagmatan (Agbatana, Ekbatana, modern Hamadan) which King Deioces (Daiukku) of the Medes built for himself in the eighth century before Christ. According to Herodotus it was constructed on a low round topped hill and consisted of seven concentric circles with walls, each higher than the preceding wall as one passed upward toward the center. The royal palace and treasury were within the seventh wall at the top. All the other circuits were for members of the royal establishment, for the common people were required to build their houses outside the circuit of the walls. The seventh and highest wall was coated with gold and the sixth with silver; the others were painted: the fifth orange, the fourth blue, the third scarlet, the second

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19) ZZ p 214, n B.

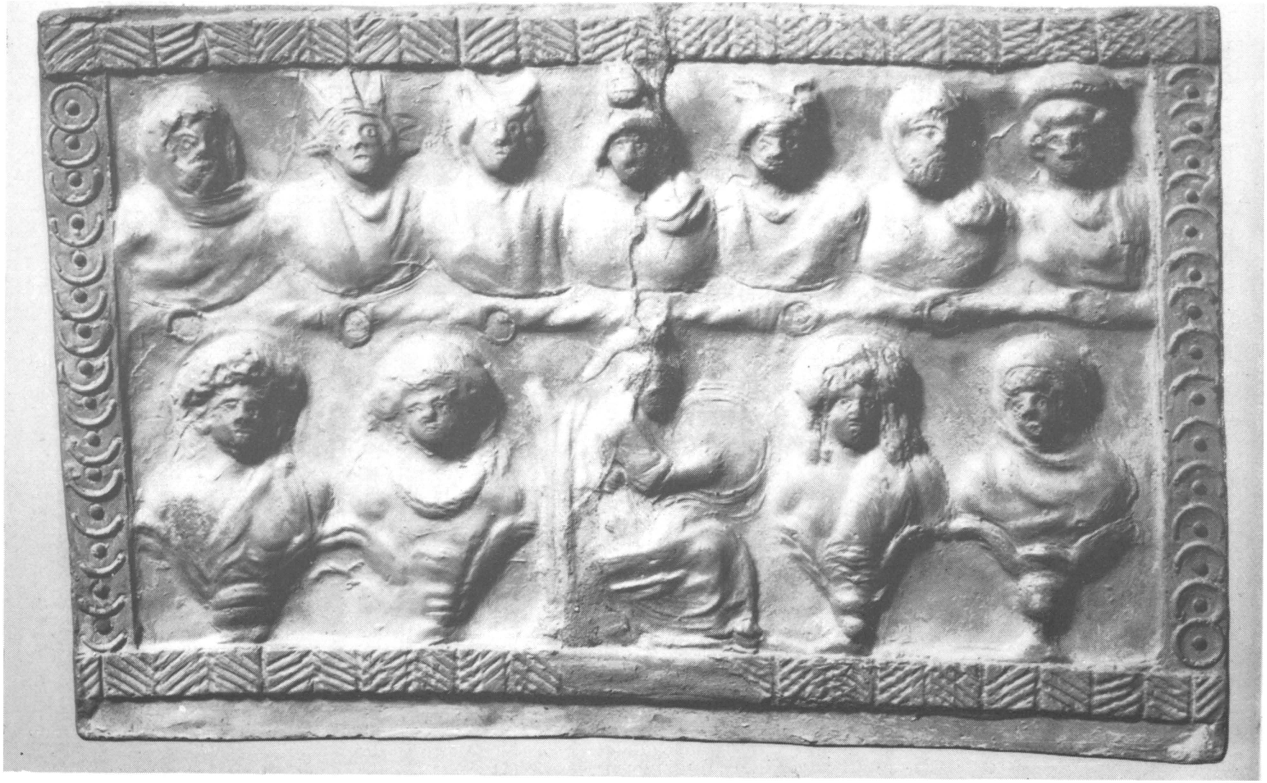

Fig. 6. Trier. Days of Week, Month, and Seasons (5 a 2.1)

black, and the lowest white. One can be quite certain that the gold and silver circles were for the sun and moon respectively. The others in descending order may have been orange for the fiery morning *āsmān*, blue for the noonday *āsmān*, and scarlet for the earth fires of the evening *āsmān*. There is less certainty about the black and white, for black could stand for earth or for murky air of void and night, as by the Stoics (Plut., *Mor.*, 749 E), and white for the water of the all-encompassing sea, called the Wide Kaša in the *Avesta*.

3. The array of colors chosen for the encircling walls of the royal city was similar to that for the robe of warriorhood and sovereignty described in the *Greater Bundahišn* (3.5) and *Dēnkart* (Madan, p 203) [20]. This robe of purple, red or wine-color, was adorned with gold and silver and precious stones of various colors. Such also is the description of the House of Anagrān (the Endless) whose top reaches to the Garōdmān and place of the Amahraspands (*G.Bund.* 3.14). This robe is the sky palace of self-moving (*mainyu*) substance, which is both mansion and garment of the sky gods. As near as one may judge the many colored clothes of both Mithra and the torchbearers on the Capua fresco (*181**) are of royal decoration and must have been intended to represent the ruling powers of the sky and of "warriorhood". The torchbearers often wear a military cloak and are sometimes armed with shields or with bow and arrows, as on the Capua fresco (cf 3 f 1.2).

By way of contrast, the robe of Zurvān, the Long Self-Created, whose body is the firmament (*spihr*), was said (*G. Bund.* 3.6) to be "dark blue which was the color of the garment of the husbandman, for the function of this Zurvān was to rule the destinies of the world according to *aša*, just as the farmer must till the soil to produce crops". Blue was the color of the world of Genesis and fixed law, just as the husbandman was "bound to the law of the house" or to the lord's estate. The *Deus aeternus* who divides the two halves of the zodiac on the Barberini fresco (*390**) stands on a blue globe (*spihr*) and the underside of Mithra's robe that revolves the planets on the Capua fresco is deep blue, while the top side is fiery colored.

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20) ZZ p 375, 378.

The Burzēn-Mitro fire was called the fire of *aša* and was sacred to husbandmen (5 h 2.2). The *siqurats* of the House of Heaven and Earth ruled by Enlil or Marduk were blue, and Marduk wore the Tablet of Fates [21].

Whatever the symbolism of the lower walls of Ecbatana may have been in detail, there is little room to doubt that the highest walls stood for the circles of the sun and moon. If so, we have an early witness to the supremacy of the sun in Median cosmology, which contrasts with the supremacy of the moon in ancient Sumer and generally in lower Mesopotamia [22]. The seven circular walls around a common center or pole correspond to the seven circles around the royal standards of the great gods of Syria, the top two being either the sun and moon or the moon and sun [23].

Herodotus says that not only the palace but also the treasury of Deioces was located in the highest circle, which would make this circle correspond to the Garōdmān that was located in the realm of the sun. Within such a solar circle Deioces withdrew, according to Herodotus, and carried on all communications through messengers. This he did in self-exaltation after he had achieved sovereign power by his dispensation and exercise of justice (*dikaion= arta*), which he proclaimed to be in constant war with injustice (*adikaion=druj*).

4. This royal concern with *dikaion* or *dikē* runs parallel with the concern of sovereign gods of Indo-Iranian religion with *ṛta=arta*. The concept of *dikē* and *arta* as being the order that is grounded in sovereignty, especially of the sky, is akin to the concept of fate as a function of the firmament that revolves the fiery orbs [24]

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21) Dhorme, op cit (pt 4, n 19), pp 180s, 305; cf Ps. Arist., *De mundo*, 398A1-24, B1, The Great King who was called *despotes* and *theos* had a royal house and surrounding wall that flashed with gold, silver and ivory, but was himself a poor likeness of 'power established in the sky' that is the cause of the safety of everything even the most remote. The divine nature (*physis*) by a single motion causes all subsequent motions (ibid. 398B20s) like that of the single revolution of the sky (ibid 399A1). Such a god is fixed law (ibid (400B28ss). According to Minucius Felix (*De spectaculis*, 9), blue signified Sky and Sea or Autumn, red the god Mars (= manly strength) or Summer, white Zephyrus or Winter, and green Terra Mater or Spring.

22) *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, 151 1957, p 16.

23) Ibid p 12.

24) Cf ZZ p 88s.

The Tablet of Fates which Marduk wore on his breast was acquired as a result of his acquisition of sovereignty over the other gods.

The withdrawal of King Deioces from the view of his subjects and his communication through messengers as well as his use of men called his eyes (*kataskopoi*) and ears (*katēkooi*) are of interest not merely because such functionaries were extensively used by the later Achaemenids, but more because in Mithraic iconography the Sovereign Sky has an eye in the long solar ray that penetrates the world-cave of Mithra tauroctonos and a messenger in the Raven that brings the essence of power (*xvarr*) in its compelling word (*vāxš*). On the Barberini fresco (*390**) the long rays of the sun are double and issue from the eye of the sun instead of from the radiate crown as more commonly. The sun was known in the *Rigveda* as the eye of Mithra and Varuna, and also as the bright face of *ṛta* [25]. In the *Avesta* the sun is called the eye of Ahura Mazda (Yas 1.11), and Mithra himself is repeatedly said to have a thousand ears (*gaošem*) and ten thousand eyes (*čašmanem*) or ten thousand spies (*spasāno*, Yt. 10.7,60) and was himself created by creation (*dāmi dātem*) with widely perceptive and undeceivable perception (Yt 10.61).

5. In Iranian cosmology (5 f 1) there were two fundamental powers (*nērōk*) in the principle of creation (*dahišn*). The first was sound (*vāxš*) which belonged to the self-motion of creation (*mēnōk dahišn*), and the second was visibility (*čihr*) which belonged to the materiality of creation (*gētēh dahišn*). In the evolution of the world creation the self-moving visibility power (*čihr nērōk mēnōk*) was united with the material creativity by means of the sovereignty (*šahr*) of the self-moving voice power (*vāxš nērōk mēnōk*). This seems to indicate that the voice power was the essence of sovereignty. This power was prior to the formation of the visible sky of starry lights and was resident in a primary instrument (*abzār*) or substance of all creation. In the Phoenician cosmology which I shall have to discuss in connection with the Wind gods (5 j 2), the moving voice was the sound (*ēchos*) of crashing thunder which occurred in the formation of the world and which aroused

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25) H. D. Griswold, *The Religion of the Rigveda*, p 134; *R.V.* 6.51.1; cf 7.88.2, and Macrobius, *Sat.*, 1.21: Solem Jovis oculum appellat antiquitas.

non-perceptive creatures to perceptivity and set male and female in motion. It may be noted that *ēchos*, a reverberation as of a gong, and Latin *vacca* (Sanscrit *vaça*), a cow whose voice reverberates, and probably Middle Persian *vāxš* are cognates from a root *vaks*, whereas Sanscrit and Avestan *vac*, Greek *epos* and Latin *vōx* come from a root *vak*, voice or utterance. As the resounding voice of the thunderstorm is sometimes heard before the lightning becomes visible, so the voice of the sky was taken to be the primary word of command which set cosmic things in motion. The lightning flash or bolt is only the *gētēh* manifestation (*čihr*) of the *mēnōk* voice. By the thunderbolt, according to Heracleitus (LCL frag. 28), Zeus governed all things. One of the thunderbolts of the Mithraic *Deus aeternus* (665*) has a human head attached to it to indicate its possession of the *mēnōk* power that moves the world. Modern man, subjected as he is to every kind of sound, finds it difficult to understand the more primitive attitude toward the strange echoes of a gong or drum or peal of thunder.

5.1. The very ancient idea that the creation of the world was by means of a word uttered by a sky god appears not only in the first chapter of *Genesis* but elsewhere in the cosmologies of the ancient east (5 f 6.1). As man's idea of the orderliness of the world developed, so did his idea of the rationality of the uttered word which caused creation. This can be detected in the Greek conception of *logos* as it developed in philosophy and theology. The meanings of *legō* from which it is derived range from utter, say and relate to lay and arrange, just as Latin *lex*, law, was derived from *lego*, collect, assemble and read, and the Old English *lagu*, English *law*, was a cognate of *lay*, put in place. The Greek word *dikē*, established custom and law, and eventually cosmic law, is a cognate of Latin *dico*, say, relate, appoint, fix, settle. Likewise *ṛta-arta*, the Indo-Iranian principle of cosmic order, truth and law, was derived from the root *ar-* or *ra-*, put, fasten, fit in, but also set in motion, rise, reach out for, and attain. But *ar-* also appears in Greek *eiro*, speak, *rhema*, utterance, and *ornumi*, arouse, and in Latin *orior*, rise, and English *arise*, *arouse*.

The source of law was in the ordering power of the cosmos, which for Zoroastrians was fire or light but for the more ancient

Indo-Iranians may have been the utterance in the darkness of the storm by the great Sky-ox (cf *vaça-ēchos* and *gaošem,* ears). How closely the idea of royal power and the law, or just word, were conjoined is clearly illustrated by the rise to power of King Daiukku. The unchanging law of the Medes and Persians was the word officially uttered by the king. A common Indo-European word for king (Skt, *rājan,* Lat. *rēx,* Celtic *rix,* cf Eng. *-ric*) means not only to regulate and direct (cf Lat. *rego*) in a manner that is *right* (O.E. *reht, riht,* Skt *rj*) but also to shine with luster (Skt *rāj,* Greek *argos,* Lat. *arguo,* make clear, *argentum,* silver). The divine right of the king was derived from the brilliance (*čihr*) and sovereignty (*šahr*) of the sky itself; therefore it was fitting that his palace should be the *padak* of the sun and that his *tiara* should resemble the surrounding sky-wall and rays of the sun.

5.2. For Zarathustra the utterance of the Sovereign Sky-god was the Māthra Spenta, whose quintessence was compressed into the Ahuna Vairyō, a formula so potent that when first uttered by Ahura Mazda it banished Angra Mainyu from the world of light into the world of darkness. The Māthra Spenta was said to be the very soul of Ahura Mazda whose *fravaši* (cf 4 g 2) was the greatest and best of all (Vend. 18.14). The *māthra* was a magic spell in its origin, a joyous life-giver (*ahuna vairyō*) which caused things to expand (*spenta*) or *wax* great and strong (cf *vakhs,* Greek *auxo,* from *vaks-*). *Māthra,* like *mainyu-mēnōk,* comes from the root *man-,* which primarily denoted self-motion or self-moving force, but developed in words denoting rational thought. Whether the highest expression of mind and of words are forms of *madness* or of *rationality* depends upon the civilized level of the judge. For Zoroastrians Māthra Spenta never wholly escaped from the domain of magic, as I shall show later (6 h 2.3).

d. Astral symbols placed according to Iranian astronomy. On the Mithraic tauroctones the sun and moon are almost always shown at the top of, or a little above, the cave dome, whereas the fixed stars when shown are placed within the field of the cave. This accords with the general view that the fixed stars were within the *āsmān* and nearer the earth than the planets and that the sun and moon were the highest of all, as on a tauroctone fragment from

Dieburg (*1271*). In several instances the signs of the zodiac were arranged around the face of the cave dome (*1083* 1137* 1149 1292**, et al.), but on the relief of Bononia (*693**) the planets occupy the same position and run from right to left according to the days of the week (10 f). Likewise on reliefs of Southeast Europe a series of seven spheres (*2052,2*) or seven altars (cf 11 e 1) are placed around the face of the arch, or just above (*1973 2172*) or below it (*1974 2000*). The joining of the stars and planets to the shell of the world cave is in accord with ancient cosmic conceptions (cf 5 f 1; 5 j 2).

1. At least three tauroctones, one from the Esquiline in Rome (*357*), the larger Dura relief (*40**) and the relief of Neuenheim (*1283**), show the sun and moon below the cave dome, a position which would more or less agree with the view of the *Pahlavī Rivāyat* passage cited above (5 c). But the Neuenheim relief also has a solar chariot and a lunar chariot above the cave and thus combines two different views, the latter being more common in Mithraism and probably more ancient in origin. On the reliefs of Thracian type (II) the two busts are of necessity placed below the rounded top of the stele (cf *2026 2168*, et al.) which represents the cave dome. If these busts represent the sun and moon, then they also depart from the more usual arrangement; however, they probably represent the seasons (5 i 5).

e. Tauroctones having a long solar ray. One or two long solar rays are represented on the following tauroctones:

PLACE	TYPE	SUBTYPE	TORCHBEARER	
Capraea (*172*)	I	CE	e	n
Capua (*181**)	I	CD	e	rev
Rome (*357*)	I	C	abs	
Rome (*366*)	I	ABC	w	n
Rome (*350*)	VII	C	w	n
Rome (*390**)	VIII	C	e	rev (two rays)
Rome (*597*)	I	C ?	w	rev
Fiano-Romano (*641**)	I	C	abs	
Marino (n. 27, pt 4)	VIII	C	w	rev
Mauls (*1400**)	VIII	C	w	n
Poetovio III (*1600*)	VII	ABC	e	n (two rays)
Brigetio (*1727**)	III/VI	CDE	w	n
Aquincum (*1791*)	I	C	w	n
Močiči (*1882*)	VI	CDE	e	n (three rays)
Apulum (*1973*)	VII	CDE	w	n

All but one of these come from Middle Europe and are mainly of subtype C. Several of them show unusual features such as the double elongated rays or a star and crescent in place of the usual busts (*1882*). One of the Roman reliefs (*366*) shows the long ray passing through a large cypress tree which stands between the sun and the tauroctone group. There are several noteworthy features in its dedicatory inscription, which reads: DEO SANCTO MI(THRAE) SACRATHIS D(ONUM) P(OSUERUNT) PLACIDUS MARCELLINUS LEO ANTISTES ET GUNTHA LEO. One may note the use of *sanctus* as an epithet of the god (cf 6 h 6), the aspirate in *sacratis*, the emphasis on the Leo grade and the name Guntha which has an initial gutteral and a medial aspirate. The inscription on another relief (*350*) which has the Attis type of bust in a cypress tree (cf 3 d) on both sides of the cave reads: G.P PRIMUS PATER, which is repeated on two other reliefs (cf 6 h 12). *G.P* seems to be Gautopates in which the initial palatal has been changed to a gutteral. By way of linguistic contrast, the chief dedicant of the Barberini Mithraeum was YPERANTHES (*391*), in which name the initial aspirate has been dropped. The name itself looks like the Greek translation of a Persian name [26].

1. The elongated ray that penetrates the cave and reaches either the head or mantle of Mithra is, I believe, the equivalent of the Avestan Čista whose sharpness of vision was manifested in various animals but particularly in the *vāregan* (raven, cf 2 c 4; 5 f 6), a special manifestation of Verethraghna (Yt 14.28-33; 16.4-15; cf 2 c 4). Her sharpness of vision was an expression of visibility itself, hence she was said to be white and dressed in white, the whiteness of visibility being in sharp contrast to the blackness of invisibility in the raven (5 f 6). Čista made visible the *upamana* (impulse) of Masdayasnian Religion[27]. As a close companion of Mithra she was said (Yt 10.126) to fly forth with him in his passage about the world and to be *razištā*, that is, most in accord with order (*ras*). In this respect she was akin to Rašnus, also called *razišta*, who is grouped with Sraoša as the two closest companions of the

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[26] Cf Herodotus, 1.139: "Their names are expressive of some bodily or mental excellence."

[27] Ilya Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, pp 166-169.

world traversing Mithra (Yt 10.100, 126; cf 6 b 1). Čista is substituted for Sraoša in one description of the circuit of Mithra (v. 126). Such a substitution is understandable when it becomes clear that Sraoša was the incarnation of the Ordering Word, whereas Čista was the Revealer of the visible order. Sraoša was the power of hearing and obedience to *aša* (6 b 1) and Čista was the power of seeing (cf 5 f 1).

2. The connection between Čista and Religion (Daēna=Dēn) turns in large measure upon the Iranian conception of Religion. It is important to grasp the scope of this conception. According to Herodotus (1.132) the Magi said that in the hymns which they chanted they were recounting the origin of the gods. It would probably have been more accurate to say that they were reciting their views of cosmology which had so large a place in Iranian religion (cf Diog. Laert., 1.6).

2.1. In the *Mihr Yašt* (10.64) Mithra's soul is called a great and powerful "deposit", or guarantee (?), for the beautiful and far spreading Daēna whose *čithrem* is distributed to all the seven regions. Here *čithrem* may be either visibility or progeny, for progeny was a manifestation of one's seed just as birth was a progression into light [28]. Daēna is called "all-knowing and undeceivable", as is also Mithra himself (Yt 10.60), and as such was said to be professed by *aša*-abiding Ahura Mazda and by all the Immortal Spentas; to Daēna Ahura gave jurisdiction over material beings (*gaēthanam*, Yt 10.92). Čista was the revealer of Aša which generated a world of Good Order (Aši Vanguhi) by means of wisdom, which is Daēna (cf 5 h 4).

2.2. In the *Bundahišn* (1.29,32 s, 35; 3.2) Dēn (=Daēna) is one of the three assistant creators (*dadhv*) and is probably intermediate between Space (Gās) and Time (Zamān), the other two. The wisdom of Dēn was held to be the Aristotelian mean between excess and deficiency by later Zoroastrian teachers [29]. Wisdom was a *patmān*

[28] *Yašt* 13.87: *čithrem* = Aryan race; Latin *species* = appearance, specie. Cf. Plutarch (in Euseb., *P.E.*, 3.1.5 = p 85): "For the end purpose of marriage is *genesis*, but *genesis* is the progression from darkness to sun and light," or in the *Greater Bundahišn* 1.38, conception and hollowing out of the foetus is followed by a "movement forward to the light."

[29] ZZ pp 248-253.

in accord with law and destiny both in the world of *mēnōk* volition (*kāmīk*) and *gētēh* visibility (*čihrīk*). *Patmān* was a norm, "mean" or covenant, and therefore more or less equivalent to the Avestan *mithrem* (compact). Sroš, called the Blessed One of the Compact, was said to be the Mēnōk of the covenant [30]. As an intermediate creator Dēn was simultaneous with the creating of creation (*apāk dām-dahišnīh*) and was the revelation of the creating and of the consumation of creation (*dahišnīh 'ut fražām i dām*). The Good Masdēsnian Dēn was also said to be simultaneous with Vahuman who was himself produced from the movement of light to be the movement of creation. Vahuman, the Avestan Vohu Mainyu, was a specialization of Spenta Mainyu who as a creator built the sky-chariot with its stars (Yt 10.143), which chariot was, of course, the *āsmān* or starry sky. Vahuman as the Mēnōk of cattle (4 g 2) was a Zoroastrian substitution for Mithra, Lord of Wide Cattle Lands (5 h 3.2) and of the shining lights of the sky. The star-studded heaven was the first created object of all *gētēh* objects (Visp. 7.5). Dēn therefore was both the Wisdom and the Revelation of the Visible World, the Revealer being more specifically Čista or the *čihr nērōk mēnōk* (5 c 5).

Although in the *Bundahišn* passages under consideration (1.29, 32, 35) Ohrmazd was said to have decreed creation, as Zoroastrians must say, it was also admitted that he needed the help of Vāy (=Vayu, the Wind), for Vāy of Long Self-Creation (*derang xvatāy*) was an *abzār* useful in causation and creativity. In ancient Near Eastern cosmologies wind and air were the primary source (*abzār*) of all creation (cf 5 j), but Zoroastrian dogma had to accord a secondary place to Wind and reserve the first place for Fire, the Fire of Ahura Mazda or of Spenta Mainyu. Wind comes close to Space as the first creator, for Space (Avestan Gāh) was the circuit of the heavens divided into five *gāh*, or space periods of sky motion for the total circuit of day and night (cf 6 h 10). Since the stages of creation were conceived to pass from the primeval *abzār* of motionless energy and substance, through movement of creativity, to time which was a correlate of motion, it follows that material

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30) ZZ p 347 = *Selections of Žātspram* 34.44.

creation began with actual motion in the initial creation and would continue until the perfection of creation in the consummation (*fraš-kart*) at the end of time. Dēn was the wisdom and the revelation of the movement of material creation and time.

2.3. Dēn was said therefore to be the revelation of the movement (*ravākīh*) and creativity (*dahišnīh*) of actual creation (*dām*) which arose from the creation principle (*dahišn*). Having her remote origin in the Zoroastrian Unlimited Form (*asar karp*), or otherwise in the primeval *abzār*, Dēn as such was coeval with the movement of fire and light which was the movement of creation in finite forms, the visible movement becoming most manifest in the *āsmān*. While the beginning of the revelation was in initial creation, or the First Body, its end will be in the consummation of creation, or the Final Body. It follows therefore that Religion for the Iranian was not a matter of personal emotions or opinions but rather a fundamental cosmology and teleology. In harmony with such a concept of religion the Iranian theologian must give attention to the Nature of the Universe as in the *Bundahišn* which sets forth Fundamental Creation, and in the *Dēnkart* which is concerned with the Consummation of Religion.

2.4. The essence of the revelation of Dēn was said to be the Ahunvar (Avestan Ahuna Vairyō), whose source was attributed to the Zoroastrian Endless Form. As a spoken formula, having the potency of a magic spell, it was the sovereign utterance that imparted motion to creation (5 c 5). It was supposed to be the revelation of the Will-Wisdom and Causation (*kāmīk-dānākiha 'ut kār*) of creation (*G. Bund.* 1.29). Dēn was said to be superior to Māthra because action was superior to speech[31]. The three Zoroastrian virtues were Good Thoughts, Good Words and Good Deeds, which would correspond to *mēnōk*, *vāxš* and *čihr*, and the greatest of these was the Good Deed. Religion therefore was not a system of thoughts and words but rather the wise activity of creation which was self-revealing. The deed was the consummation and revelation of prior words and thoughts. Therefore it was said that if Yima, the cosmic man (cf 6 h 5), had joined in himself

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31) R. Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi*, p 83.

the highest power of the essence (*xvarr*) of sovereignty (*šahr*) with the highest power of the essence of the Good Religion, the Destructive Spirit (Ahriman) would have been swiftly vanquished. Therefore both Šahr and Dēn will be combined in the Sošyans (Savior) who will usher in the renovated world (*Dēnkart* M. 129 s).

f. Iranian cosmology. Since the iconography of the Mithraic mysteries gives much attention to the parts of the cosmos, it is quite clear that cosmology was an important part of the Mithraic conception of religion. It will be necessary therefore to give adequate attention to this cosmology in order to illuminate various aspects of the religion of the mysteries. An understanding of Mithraic cosmology may be gained from the study of Iranian cosmology as reflected in Zoroastrian writings and checked against Mithraic iconography.

I shall begin with a passage from the *Dēnkart* [32] which presents a very important statement on cosmology, even though in a condensed and obscure form that requires considerable knowledge of the cosmology in order to understand it. The natural cosmology set forth in the passage is somewhat confused by the intrusion of a theism which tries to trace natural causation and process to the will of a creator-god, who, of course, must be the Zarathustrian Ahura Mazda and whose instrument must be Endless Form or Light, rather than damp wind and air. By omitting the typically Zoroastrian recastings, which I indicate by enclosing in brackets, this intrusive theism can be dispelled with little difficulty and the natural cosmology restored. The substance of the passage begins as follows:

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[32] ZZ p 371 = Madan p 349s. The cosmology of the *Dēnkart* passage that follows in the text may be compared with Plutarch's analysis of the meaning of the elder Horus-Apollo (*Mor.*, 373B-C). He says the birth of the elder Horus from Isis and Osiris while they were still in the womb of Rhea signifies that, before this cosmos became visible and matter was fully formed by *logos*, Matter, tried out by Physis, produced imperfectly from herself the First Genesis. For this reason they call the elder Horus born in darkness a cripple, for there was then no cosmos but only an image and phantasy of the cosmos to be. Subsequently this Horus is divided and perfected. In this exposition Rhea corresponds to the Abzār in which are Mēnōk and Gētēh creativity corresponding to Osiris and Isis or to Physis and Hylē, from which comes the first mass (*kōt*) or world *genesis* (5 f 1) which must be divided and perfected into the First Body. The latter is the younger Horus-Apollo whose eye is the moon and whose light is the sun, himself being the divine light (Ibid 375F). According to Aristotle (*Physics*, 8.1 = 250B24s) "Anaxagoras holds that when all things had remained together and motionless for an unbounded time, Mind (*nous*) initiated motion and separation." This is the ***Mēnōk nērōk*** of the *Dēnkart* cosmology.

> Concerning the original genesis (*bun-'bavišn*) of the material (*gētēh*) creation-principle (*dahišn*). It is said that an *abzār* is revealed which in Avestan is called Twofold-Endless Form (*asarō-karpa* 2), [which the Creator established from endless light (*anagr-rōšnīh*) and in which he caused creation (*dām*) to be contained]. Within the *abzār* were caused to be contained an *abzār* of *mēnōk dahišn* and another of the *gētēh dahišn*.
>
> Within the *abzār* of the *mēnōk dahišn* was included the *mēnōk i vāxš nērōk*, and within that of the *gētēh dahišn* was included and settled the *mēnōk i čihr nērōk*.
>
> The *abzār* of the *mēnōk dahišn*, containing a perfect achievement (*kart*) and therefore the cause of the creativity within this *abzār*, separated out of itself spontaneously the self-moving-word-principle (*vāxšōmand*) as self-moving gods (*mēnōk yazdān*), each for his own function.
>
> Within the *abzār* of the *gētēh dahišn* the *čihr nērōk mēnōk*, [included by the Creator's will and marvelous power], was united with the sovereignty (*šahr*) of the self-moving word power (*vāxš nērōk mēnōk*).

All things therefore came from a primary *abzār* of original causation (*mēnōk*) and matter (*gētēh*). These were unseparated twins. Sovereignty (*šahr*) whose essence was the self-motion of word power (*mēnōk i vāxš nērōk*) had its source in the self-motion principle but became manifest (*čihr*) in the material principle whose chief characteristic was visibility power (*čihr nērōk*). Both powers, word and visibility, were potentials or self-motions in the primary *abzār*, or energy-stuff. The *mēnōk* power was both efficient (*kār*) and final cause or end achievement (*kart*). For these Aristotelian functions the *logos* (*vāxšōmand*) emerged as gods, the gods being conceived as commanding voices rather than as morphic beings. The Divine Words were both the unmoved movers and the final potential achievement of creation, which must become visible in material creation.

1. The *Dēnkart* passage goes on to describe the stages in the evolution of the *gētēh* world itself as follows:

> The first stage of the material world, which in Avestan is called *kōt* and in the language of the world *KYŠ*, is a yeasty dough (*srēšak-srēšōtak-ič*). From this stage of *kōt* or doughyness is the stage which in Avestan is called conception and hollowing-out (*āvartakīh 'ut gabrīh-ič*) and in the language of men is called a phenomenon (*dītan*) of *nōk*(?)

> *KYŠ-ič*; this is a development (*hiyag*) of *kōt* and an achievement (*kart*) within it. From the stage of conception and hollowing-out, or of the phenomenon of *nōk KYŠ-ič*, is the stage which in Avestan is called formation (*dēsakōmandīh*) but in the language of men expansion (*vistartakīh-ič*); it is a *hiyag* of the stage and the stage is *kart-ič* within. From the stage called formation and expansion is the First Body (*fratom tan*), which in Avestan is called Ras and Spahr-ič and in the language of men Spihr-ič, which is united with the Self-moving Word Power (*vāxš nērōk mēnōk*) and has within it the element of lights (*zahak rōšnān*) for all creation that is controlled below, the sun, moon and stars alike in origin. They belong to visible bodies, themselves being the highest visibles (*čihrān*).

The idea of a yeasty mass (*srēšak*) becoming the habitable world is preserved in a myth that Ahura Mazda supernaturally produced the three kinds of holy fire (cf 5 h 2.2) on a Srišaok ship so that the first Iranians under their King Takhmuras (5 f 2.4) could reach inhabitable land. According to a variant myth (*Dēnk.* M. p 314.4) they were to ride over the sea on the back of the Sarsōk bull, on which the hearth of the three *xvarr* fires was kindled amid violent wind (*Sel. Zātspram*, 3.86). The likeness of the world to a leavened mass was also seen in the *draōna* cake. In a Pahlavī text [33] the cake itself is compared to the earth, its borders round about to the Harburz mountains encircling the earth (cf 5 c), and the clarified butter (*gaus huda*) placed in its middle is likened to the Peak of Judgment.

1.1. The yeasty mass, written as KYŠ (= *KUŠ* ?) in the text, was equivalent to *kōt*, a contemporary form of the Avestan term, which would be *kaōta* (cf *draōna* = *drōn*, *kaōfa* = *kōf*, mountain). Both *kōt* and *kōf* come from an Indo-European root **k'va-* in which the *k* was originally accompanied by either an aspirate or sibilant. This appears in the Sanscrit root *çu*=*çva-*, as in *çava*, swell up, become hollow, become crusty or strong, which are the phenomena of yeasty dough becoming a loaf of bread. A very rapid fermentation not only generates internal heat that expands the moist mass, but may also emit bubbling or hissing sounds. Such was the process by which the world mountain was believed to grow upward and downward to form the world (5 c).

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33) *Apar čim i drōn*, see Pavry, op cit (pt 4, n 22), p 79, n 37; cf *Pahlavī Rivāyat*, 56.1 = Molé, op cit (pt 4, n 11), p 121.

From the root *k'va-* variously extended come words in which the basic ideas are to swell up or expand, to form a hollow space, to emit seething sounds, to form a crust or skin, and the like [34]. The word *kōt* (=*kavāta, kaōta*) should therefore denote a substance that can generate internal heat, become hollowed out and inflated into a hard shell. Observation of such a process suggested the three stages in the evolution of the First Body. *Kuš* should be related to Sanscrit *çus* or *çvas*, a substance that makes hissing sounds in its activity. *Kōf* (=*kavafa, kaōfa*), the word for a vast mountain or cave, comes from *k'va-va-*, an extension of the root that emphasizes the activity and force involved and should be connected with Sanscrit *kup*, bubble up, *kupa*, spring, cave, *çvabhra*, cave [35], and perhaps also with the Syro-Anatolian Huvava, Humbaba, Kubaba, which was formerly a monster of the mountains. This monster would represent the unformed and chaotic world mass which must be subdued by the hero-creator of order (cf 5 f 10). To the same root one may connect the English words *heap* [36] and *heave* [37]. *Heaven* is the *sky* (cf *ksv-*, *skv-*) that has been heaved upward like a great mountain top or cave roof [38]).

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34) The idea of inflation and swelling appears in Sanscrit *çavas*, strength, *çura*, man of might, *çuna*, emptiness, with which one may compare Greek *kuma*, swelling wave, *kūros*, mighty one, *kfeneos*, empty, *koilos*, hollow sky = *poilos-pīlos*, sky-cap; Latin *cavus*, hollow, *caelum*, sky, and Lithuanian *szventas*=Church Slavic *sventu*=Avestan *çpenta* = *spenta*, increasing, holy or august, cf Latin *augustus*, Greek *sebastos*, increaser, revered.

The idea of a breathing or huffing sound appears in Sanscrit *çvas*, blow, whistle=Anglo Saxon *hweōs*=English *wheeze, whistle, whisper*; Sanscrit *çusma*, hissing breath, *çvan*, huffler, dog; Greek *skylax*, *skymnos*, English *whelp*, cf Greek *kuōn*, dog, *kueō*, become great with offspring, *kuneō*=*kus*, English *kiss*.

The idea of bubbling, boiling, sucking dry, or crusting over appears in Sancrit *çus*, suck, be dry=Avestan *hus*, Greek *hauō*, *saukos*; in Sanscrit *kapha*=Avestan *kafa*, foam, slime=Greek *aphros*, foam, Gothic *hvathjan*, foam, boil; and in Greek *skutos*=Latin *cutis*, skin, *scutum*, leather shield; cf Greek *skyphos*, *kypellon*=*kypē*, hollow vessel=English *cup*, *skiff*, *skull*, *scalp*, and the like. Cf also *skybalon* (4 g 3).

35) Cf Greek *spēlaion*, cave, *kybelon*, *kybelē*, hollow, cavity.

36) Old Saxon *hōp*, Old High German *hūfo*, Russian *kupa*, Lithuanian *kaupas*.

37) Old English *hebben*, Gothic *hafjan*, heave upward with heavy breathing, cf *huff*.

38) Fear that the sky-roof might fall was wide spread among the Celtic peoples, cf Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.4; Duval, op cit (pt 2, n 5), p 24; Paus., 10.23.3.

1.2. The energy causing the heaving process was *heat*[39] as in the *hoove* disease in *hoven* (cattle) which caused expansion by inflating the stomach with gas, or as in the brewing of the *hop*. The hop belongs to the genus *humulus* (from *kvava-*), a plant that contains the dynamic force of moisture and heat. The curved shell formed by expansion appears in *hemmel, hem,* a shed or shelter, that is cognate with Gothic *hamōn,* cover, Old High German *himil,* heaven, Latin *camur,* curved, *cupola,* vault, Greek *kamara,* a vaulted chamber, a round boat covered with fat (or suet ?), or a round topped stele (like our type II), and with Avestan *kamara,* a girdle worn about the body. Sanscrit *camara* (cf Prussian *kamus*), on the other hand, denotes the reverberating sound of an ox rather than the *hump* on his back. Greek *kamīns,* a vaulted oven, is connected with Gothic *himins,* the hot sky.

1.3. In English the word *hump* conveys the idea of a mass that has been *heaved* upward by some force within, and is related to Latin *humerus* (Greek *ōmos*), shoulder. The shoulder is a *hump* that supports the *head* (cf 5 j 7), just as the shoulders of Atlas support the sky as a head. The shoulder or shank was not only the meat of kings[40], but was also the instrument with which the Mithraic initiate, perhaps of a rulership grade (9 a 13, 16), was purified (9 a 3) by a blow on the head or shoulder (cf Ger. *Heule,* club shank). It is of interest that the special powers of Ahriman for working evil were imparted to Zohak (= Aži Dahāka) by a kiss on his bare shoulders, which caused ravenous snakes to grow out of them[41]. Snakes also issue from the groins or rest their heads on the shoulder of the Mithraic Deus aeternus (*103* 116*), as well as on his head (11 b 2). An obscure passage in the *Rigveda* (1.51.5) says that Indra banished wizards who by a peculiar custom "sacrificed on the shoulder". Twin offspring also issue from the shoulder of the ancient Great Mother and Mountain Father (see n. 58).

1.4. The Pahlavī word for girdle (*hūš* or *kostīk,* cf Avestan *kamara*) may be a cognate of *kōt* or *KYŠ*. The girdle was worn by the true Zoroastrian as a sacred obligation, not only because it signified the bond of *aša*, but also because it imitated the sky-girdle that enveloped the world (*Dātastān i Dēnīk*, 39.11 s). The golden *hūš* worn by Spandarmat, the Mēnōk of earth and wisdom (5 h 4), was called the Dēn of the Mazdayasnians [42]. With Spandarmat's *hūš* or *kostīk* one should consider the *kestos*, or girdle, of Aphrodite Urania, a primary mover in material generation (4 g 6; 10 f 4; cf 5 j 1.2). In the final conflict with Ahriman and Āz (Lust) Ohrmazd was to come to the world as a *zaotar* priest with Srōš as his *raspi* priest (cf 6 h 10.1). By holding the *kust* in his hand while pronouncing the *kusti* formula he would make the evil one impotent. Moreover the future Sošyāns would prepare *hūš* and white *hōm* from the "fate" (*xvarr*) of the slain Hadhayoš ox and would give the drink to men who would thereby become immortal (*Bund.* 30.25s).

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[39] Anglo Saxon *hāt,* Gothic, *heito,* fever, *hais,* torch.

[40] Schol. on Soph., *Oed. Col.,* 1375; cf Frazer, *Apollodorus,* LCL I, p 350, n 1.

[41] Firdausī, *Šāhnāmeh.*

Surely the *hūš* drink and the *kūš* or *kusti* girdle, as well as the *husti* formula which was so potent, must be connected with the world stuff in the *KYŠ-kōt* that was formed into the world girdle by its internal energy, particularly since the renovation of the world was believed to be an exact return to the beginning. *Husti* and *hūš* must be cognates of Sanskrit *hava-*, *hū-*, to make an utterance as in the the *havis* formula of the sacred drink, and of *sava-*, *sū-*, to press out, or stimulate generative force. The sacred drink *soma*= *haoma-hōm* was a liquid that was pressed out (*sava*, *savana*), and apparently derived its vital force from a primeval life-giving moisture within the herb or plant from which it came (cf 6 h 4.2). Moreover the initial function in Zoroastrian rites was that of the *hāvanan* priest (Vend. 5.58) who crushed the *haoma*, and the beginning period of daylight, assigned to Mithra, was the *hāvan* Gās (6 h 10). The symbol of the Pater patrum in Mithraic rites was the cup that held the sacred liquid and was associated with a primeval Saturnus (9 a 17.1; 10 f 5; 11 css), sometimes shown shrouded in a veil.

1.5. The Hadhayoš ox was the primeval bull of heaven that was guarded by Gōpatšāh (5 f 2.2) in a bronze castle (*Sel. Zāts.* 35.15), which would be the *āsmān* (5 c). The highest heaven of all was called

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42) ZZ p 163, n C = *Sel. Zātspram* 4.6; cf *Dātastān i dēnīk* 39.11-15=Molé, op cit (pt 4, n 11), p 410s.

the *hadhana hadhana tanasus* (Yt 12.38). *Hadhana* may be connected with the pomegranate tree (*hadhanaēpata*), just as the Sky-ox was connected with the Ox-horn tree (*gaokerena*), from which tree came one form of *haoma*. Otherwise the drink was prepared from the vitality (or suet?) of the *hadhayoš* ox (cf 6 h 4.2). Whether life came from a primeval tree, ox, *kōt* or *abzār* depended upon the myth that was being shaped into a cosmology.

2. The successive stages in the supposed evolution of the material world of the Aryan people became at an early date anthropomorphized into myths of primeval Kavi (M.P. Kai= Manifestations) of a remote Pēšdādyan (or Avestan Paradhāta) era. With the passing centuries the personal histories of the Kavi, or Kayan dynasty, became more and more ramified and anthropomorphized. *Kavi* is related to Vedic *kavi-*, *ku-*, see, be visible. These Manifest Ones were the Enclosing (*para-*) creators (*dhāt*, *dād-*) of the primeval (*pēš-*, former) age, the land of Iran being an enclosure (*vara*, *varena*, Erānvēž). According to the *Dātastān i Dēnīk* (37.36), among the *fravahr* of heroes who had entered into a material vestment were the "world-preparers" like the Pēšyotan (*'hān i gēhān-vīrād čeyon Pēšyotan*).

2.1. The first of the creators was Kavi Kavāta (= Kai Kobad) who was none other than the Visible Kōt (=*kavāta*). His vitality or fate (=*xvarr*) was said to have been found in the Alborz mountains after his first embodiment in Lake Kāsava (=Kaša), which lake was called the original home or source of the Kayan race (*Bund.* 21.7), whence they went to Alborz. In an elemental form of the myth the passage from *kāsava* to *kavāta* would be the evolution from the liquid mass to the world mountain. In the *Dātastān* passage those of *xvarr*-seed are likened to Kai Kavāt.

2.2. From Kavi Kavāta came Kavi Gauš (=Kai Kauš or Uša), who appears in the *Šāhnāmeh* of Firdausī as Kaiumers and in Zoroastrian cosmological myths as Gayōmard, the primeval bull-man (cf 12 b 3). Kavi Gauš was the Bull (*gav-*) who was also called Garšāh, Mountain-King. His powers were represented as two brothers, one being Aghraēratha the Gōpatšāh, Bull-Lord-King, and the other being Frangrasyan, the infamous Afrāsyāb or Zohak (=Avestan Aži Dahāka), who in a more elemental function withheld the waters of Iran. His brother in bull form was the giver of water. Afrāsyāb was the Dīv (=*daeva*) of burning heat. Water and heat were the two primary elements of world generation as also of life. In the *Dātastān* passage the equivalent of Gayōmard or Gauš is called Ošnar (the knowing or mortal hero=*nar*) who was like those of full wisdom (*pur-xrat*, cf Ostanes, from *oš*, mortal or understanding, and *tan*, body). The offspring of Kavi Gauš was Syāvakhš, the Dark-growing, or Syāvaršan, the Dark Bull, called in Firdausī Syāmuk, the Blue One. Because he was the dark aspect of the Sky-bull he was not called a Kavi, and he was slain in conflict with Dīv, an elemental myth of the temporary victory of fire over water. In the *Dātastān* passage he is called the lusty (*āzātak*) one, perhaps because mankind inherited generative power from him (cf *Dēnk*. M. p. 231.12). He was merely one aspect of Kavi Gauš, the cosmic bull, both visible and invisible.

2.3. The emerging order was advanced by Kavi Haōšyangha or Hušravah (=Kai Khošrav), an offspring of Syāmuk called Hušeng by Firdausī. He not only overcame the Dīv of fire but introduced the arts of making fire with flint, of cooking and the use of skins and metals. In the *Dātastān* passage Kai Hošroy was like those of "super-causation" (*aparkār*), whereas Hošeng was like a "primeval-creator" (*pēšdāt*). The forms of the name make it clear that he was the Mover (*angh-*, cf 5 h 2.1; *rava-*, *ru*, *lu-*) of the *KYŠ-kōt* (=*haoš- khoš-*). *Ravah* is a mover that strikes apart (cf Greek *luo*, Latin *ruo*) and therefore corresponds to the hollowing out or separating stage in the world mass. Either the same or a parallel root denotes the noise, bellow or *roar* (Lat. *rumor*; Goth. *runa*, *razda*), caused by the cosmic separations. This may also be related to Sanscrit *ras*, *rās*, bellow, with which one may compare the First Body called a Ras (or Wheel). Likewise the Sanskrit word *camara* (cf *kamara*, the girdle or vault of heaven) denotes the bellow of an ox. It was the self motion of voice-power (*vāxš nērōk*) that set creation into motion, as pointed out above (5 c 5). Hušravah not only set the world into motion by reducing fire to useful purposes, but he also destroyed both the Dīv or Ghu of cosmic heat and the many *daeva* of Mazan or Mazandaran which were bitterly opposed to Spenta Mainyu, the Zarathustrian Ahura Mazda (5 h 3).

2.4. From Kavi Hušravah came Kavi Takhma Urupa, the Tahumers of Firdausī, who was credited with the taming of wild animals and the art of weaving. He was in particular the Binder of Ghu, a heat demon like Dīv. As father of Kai Jemšed, the Avestan Yima Khšaēta (the Shining), Takhma Urupa was the equivalent of both the Vedic Tvastar Visvarupa and Vivasvant (=Avestan Vivangvant), the Flasher. Visvarupa, the All-Forming, was a regular epithet of Tvastar or Dyaus Tvastar and appears as Urupa, the epithet of Takhma. If Hušravah set the cosmic wheel in motion by separating its parts, Takhma advanced it by weaving things together. The first function corresponds to the stage of hollowing out and conception, also called the appearance (*dītan*) of cosmic (*Kyš-ič*) separations (*nōk*?), whereas the second function corresponds to formations and expansions. Under Takmuras the Srišaok "ship" or Sarsōk bull became an inhabitable cosmos, or arrived at the First Body. This living world was the star-studded sky, the garment of Spenta Mainyu and the Shining body of Yima, the "Joined". This was the swift moving throne on which Jemšed was elevated, according to Firdausī, a throne akin to the Greek *thabakos* (5 h 3). If Takhma, the All-Forming Weaver of bodies, corresponds to Spenta Mainyu, the Increasing Mind, then Hušravah the Mover and Separator should correspond to Angra Mainyu, the Moving Mind (cf 5 h 2).

Between Kavi Kavāta, the cosmic stuff, and Yima, the cosmic First Body, there were three Manifestations, Kavi Gauš, the manifest Man or Bull of Heaven, Kavi Hušravah the Mover, and Kavi Takhma the Fashioner, the first corresponding to Kōt-KYŠ, the second to Nōk KYŠ-ič, and the third to Vistartakīh.

3. This brings us to the *Dēnkart* exposition of zoogony in which three stages are also defined between the First Body and Living creatures. The passage runs as follows: [43]

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43) See note 32. The following theory of the separation of the elements and their combination into bodies should be compared with that of Aristotle, *De caelo*, 301A5-20. On the importance of cosmic heat and moisture in *genesis*, one may note a passage in Plutarch's discussion of *Whether Fire or Water is More Useful* (*Mor.*, 957B-C): "Earth and water are the foundation at the bottom of the universe, like matter (*hylē*), having a capacity for growth and generation so far as it is received from *pneuma* and *pūr* (fire), which are

> From the Ras is *bavišn* (=*genesis*), which is heat and moisture (*garm 'ut xvēt*), a wind-movement (*vātōmand*) of the same composition as the *mēnōk vāxš* of like force, a material element of creative principles (*zahak gētēh dahišnān*) as a seed of seeds, which is genesis-in-motion (*bavišn ravišnīh*). The elements as a *dēsak* (form) of genesis are called regulative (*rastakān-ič*). From genesis-in-being (*bavišn ēstišnīh* are living bodies (*zīndakān*), which, including cattle and men, are *gētēh*, that is, *dēsak* as bodily form (*karp*).

The First Body was the cosmic Ras, or Āsmān, with its orbs of light. The Ras was in the form of a great Wheel (*čaxrah, G. Bund.* 29.12) which controlled all genesis and becoming. Becoming, or *bavišn*, had its origin as a seed of seeds in a windy substance (=*pneuma*) that was both warm and moist and had a voice that was self-moving or intelligent. From this primary substance and energy came the four elements as the first stage of separations and motion. This part of the cosmology is treated with greater precision in other passages of the *Dēnkart*. In citing these I shall indicate intrusive theistic phrases by parentheses. The first to be cited (Madan p. 120, 22s=ZZ p. 145, I) runs as follows:

> The seed of *gētēh* was (by the Creator's fashioning creativity) from the *abzār* power of the cosmos, which in Dēn is called the warm-moist origin of material creativities, or materiality (*mātay-ič*). The *dēsak* of first things (through the Creator's causative compact) was from *bavišn* which in Dēn is called *bavišn ravišnīh*, but specifically the four elements of wind, fire, water, and earth (*gil*), the visible origin of material beings (*bun gētēhān čihr*). The *dēsak* of secondary things (through the Creator's completing causation) was from genesis-in-motion and is called *bavišn ēstišnīh*, but specifically the mixture of the four properties in living beings. The *dēsak* of tertiary things (through the Creator's marvelous causation) are the *fravahr* and *ruvān* joined with the same properties materially, but specifically men, cattle and other living beings (that are good).

The next passage (Madan p 124, 18ss=ZZ loc cit) is somewhat briefer, but is of interest because of the light it sheds on the conception of fate as an embodiment of the soul. It runs as follows:

the creators and demiurges that arouse them to *genesis*. Of these two fire is the first principle and ruler." D. "Motion is a form of heat without which water becomes stagnant and septic. Moving water is called living water, heat being maintained by its motion." E. "*Sēpsis* is a corruption (*phthora*) of moisture and death is a total eclipse of heat."

> From the Ras (by the Creator's fashioning) is the ordering (*rasītak*) for genesis as warmth and moisture, the first material origin of creativities (*gētēh dahišnān fratom bun*). From genesis as warm moisture is genesis-in-motion as the four elements, namely, wind, fire, water and earth. From genesis-in-motion is genesis-in-being as forms of mixing (*advēnakān i āmēxtak*). From the elemental forms (*zahakān advēnakān*) is fate for bodies (*baxtak 'ō karpān*).

3.1. These three passages begin with the Āsmān or Ras as the first body of the material order and define three progressions in development by which living bodies emerge in the world of fate. These three stages of *bavišn* or genesis are first, warm moisture or wind (=*pneuma*), second, motion in the separation of the four elements, and third, becoming as the compounding of these elements into bodies with their different properties. These combinations and properties of bodies determine the fate of souls embodied within them, this embodiment, or marriage of body and soul, being the culmination of genesis in a living being. The first stage in this evolution is without *dēsak,* or form, being that of the vocal wind. The first form is that of the four elements produced in the second stage of evolution. The combination of the elements into a body is the second *dēsak* but the first intelligible form or species (*advēnak*). The living body with its bonded soul is the third *dēsak.* In symbolism therefore the monad may stand for the primary energy-stuff, the dyad for primary separations and the triad or triplicity may signify the multiplicity of the material world of living beings. The passages cited make it clear that *bavišn* or "Genesis is in fact the seed of seeds, the origin of the material world and is derived from the Ras. From the Ras arose Genesis, and the movement of Genesis is defined as *dēsak* within the *fravaštak* seed" (*Dēnk.* M p 207, 17s). The *fravaštak* seed is quite likely the *fravahr* as the first principle of man which becomes the *ruvān,* or perceptive soul, in the body (6 g 2), while the seed becomes the structure or *advēnak* of the body (4 g 1).

3.2. It should be observed that the warmth-moisture of *bavišn* as a seed of all seeds corresponds to the Kōt-KYŠ mass of doughy material and to the Abzār of Mēnōk and Gētēh powers. The self-motion of mind, heat, or sound within these first principles produces the first stage in the evolution of the material world of elemental bodies. The second stage and first form of development from these twin principles of energy and matter is either the separation of the elements or the hollowing out of the mass through the action of heat as in a lump of dough. The third stage and second form is the appearance of phenomenal bodies by the combination of the elements or by growth and expansion from the forces within the bodies, as in the development of a foetus. This is the most visible stage in the formation of the prototype or intelligible forms (*advēnakān*). The third form which is simultaneous with the third stage is the compounding of the *fravahr* with the body to which it imparts perceptive power (*ruvān*) and fortune (*xvarr*), while the body fixes the fate (*baxt*) of the soul. The Zoroastrians derived the *ruvān* from solar fire, as also *xvarr* (6 g 2).

In this cosmology and zoology there is an emphasis upon twin powers not only in the unformed causation stuff but also in the principles of Genesis and of the soul, one power being invisible and moving (*mēnōk, garm, ruvān* or *fravahr*) and the other being visible and increasing (*gētēh, xvēt, advēnak* or *tan*).

Of the four elements fire was considered to be warm and dry, air warm and moist, water moist and cold, and earth cold and dry [44]. In the pronounced dualism of Zoroastrian dogma it was said that "The substance of Ohrmazd is warm and moist, bright, fragrant and light in weight, whereas the substance of Ahriman is cold, dry, dark, heavy and stinking" [45]. Moreover, it was also said that "All material Genesis (*gētēhīh ʾbavišn*)......... is the uniting by compact (*patmān*) of water and fire, of female and male; having been created together they are considered sister and brother". "Water together with fire is a substance being both father and mother of the different *advēnakan*" [46]. It is reasonably clear that in a non-Zoroastrian cosmology windy air, warm and moist, and not fire or light was the seed of seeds or primary causation-stuff of the world.

3.3. A passage of the *Dēnkart* [47] describes the three stages

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44) Arist., *De gen.*, 303A30, discussed at length in Plutarch, *De primo frigido* (*Mor.*, 945F-955C).

45) *G. Bund.* 181.6, 11=ZZ p 141, n 3.

46) *Dēnkart* Madan p 79.21; p 468.10=ZZ p 79, n D.

47) Idem p 282.7ss=ZZ p 389, Z20.

between infinite energy-matter and the final emergence of finite bodies by contrasting the cyclic motion of Time (*zamān*) with the motion of Wisdom (*dānākīh*=*dēn*) which progresses straight forward from beginning (*bun*) to end (*sar*). The statement runs as follows:

> From power cause (*kār-nērōk*) as an original seed called in Avestan semen-flowing (*aršnōtačin*) (through the Creator's creating) is a progression-cause (*kār kunišn*) corresponding to Time-progression (*zamānak kunišn*). From progression-cause is completion-cause (*kār fražāmišn*) corresponding to finite-time-division (*zamān brīn kanārak*). Finite-time-division returns to infinite time whose essence is its sameness (*hamayīkīh*) and impassibility (*asačišnīh*) which belong to it at the Final body (*tan i pasēn*). Just as the authorities have said, time was originally infinite, then it became subjected to finiteness and at the end returns to the infinite. Cosmic time (*dātastān zamān*) coming from original infinity, through finite divisions of causation (*brīn kanārakīh i kārīk*), movement (*ravišnīk*) and transition (*sačišnīk*), returns to the infinity of completion (*akanārakīh i fražāmīk*).

Cosmic or fixed time is a cyclic motion from infinity to infinity. The circle which might be represented as an Agathos Daimōn (2 b 8) or as fate (note 4, pt 2), has three parts or phases; one, the causation of finite time divisions, two, the progress and transition in time, and three, the completing and perfecting of the world in finite time, which lead to the sameness and immobility of perfection.

4. The progressions of Time and Wisdom, or Religion, can best be visualized when correlated with the other cosmological progressions which we have outlined hitherto. These are presented in the following table.

Type of cosmology	*Progressions*			*Results of progressions*
	Stage 1	*Stage* 2	*Stage* 3	
MYTH:				
Kavi Kavāta (visible world)	Kavi Gauš (visible and invisible bull) Syāvaršan	Kavi Hušravah (visible mover of world mass)	Kavi Takhma Urupa (visible fashioner of all-forms)	Yima Khšaēta (United and shining)
ENERGY:				
Mēnōk dahišn (self-moving creativity)	Mēnōk-Gētēh Abzār (motion-matter instrument)	Vāxš nērōk and šahr (voice power and rulership)	Čihr nērōk mēnōk (power of visibility motion)	Dām-dahišn (creation creativity = Genesis)

MATTER:				
Gētēh dahišn (Material creativity)	Kōt, KYŠ (yeasty mass)	Nōk(?) KYŠ-ič (separations in septic mass)	Vistartakīh (growth or expansions)	Fratom tan, Spihr, Ras (first body, sky wheel)
LIFE:				
Rasītak 'bavišn (cosmic Genesis)	Bavišn as garm-xvēt (Genesis as heat and moisture)	Ravišn as vāt, ātaxš, āp, gil (motion as wind, fire, water, earth)	Ēstišn as āmēčišn (becoming as mixture of elements)	Zīndakān (beings having a *fravahr*)
CAUSATION:				
Bun tōhmak, aršnōtačin (original seed, semen-flowing)	Kār nērōk (causation power)	Kār kunišn (causation progression)	Kār fražāmišn (causation completion)	Fraškart (completion perfected)
WISDOM:				
Dēn (Religion)	Dēn kārīk (religion as causation)	Dēn ravākīh (religion in progress)	Fražānak dēn (perfective religion)	Tan i pasēn (perfected world body)
TIME:				
Dātastān zamān, from zamān akanārak (established time from infinite time)	Brīn kanāra-kīh i kārīk (causation of time periods)	Zamānak kunišn, ravišnīk, sačišnīk (time progression and change)	Fražāmišn i zamān, zamān brīn kanārak (completion of epochal time)	Akanārakīh i fražāmīk as hamayīkīh (infinity of perfection, as sameness)

5. In these cosmologies the end result is generally conceived to be a completion of the beginning after a long period of separations and recombinations. This intermediate period of movement and growth belongs to religion both as creative wisdom and as the manifestation of this wisdom. Dēn operates as a Creator within the limits of cyclic time and the motions of matter and space. That Space was equivalent to the circular motion of the Spihr or Ras is reasonably evident because the total circuit of the sky was divided into five Spaces (6 h 10). These were the totality ot finite space, whereas the totality of finite time began with self-motion within the world energy-stuff and ends with the perfection of the final body, which is the body that is fitted (*pasēn*). Dēn reveals

to Expanding (Spenta) and Good (Vohu) Mind (Mainyu) all that happens until the *fraškart,* but by its wisdom also brings about the *fraškart* (*G. Bund.* 1.33). Endowed with such powers, Religion prepares the road for Mithra when he drives victoriously over the wide round earth (6 a 3), he being both a Demiourgos or Poietes and Despotes or Pater of *genesis* in the world-cave (pt 1).

5.1. Religion-in-motion (*dēn ravākīh*) was said [48] to be like the walls of a house of which the foundation is creation-creativity (*dām-dahišnīh*) and the roof is consummation-accomplishment (*fraškart-kartārīh*). *Dēn ravākīh* was a median causation (*patmān-kārīk*) between religion-causation and perfective religion (*dēn kārīk* and *fražānak-dēn*). The first creation of Ohrmazd after the Amahraspands was said to have been "The ordering utterance (*rāst 'saxvan*) of Perfective Religion to assist the Amahraspands, this Religion being all-knowing, wide-embracing, a most comprehensive girdle and subtile body, a seed of seeds, a source of varied fates, in short the god (*bag*) Ahunvar, according to the words of the Good Religion" [49]. Religion was the equivalent not only of Avestan Daēna but also of Ārstāt, creator of order or justice in the world (cf Visp. 7.2).

5.2. Such a conception of religion in the Mithraic mysteries would explain the tendency in a Graeco-Roman environment to make both the cult picture and the Mithraeum into an elaborate representation of the cosmos. Revelation and religion would be synonymous in so far as the revelation was complete, but completeness would surely require more than one picture or one initiation.

6. On the tauroctones the solar rays represent the Visibility Power which reveals the Way of Religion, while the black Raven whose voice orders the death of the bull represents the Word Power whose ordering utterance is Religion-in-motion, and whose flight is that of the creative wind which is warm and moist. The blackness of the raven (*vāregan* or *vāraghna*) could suggest the invisibility of the winged word that initiates Genesis in the world cave. The raven holds the edge of Mithra's mantle in his beak (cf *435* 2062*) to indicate that his utterance is the voice of heaven

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48) *Sel. Zātspram* 34.21=ZZ p 344s.

49) *Dēnkart* Madan p 873.9=ZZ p 215, n E.

represented by the sky mantle. He is regularly connected with the cave or sky dome in the tauroctone picture and precedes the solar rays into the murky darkness of the cave.

The Mithraic raven has a parallel in the Karšipta bird which brought the religion of Mazda into the Vara, or Paradise, of Yima (Vend. 2.42). At the baptism of Jesus it was a dove that brought or accompanied the heavenly voice which announced the regeneration of Jesus as the Son of God when he emerged from the water. An eagle, taken to be the "Majesty of the Kayanian sovereignty", forecast the seizure of royal power by Ardašir, and the Farnbag fire in the form of a hawk saved Šapor for kingship [50]. An eagle led Gordias to kingship in ancient Phrygia (cf also Livy, 1. 34). The eagle was the bird of sovereignty (Zeus), whereas the raven was the bird of intelligence (Apollo).

6.1. The idea of creation being initiated by a divine word has already been discussed (5 c 5). In ancient Mesopotamian cosmology the voice of intelligence, called Mummu, was an element in the primeval waters of creation, called the Apsu (or Absu), and Enki, the god of the House of the Apsu, was the god of wisdom and knowledge [51]. In Hebrew cosmology the word spoken in the Apsey caused the appearance of the firmament in the separated waters, and also of light and the other parts of creation. The words were spoken by the Breath (*ruak*) of God moving (cf *rava-*, *ru-*) over the waters. Porphyrius says (*De antro*, 10) theologians believed that

> souls settle down to water that is divinely inspired, as Noumenios says. For this reason he says also, "The prophet has spoken of a breath (*pneuma*) of god being brought in over the surface of the water, and the Egyptians for the same reason do not stand any of their divinities on anything firm, but all, even the sun, on a boat; and in brief, it must be known to all whomsoever that souls flying to water or moisture are souls descending into birth."

7. The Apsu and Apsey of Mesopotamian and Hebrew cosmology correspond to the Asara Karpa of Avestan and to the Abzār of

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50) *Karnāmik i Artakhšir* 3 and 7.

51) Dhorme, op cit (pt 4, n 19), pp 32-34. In the *Enūma Elish* Mummu is connected with wind or clouds as a director and purifier, as well as a counselor, Tablet I, 3-5, 30-48; VII, 86-7. Damascius took Mummu, called Mōymis, to be the *noētos kosmos*, Heidel, op cit (n 4, pt 3), p 75s.

later Iranian speculation. The Apsu, like the Oceanus of Homer, was all-encompassing water which is paralleled by the murky Chaos of Phoenician and Hesiodic cosmology (5 j 2). The idea that water was the primary stuff of creation is clearly preserved in the Zoroastrian documents already discussed. It was even said that creation came from a drop of water and that the clouds were a watery instrument (*abr abzār*) which was distributed by a windy instrument (*vāy-ič abzār*) that was useful in creativity (5 e 2.2) [52]. The original source of fire was taken to be a windy fire and the original source of water was the primeval sea (*Dēnk.* M.p. 199.18). Windy fire was a hot-moist air in motion (cf *asthma*, 9 a 10).

It is noteworthy that Ahura Mazda prayed to Anāhita, goddess of heavenly waters, for the conversion of Zarathustra (Yt 5.17s) and Zarathustra was instructed by Ahura Mazda to make his first prayers to the waters (Yas 65.10), the productive waters being called Ahuras, or wives, of Ahura (cf 5 h 5). The primacy of watery breath or vapor is preserved in a fragment of Heracleitus, in which according to Aristotle [53] "Heracleitus says the first principle (*archē*) is *psychē* or in any case the rising vapor (*anathūmiāsis*) of which all things consist". This is noteworthy because Heracleitus, like the Zoroastrians, advocated fire as the first principle instead of water, like Thales, or air-vapor, like Anaximenes. According to Zātspram[54], "Ohrmazd created with water and will bring about the end with fire, for water has a nature that illumines (*rōšnāk*) the seed and causes it to grow (*vaxsāk*)". Thus Zoroastrian dogma made every possible effort to change the primary stuff and energy of the cosmos into fire or light instead of water.

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[52] *G. Bund.* 1.25, 35; 3.16; 17.4.

[53] *De anima*, 1.2 = 405A25. In the same work (405B2s) Aristotle says, "Some of the less exact thinkers, like Hippo, have declared the *psychē* to be water. This belief seems to arise from the fact that the seed of all animals is moist." A similar view may have been held by Empedocles, who according to Plutarch (*Mor.*, 887), wrote the verse lines: "Hear first the four roots of all: Zeus the Brilliant, Hera the life-bringer, Aidoneus next, and Nestis who with tears makes wet the bubbling spring of mortals," from which the author deduces that "Zeus is burning and *aithēr*, Hera the lifebringer is *aēr*, Aidoneus the earth, but Nestis and the mortal fountain are such as seed and water." It may be noted that Nestis was the name of a river in Sicily. As for Heracleitus, this author records his saying (*Mor.*, 877) that "From fire everything is generated and ends up in fire. By being extinguished everything in the cosmos is created. First the thickest part of fire being condensed into itself becomes earth, and earth being dissolved by the nature of fire produces water, and water being vaporized becomes air. Again the cosmos and all bodies are dissolved by a conflagration of fire. Fire therefore is a first principle because out of it comes everything and at last everything is resolved into it." On the other hand Plutarch makes note (*Mor.*, 392C) that "Heracleitus used to say that the death of fire is the birth of air, and the death of air is the birth of water." It would appear that for Heracleitus the First Principle (*archē*) was no one of the elements but rather Change, otherwise called War, God, or Logos. Within this First principle were the twins *genesis* and *thanatos*, the latter being the equivalent of Aristotle's *phthora*, corruption or passing

7.1. The derivation of water as a secondary element from the bright sky is found also in Vedic cosmology. Flowing water as Saranyu is called the daughter of Dyaus Pitṛ, the Shining Sky, or of Dyaus Tvastar Visvarupa. Saranyu was the equivalent of the Heavenly Waters (Apsaras), for either Saranyu by Vivasvant, the Flasher, or Apsaras by Gandharva produced both the Ašvin, the twin Horsemen of morning light, and also the prototype twins Yama and Yami[55]. Vivasvant was the Avestan Vivanghvant who was the father of Yima (6 f 3).

The twin powers of the sky waters are thus made manifest in the birth of twins, one being the moving force and the other the material substance. Yima Khšaēta (Jemšed) was divided into twins, Yima and Yimeh, who correspond to the Zoroastrian twins Mašyē (Male) and Mašyānē (Female), the plant-like offspring of the cosmic Gayōmard. By a variant cosmology the Ašvin were derived from Dyaus, the Shining, and the River-Mother (Sindhumātārā). Enki the ruler of the Mesopotamian Apsu on earth combined in himself the powers of both sky (*en* or *an*) and earth (*ki*), while the twin offspring of the Apsu were Anšar (sky-power) and Kišar (earth-power). From these twin powers within the primeval waters (*apsu*) the sky (*an*) was generated, which in turn brought forth Enki (=Ea), the water encircling the House of the Apsu, which House was constructed on the subdued sky-

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away. Fire, whether generative or destructive, may have been regarded as the *physis* or cause of Change. "Fire like Hephaistus is the first of artificers" (*Mor.*, 958D).

[54] *Sel. Zātspram* 34.50=ZZ p 353.

[55] Griswold, op cit (n 25), pp 322-324.

waters, or primeval *apsu*. From Enki came Marduk, the sovereign power over earth and sky (*Enūma Elish*, I.1-100). Enki, the power in the waters of sky and earth (*ki*), more or less parallels Oceanus-Kronos (Saturnus), also offspring of Sky and Earth, while Marduk corresponds to Zeus-Jupiter as the Sovereign god of sky and earth.

7.2. In a cosmological poem of the *Rigveda* (10.10), concerned with the morality of Yami's passion for her twin Yama, the hero sons (*putraso*) of the Asurian Great One (*Mahas. . . . .asurasya*) are presented as twin supports of the sky. Yami, contending that the gods wished them to produce progeny because Dyaus Tvastar Visvarupa begot them in their mother's body with soul bound to soul to be husband and wife, is repulsed by Yama on the grounds that no one knows the mind of the gods, for the creation of Mitra and Varuna is too great, and that such a union would be contrary to the gods whose spies wander about the earth. In this cosmology the father of the twin sky-supports, who by inference may be Mitra and Varuna, is the Mighty One of *asurasya* character. Asura (from *asu*, life, life-force; Avestan *anhu*, lord, world, place) was the primary stuff and energy of the living world, the seed of seeds from which life arose. This is obscurely expressed in another poem (10.129) dealing with the beginning of conscious being, which runs as follows:

At that time was neither Being (*sat*) nor Not-being (*asat*),
Air-space was not, nor the sky above.
What was astir and where? in whose guardianship?
Was water there and there also the deep abyss?

Death was not and Immortality was not,
Nor was there a manifestation of Day and Night;
Only One breathed (*swadha*) windless through itself,
And outside thereof there was no other.

Only Dark enveloped with dark was at first
And all this surged without recognition;
The void was covered with empty space;
The One was born through the power of heat (*tapas*).

There desire at first was astir in it
When the first seed of the Mind showed itself;
There was found the bond of Being in Not-being
By sages seeking with the wisdom of the heart.

> And was its cord drawn throughout
> What was below and what was above?
> There were producers of pleasure and mighty powers,
> And creative force was below and striving above.

Sat and Asat are visible and invisible existence, equivalent to Gētēh and Mēnōk powers. These two existed in the One whose breath in the darkness of space was the first motion of heat and desire and the first manifestation of the seed of mind (*manas*=*mēnōk*). Desire was the bond or girdle of being and not-being which manifest themselves in the material world of generation below and in the world of self-motion above. Likewise it is said in the *Dēnkart* (M. p 278, 13=ZZ p 85 n 3) that "The breath (*ǰān*) as desire (*var*?) that quickens the world is the high-working Vāy, called Vāy in the language of the world but in Religion called the Mēnōk of Vāy the Orderer (*rādēnitār*), just as the fiery wind (*ātaxšōmand vāt*) which is *ǰān* enlivens the body of men". This *ǰān* as a creative force corresponds to the erotic wind in Phoenician cosmology (5 j 2.2). The longing of Breath for a body corresponds to the longing of *psychai* for the sweetness and pleasure of birth in watery bodies (cf 7 c 6). Some said that Boreas, the North Wind, in particular was erotic because souls descend into birth from the north (*De antro*, 26). Body and soul are the twin offspring of Asura, the Lord of Life. These twins not only support the sky like two shafts but they also spread out Earth and Sky for the dwelling place of mortals, one of the two being the starry sky and the other windy air (cf R.V. 6.67.6). Mithra was the creative fire that joins friendly things into one and Varuna was the creative matter that embodies the fire, and these two were twins.

8. An early Iranian conception of the life producing cosmos is portrayed on a silver plaque from Luristan, which belongs to the early part of the first millennium before Christ[56]. The central figure shows the equivalent of the Asura or Abzār we have been discussing.

To the spectator's left are four figures in profile (the one to the extreme left being partly lost). They are moving toward the central figure; each thrusts forward in his right hand a tall stock of grain or similar type of vegetation. Below these four, facing the central figure, are three figures seated in profile; each holds against his body a large wing or palm branch with his right hand while his left is held up in an open hand salute. Between them and the central figure is a large star, which in Sumerian documents denoted Anu, god of the sky, or the sky in general.

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[56] *Archaeology*, 8 1955, 27-30; *Artibus Asiae*, 1958, 37ss; *L'Antiq. Class.*, 28 1959, 291. See Fig. 8.

To the right of the central figure are four figures standing in frontal position, each with his left hand held upward in a closed fist salute. In the right hand each grasps a tall stock of grain, like the figures on the left side. Below them, instead of human figures, are three floral (*acanthus*) representations.

The central figure is remarkable, to me the more so since its full significance did not occur to me until after the substance of the foregoing cosmologies had been written. The figure has two heads, one being at the top of the relief, the other below in the middle of the relief. The lower head, which is perfectly circular, or spherical, is at the top of a mountain which suggests the skirt of a female. Sweeping down the sides of the mountain like an overgarment are the great wings which enclose the spherical head where they come together. Extending upward from where these wings join is a long slender neck which supports the upper head. On either side of this neck and resting on the shoulder of the wing below is a half egg shell out of which has emerged the head and torso of a boy. The boy to the left receives the grain stocks offered by the four approaching figures, while the boy to the right passes the grain stocks to the four standing figures. All of the heads have bull's eyes. The egg twins and the figures to the left have bull's ears, while the figures to the right have bull's horns (Fig. 8).

In the light of the previous analyses the general meaning is fairly clear. In the upper head having bull's eyes and horns and flanked by the egg twins is the equivalent of the twofold Ahura-Abzār, the Mēnōk and Gētēh seed of all genesis. In the four figures approaching the Mēnōk twin at the left is the representation of Genesis-in-motion, which was the four elements. In the three figures below is the representation of Genesis-in-being which is manifest in starlight and in the triplicity of thought, word, and deed. The figures to the right who receive the grain from the Gētēh twin and have closed fists represent living beings, while the floral symbols below represent vegetation. It must also be observed that the lower border of the relief is decorated with a sprouting seed many times repeated, while the upper border is decorated with an alternating pattern, showing a seed that is being split by a growing plant and a fully grown cypress tree. The lower border shows causal force in germination, the upper border shows the progression and completion causations (cf 5 f 3.3.).

9. The spherical head equipped with wings at the top of the anthropoid mountain is clearly the equivalent of the swift moving Āsmān or Ras, which is the head of the Mountain of heaven and earth (5 b 1; 5 c 1). This relief indicates that the conception of a cosmic man like Yama-Yima or the Avestan Gaya Maretan was fairly ancient and not an original product of later speculation which also stressed man's likeness to the revolving *spihr* [57]. A similar cosmic man having a mountain skirt, flanked by twin gods of waters, by horned rams and vegetation, is found on a relief from Assur of the second millenium before Christ (Fig. 9) [58].

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57) *Sel. Zātspram* 30.1 = ZZ p 112.

58) W. Andrae, *Kultrelief aus dem Brunnen des Asurtempel zu Assur*, in *Deut. Orient-Gesellschaft*, 53, pl 1; H. Frankfort, *Birth of Civilization in the Near East*, fig. 12 (= Fig. 9). Intermediate in typology between this Mountain god of fertility and that of the Luristan relief is a relief of the Mistress of the Mountain (Ninḫursag) of the Larsa period, E. Douglas van Buren, *A Clay Relief in the Iraq Museum*, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 9.4, pp 165-171, fig 1. The goddess with a mountain skirt holds an infant in her left arm and an oval object in her raised right hand. A doorway is shown in the front of her sky cap (to suggest a *siqurat*?). A head looking outward

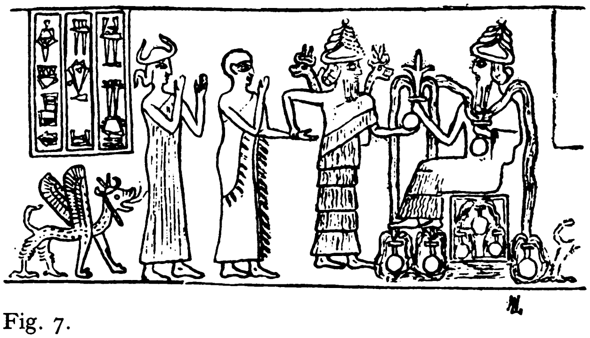

Fig. 7.

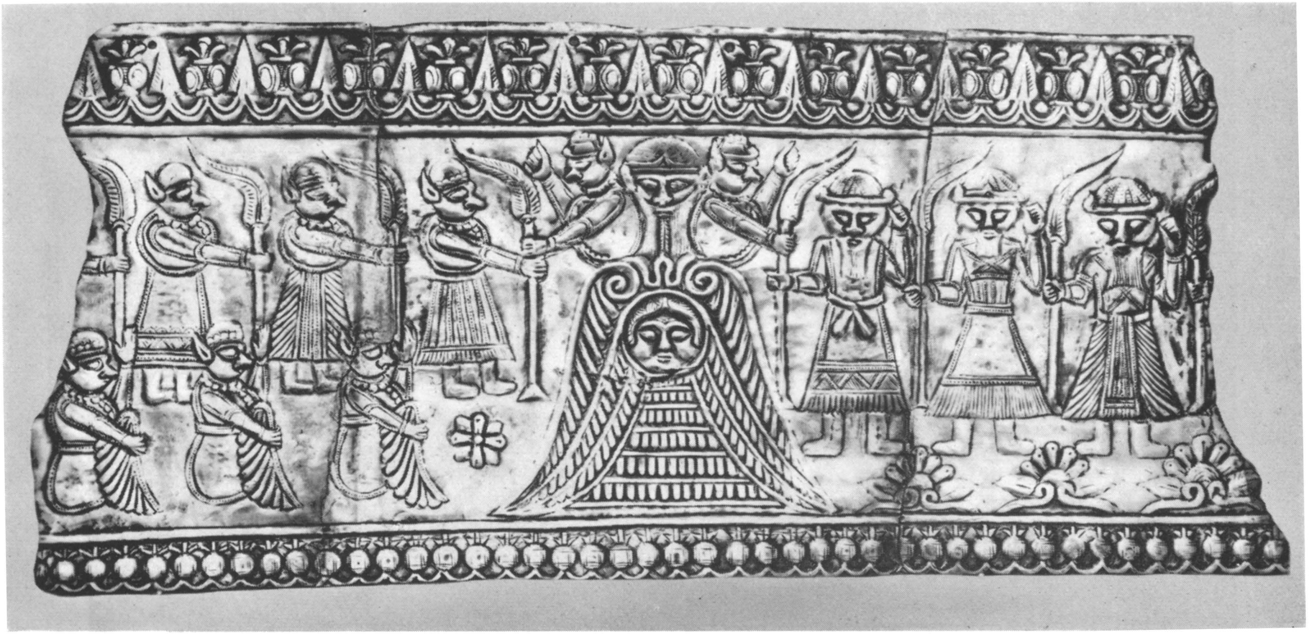

Fig. 8. Luristan silver relief (5 f 8).

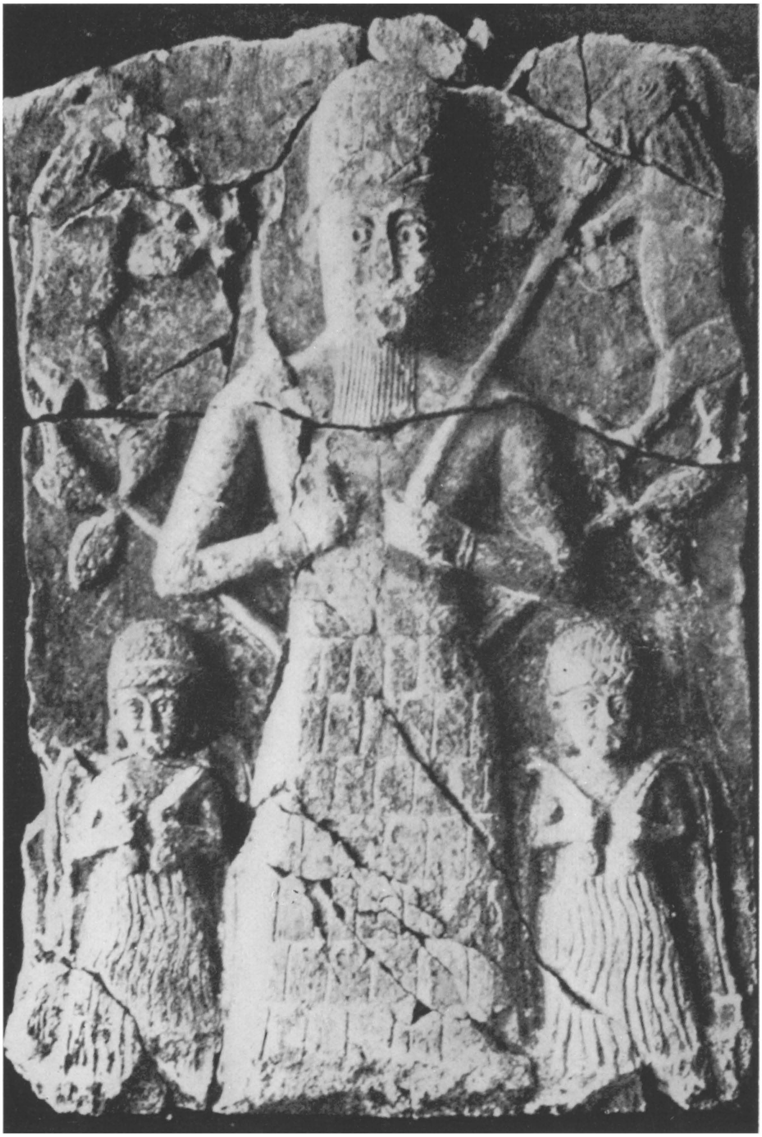

Fig. 9. Assur. Mountain God (5 f 9).

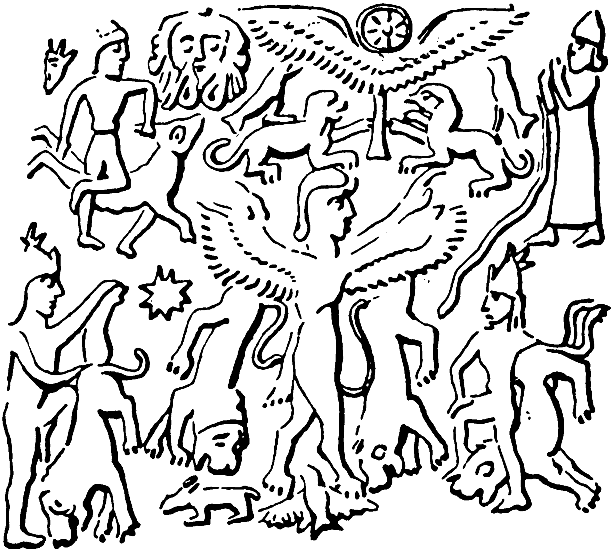

Fig. 10. Mitanni Royal Seal. (5 f 10).

9.1. If the conception of a cosmic man goes well back into the second millennium before Christ, it is probable that the idea of a cosmic bull is considerably earlier still. The idea of a Bull of Heaven survives in the bull's eyes, ears and horns which the human figures on the silver relief possess, as also in the Gathic Geuš Urvan as an Ox-plant (4 g 1.3). Attention has already been called to the mythical Kavi Gauš as an ox manifestation (5 f 2.2). The ancient Vedic poets sang of the Ox (Varšan) of fire and light (R.V. 4.1.11-12) which bellowed loud on the wide ways when Heaven and Earth built the two great worlds (R.V. 4.56.1), or of the Ox that shot out the thousand rays and mounted upward from the sea (R.V. 7.55.7). The Pardšanja ox of the thunderstorm creates the young brood and shoots of plants. His seed is the rain that impregnates mother earth and brings forth mankind and all other things (R.V.6.101). In a rather obscure cosmological poem (R.V. 10.31) it is said that the Cow arose from the abundance that resides in the place of Asura, and asks whether Earth and Sky were constructed out of a forest or great tree. "Nothing is as great, nothing else is greater than the Ox which carries Heaven and Earth. . . . . . Like a shaft he pierces through the Earth's habitation and strews living beings as the Wind strews the cloud; decked out like Varuna and Mitra, he causes the light to stream forth like fire in a forest".

9.2. In these cosmological myths the world tree is not forgotten. Such a tree was connected with the Babylonian House of the Apsu[59], and with the Iranian conception of Paradise as a Garden of Eden. The word *pairidaēza* denotes a surrounding (*pairi*= Greek *peri*)

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emerges from each of her shoulders, and these are flanked by umbilical cords (the "Great Bands of Esikilla") hanging on pegs. Seated in crouched positions below are naked infants. Clearly the Mountain god is the Father who begets, and the Mountain goddess the Mother who produces. On a royal seal of Mitanni (5f10) and perhaps on the Luristan relief the male and female functions are combined in one complex symbol or representation.

On a neo-Sumarian seal serpents (?) with crowned heads and horns issue from the shoulders of a male god, C.-F. Jean, *La religion sumérienne*, fig 59 (= Fig. 7), who functions as a Mediator between King Gudea and the enthroned God of the Waters of Life, whether Enki-Ea, or Hadad-El Kronos, or the like. He is identified as Gishzida, a dying god like Tammuz. On another seal, Ibid, fig 20, a similar Mediator is shown with a Janus head.

[59] *Numen*, 7.1960, 1-25.

wall made of a sticky mass (*daēza*) like clay (or dough)[60]. Paradise therefore was a *temenos* (Lat. *templum*) like the sacred grove in Greece. In Iranian myth the Ox-horn tree with its surrounding wall and vegetation was located in the midst of the world wide sea (Vouru Kaša) and thus held the same position as the world mountain.

9.3. When Ahriman attacked the great Ox, it was said that Ohrmazd put it to sleep or death by means of *mang* (or *bang*). The same concoction, administered to Arda Viraf when he was sent as a messenger to the other worlds of heaven and hell, was not deadly as expected. That the Bull's death was a similar form of sleep is made clear in the parallel attack of Ahriman upon Gayōmard, which follows in the account (*Bund.* 4.10). It is said that Ohrmazd caused Gayōmard to sleep for the period of a short prayer (i.e., of the Ahunvar as a most potent spell ?). In an earlier passage (1.28) this sleep is called the "repose of the creator", which would be the embodiment of *mēnōk* power in *gētēh* being, for "Sleep was in the form of a man, tall, bright, and fifteen years of age". This was the Iranian ideal of perfect physical being, and therefore the period of maximum sleep of the soul in the wakeful body (5 h 1). When Gayōmard awoke, according to the account, he saw the world dark as night and all crawling with snakes, and at that moment the Āsmān began to revolve, the sun and moon to move, and the earth was aroused (?) by the thundering of gigantic *daeva* and their battle with the stars. Yet Ahriman's attack with his *daeva* could not destroy Gayōmard because of the decree, or destiny, of Time (*Bund.* 4.10).

Here in a more typically Zoroastrian dualistic form we have the myth of Kavi Gauš and Syāvaršan, the Visible and Invisible Bull, in conflict with the Dīv of heat, and of Hušravah's victory over the demon (5 f 2.3). The death of the Dark Bull (Syāvaršan) and the birth of Hušravah, the Cosmic mover, were the beginning of the rotation of the Wheel and of the Genesis of living beings. The snakes that infest the material world of darkness are the Zoroastrian version of the snake as the Agathos Daimōn of the world of fire

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60) Cf Sanscrit *dih*, smear; Gothic *deigan*, knead; Anglo Saxon *dāh* = English *duff*, *dough*.

and light, whose head was sometimes that of a hawk (2 b 8)[61]. The Zoroastrians reduced the snake to an Evil-alien (Dahāka)[62]. The global Āsmān was equated with Gayōmard as the cosmic man, who was described as "round and shining like the sun"[63]. Moreover his union with Love (Āz=*ahi*, *aži*, serpent) brought forth the twins Male and Female, or otherwise they were the offspring of his seed that fell into Spandarmat (*Bund.* 14.2). In a parallel myth the seed of the dying ox was brought to the moon sphere and, after it was cleansed in its light, the seed was shaped into male and female from whom came two hundred seventy-two kinds of animals (*Bund.* 4.10).

9.4. Hušravah, who killed the great serpent demon of Mazan called Aži Dahāka, brought forth Takhma Urupa who was conveyed around Iran by Angra Mainyu for thirty years (6 f), and from him came Yima as the shining Āsmān. Since the latter was said to be the shining garment of Spenta Mainyu, it follows that All-forming Takhma was the equivalent of the Increasing Mind (Spenta Mainyu), whereas Hušravah, the Mass-Mover, was the equivalent of Angra Mainyu (cf 5 h 2.1) who attacked the primeval ox or man in order to set the world of finite things in motion. This moving force (*angh-*) in *Angra* and Haōšay*angha* arose in the mass (*haōšay*) that evolved into the cosmic Wheel or Order (Ras).

10. The sky conceived to be a wheel is of ancient Indo-Iranian origin. It appears not only as a symbol of Taranis, the Sky and Thunder god of the Celts, but also on the seal of King Šauššatar of the Mitanni, dated about B.C. 1450[64]. The figures in the total picture on the seal are presented at three levels. At the top level and toward the middle of the picture is shown at the left the head of the monster that would be the equivalent of Huvava or Humbaba (cf 5 f 1.1), probably to represent unformed *chaos* or *KYŠ*. To the right is a seven spoked wheel resting on wide spread wings which in turn are at the top of a post. In a semi-rampant position facing

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[61] In Celtic art the snake companion of the god of the tribe and of warriors had the head of a ram, P-M. Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaule*, p 25s.

[62] Cf Sanscrit *dasa*, stranger, and *aka*, evil.

[63] Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi*, p 68; cf Plato, *Symp.*, 189Dss.

[64] R. D. Barnett in *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Presses Univ. de France, 1960), p 146. See Fig. 10.

the post are animals (lions) with a bird (raven?) standing on the back of each. This winged wheel is not only the swift flying sky which nevertheless has the stability of a world post, but it is also the Ras from which come both the moving voice and intelligence of the sky-bird and the genesis of life as represented by lions in particular (cf 4 g 3.1). This is the Mēnōk world of causation.

At the intermediate level, below and to the left of the monster's head, is a representation of a hero-god subduing the bull. The god wears a tall pointed sky-hat and grasps the bull's horn with his right hand and a hind leg with the left hand; or he may be holding a dagger in his left hand. He stands on his right foot with his left leg drawn up and crossed over his right. The total composition is quite like that of Mithra tauroctonos as shown on the Dura (*37**) or Secia (*88*) reliefs. On the right side of the the picture at the same level is a tall standing divinity who faces the cosmic wheel above and holds his hands upward in a salute. He wears a long covering robe and tall sky-hat. From his hands and extending downward toward the central figure below is the representation of a stream of water. If in the bull-slayer we may see the Mitannian Mitra, then in the water god we may see Varuna. These two together represent the twofold powers of Genesis in the Ras, the moving and dividing power of heat (*garm*) in the bull-slaying hero and the uniting and generative power of moisture (*xvēt*) in the sky waters.

At the bottom level of the picture there are three main motives. In the center is a leonine human figure of more or less female sex facing to the spectator's right. Her lower extremities are lion's legs; at the shoulders of her somewhat human torso are wide spreading wings of dimensions similar to those of the wheel above, and above her winged shoulders is her human head. The divinity seems to be stretching her hands and arms forward above her wing toward the right, in the direction she is facing. Extending down from each wing on either side of her body is a lion, having its head and front feet pressed to the ground while its tail and hind legs are high in the air close to the wings. These lions have their backs turned toward the divinity. This strange position for the lions is almost exactly paralleled on several tauroctone reliefs where a lion seems to be descending into a large bowl of water (cf 8 d 1). Beneath the feet of the goddess are figures that suggest an animal and fish. To the left and right of this central figure are twin heroes wearing high star-crowned caps. The one at the left is in the act of conquering a lion whose head and front feet are on the ground in front of him while with his hands he holds its hind leg and rump high in the air. The intensity of the conflict is indicated by the fact that the hero is trying to break the lion's back by pressing against it with one of his knees. In two of the murals of the Capua Mithraeum (*194 195*) the mystagogue is shown forcing an initiate downward or forward in much the same manner (cf 9 a 7), a general imitation of Mithra in the tauroctonos action of forcing the bull to the earth with his knee. Between this hero and the winged goddess is a very large star. The hero to the right has already broken the back of his lion and stands astride of its head in the pose of a victor, facing the goddess (Fig. 10).

The leonine goddess with spread wings, clearly the Gētēh counterpart of the Mēnōk wheel, is the equivalent of the Avestan Spenta Armaiti, an Indo-Iranian divinity of incarnate wisdom (5 h 4). As such she was the divinity of the productive earth. In the dedications of King Antiochus (32, line 56s) she was represented as a Tyche-Aphrodite of productivity but was referred to as the "nurturing fatherland". In the Gētēh world of incarnation she is the incarnate Word and Wisdom, whose source and origin, however are in the cosmic wheel. Her wings suggest the pneumatic essence of the word which was closely associated with the invisible wind and breath (6 g 2). The hero on the left represents the activity or motion of Genesis, whereas the hero on the right represents its accomplishment. They are the twin powers (*ravišn* and *ēstišn*) of Genesis, these being the Mitannian twins (Nasātya) corresponding to Cautes and Cautopates. The star with the hero on the left suggests his fiery nature as contrasted with the other (cf 3 h).

10.1. As a general observation it may be noted that while the idea of twin-ship or twofold powers appears with the cosmic wheel in the form of twin lions and birds as well as wings, and with the earth divinity as twin lions flanked by twin heroes, it is also true that these twin powers are a unity within the cosmic wheel, whereas they also exist as separate gods of motion (Mitra) and becoming (Varuna) and as separate Twins of Life-progression and Accomplishment. In the Mēnōk world of causation and order there is the self-contained One, or Monad; in the intermediate world of motion there is Duality, or the Dyad, while in the phenomenal world of becoming there is Triplicity, or the Triad (cf 5 f 3.1). Mithra as the mediator of the Contract belonged to the Intermediate, but as the god incarnate he belonged to the world of triplicity, or multiplicity, as in the representation of Mithra flanked by the sun and moon or by Cautes and Cautopates. The total picture on the royal seal of King Šauššatar is concerned primarily with the Genesis of the Living world from cosmic order to fully incarnate souls rather than with the evolution of the cosmos from the original chaos represented by the monster's head.

Not only was the slaughter of both the cosmic and the incarnate bull of utmost importance in the Mithraic mysteries, but so also were the birth of the cosmic man from the rock mass, the god of the world mountain, the tree of life, the twin powers of movement and being, of rulership and productivity, and the like.

g. Iconography of Sun and Moon, of nimbus and sphere. The powers of movement and becoming, of perception and growth, or of rulership and vitality, were represented by the sun and moon. Since these were powers in a world of order or Religion whose essence was wisdom, they could best be portrayed by human heads rather than by star and crescent as generally in Mesopotamian art.

The solar bust usually shown at the top left is normally crowned with rays of light and is male, while the lunar bust at the top right is female and has a crescent or horns. The rays of the sun are sometimes shown against a nimbus as is the radiate head of Mithra on the Bactrian coins (*1* and *3*), on the Commagene relief (*30*), and on several tauroctones (*337* *690** *692*, cf *318*). The horns of the moon are most frequently placed at the shoulders of the bust in such a way as to suggest that the bust is within a lunar sphere. This corresponds to the solar nimbus as on the Mithra-Dolichenus relief (*334*).

1. The number of tauroctone reliefs having a solar nimbus is not very large; they are the following:

PLACE	TYPE	SUBTYPE	TORCHBEARERS (cf pt 4 init.)	
Secia (*88*)	I	DE	e	rev
Secia (*89*)	I	DE	e	rev
Memphis (*91*)	I	AC	(absent)	
Rome (*334*)	....	......	e	rev
Rome (*368*)	VII	C	w	rev ?
Rome (*390**)	VIII	C	e	rev
Rome (*417*)	I	ABC	w	rev
Rome (*546*)	I	ABC	(absent)	
Rome (*597*)	I	(?)	w	rev
Schwarzerden (*1281*)	VI	CDE	e	n
Gimmeldingen (*1314*)	I	DE	w	rev
Mauls (*1400**)	VIII	C	w	n
Carnuntum (*1721*)	VI	ABC	e	n
Aquincum (*1791*)	I	C	w	n
Raetinium (*1910*)	VI	ABC	e	n
Apulum (*1973*)	VII	CDE	w	n
Tirgusor (*2306*)	I	ABC	w	rev

It will be observed that the sun in a nimbus or sphere appears on tauroctones of essentially C subtype in Rome and Middle Europe, whereas the few reliefs in Syria and Germany are of basic DE subtype. Moreover, more of the tauroctones have the torchbearers in the reversed positions than in the normal positions, whereas the eastern and western types are divided about evenly (3a-b). The nimbus motive, on the whole, appears to be more oriental than western in inspiration.

2. The lunar sphere motive appears on more than twice as many tauroctones as the solar nimbus. These are generally of C subtype in Rome and Middle Europe, and of ABC subtype in Southeast Europe. The number belonging to the South Iranian group is again relatively large in view of the total number of such tauroctones (cf 4 j). The lunar sphere motive is found on the following:

PLACE	TYPE	SUBTYPE	TORCHBEARERS	
Arsha-wa-Qibar (*71*)	I	E	e	both alike ?
Sitifis (*148*)	I	CDE	(absent)	
Panormus (*164*)	VII	C	one each, n	
Capua (*181**)	I	CD	e	rev
Rome (*366*)	I	ABC	w	rev
Rome (*390**)	VIII	C	e	rev
Rome (*408*)	I	CD	w	rev

Rome (*417*)	I	ABC	w	n
Rome (*435**)	I	C	e	rev
Rome (*437*)	I	C	(absent)	
Rome (*542*)	I	ABC	(absent)	
Rome (*546*)	I	ABC	(absent)	
Rome (*585*)	I	C	?	n
Rome (*586*)	I	B	(absent)	
Rome (*588*)	I	C	w	n
Fiano-Romano (*641*)	I	C	(absent)	
Nersae (*650**)	VIII	C	w	rev
Pisa (*663*)	I	CE	e	rev
(Etruria) (*668*)	VI	ABC	w	rev
San Zeno (*726*)	VI	AB	e	n
Aquilea (*736*)	I	C	w	n
Verona (*759*)	I	C	w	rev
Eburacum (*835*)	I-II	CDE	w	n
Mauls (*1400**)	VIII	C	w	n
Flavia Solva (*1446*)	(frag)	(Luna sphere only)		
Siscia (*1472*)	V	ABC	e	rev
Stix-Neusiedl (*1656*)	I	AB	(one each),	n
Salona (1859)	I	C	w	n
Salona (*1861**)	V	ABC	w	n
Vratnica (*1893*)	VI	CD	e	n
Raetinium (*1910*)	VI	ABC	e	n
Dragu (*1919*)	VI	CDE	w	?
Apulum (*1935*)	IV	ABC	w	n
Apulum (*1938*)	III	ABC	w	n
Dorstat (*2006*)	VI	ABC	e	n
Sarmizegetusa (*2068*)	I	ABC	w	n
Sarmizegetusa (*2085*)	I	ABC	w	n
Romula (*2172*)	II	ABC	e	n
Oltenia? (*2180*)	III-IV	AB	w	(both Cautes)
Civitas Mont. (*2237**)	VII	C	e	n
Radesa (*2243*)	II	AB	w	n
Tavalicavo (*2244**)	III	ABC	w	n
Oescus (*2247*)	I	ABC	w	n
Pleven (*2255*)	VI	ABC	w	n
Kreta (*2257*)	VII	ABC	w	rev
Acbunar (*2289*)	I	C	(absent)	
Tirgusor (*2306*)	I	ABC	w	rev
Kurtowo-Kon. (*2338*)	IV	ABC	(one each),	n
Patras (*2351*)	I	ABC	e	n

3. On a smaller number of tauroctones the crescent is placed on the head of Luna in such a way as to suggest bull's horns. This is found mainly on C subtype tauroctones in Italy and DE elsewhere. Both in subtype and in distribution this lunar-*taurus* motive more nearly parallels the solar nimbus motive than does

the lunar sphere group. The Lunar *taurus* appears on the following tauroctones:

PLACE	TYPE	SUBTYPE	TORCHBEARERS
Secia (*88*)	I	DE	e rev
Capreae (*172*)	I	CD	e n
Naples (*173*)	I	C	(absent)
Naples (*174*)	I	CDE	w rev
Corniculum (*321* bis)	I	C	w rev
Quadraro (*321**)	VII	C	w n
Rome (*350*)	VII	C	w n
Rome (*368*)	VII	C	w rev ?
Bononia (*693**)	IV	ABC	w n
Aps (*896*)	I	DE	(absent)
Heddernheim (*1128**)	V	AB	w n
Grosz Krotzenburg (*1149*)	VI	CDE	w n
Schwarzerden (*1281*)	VI	DE	e n
Neuenheim (*1283**)	VIII	C	w n
Osterburken (*1292**)	VIII	DE	w n
Gimmeldingen (*1314*)	I	DE	w rev
Poetovio II (*1512*)	VI	ABC	(one each), n
Scarabantia (*1641*)	VI	D	e n
Scarabantia (*1643*)	I	DE	e n
Brigetio (*1727**)	III-VI	CDE	w n
Pritok-Jez. (*1907*)	VI	CDE	e n
Apulum (*1973*)	VII	CDE	w n
Micia (*2025*)	I	CDE	e rev
? (*2196*)	I	DE	(absent)

4. The following tauroctones are unusual in that they have reversed positions for Sol and Luna:

PLACE	TYPE	SUBTYPE	TORCHBEARERS
Dura (*37**)	I	D	(absent)
Dura (*40**)	VI	D	(absent)
Sidon (*75**)	I	AC	(absent)
Sitifis (*148*)	I	CDE	(absent)
Rome (copy) (*337*)	I	CDE	Cautes only, rev
Apulum ? (*2198*)	I-II	D	w n
Jasen (note 2 pt 3)	II	?	w n
Tirgusor (*2306*)	I	ABC	w rev

These positions for the sun and moon are of Mesopotamian derivation, as is the solar disk and lunar crescent on the smaller Dura relief (*37**), whose crescent has a star within its horns and the solar disk has the rays carved upon its surface. The same positions for the sun and moon are employed on the coins of native kings of Pontus and Cappadocia of the Roman period, whereas on the Roman coins the positions agree with the normal positions on the tauroctones, which is also in agreement with the positions of the sun and moon in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. The Tirgusor relief indicates a possible Mesopotamian derivation of its dedicant whose Greek inscription reads: "PHL. (*Flavius*) HORIMOS PHL. MAKEDONOS, a steward, by divine command to THEŌ ANEIKĒTŌ MITRA in a secluded grove EUPHRATE as a holy vow. PHOEBOS NIKOMEDEUS was the sculptor". Horimos may have named the secluded place for his Mithraeum after the Euphrates from which his Macedonian ancestors came. It may also be observed that a part of the inscription is within the field of the relief itself, which is an oriental rather than a western trait and is found on other tauroctones of our South Iranian group in particular (*408 415 810 1910*).

A strong emphasis upon the rays of the sun and the horns of the moon is characteristic of the C and D subtypes of tauroctone, whereas subtype A tends to substitute busts of the seasons and subtype E tends to eliminate the symbols altogether (5 i 5; 6a).

5. A few tauroctones of strong E subtype place the raven at the top right instead of at the left as usual; they are:

PLACE	TYPE	SUBTYPE	TORCHBEARERS	
Arsha-wa-Qibar (*71*)	I	E	e	both alike
Rome (copy) (*337*)	I	CDE	w	Cautes at left
Mannheim (*1275*)	I	CE	e	Cautes at left
Nagy-Kovaci (*1741*)	I	CE	(one each), n	
Dragu (*1919*)	VI	CDE	w	?

The Roman fresco, as copied by George Turnbull (*337*), shows only a Sol chariot at the top right; instead of Cautopates there is a reclining Oceanus at the bottom right (cf 3 h). On the Mannheim relief, instead of Cautopates, there is a figure in the lower frieze who seems to be pouring a libation on the altar. The sun and moon are omitted, as also on the Nagy-Kovaci relief. A radiate bust occupies the center of the pediment on the Dragu relief, to the left of which there is a standing or walking lion and to the right a Luna sphere motive. To the right of Mithra's head is a flying (?)

Phosphoros. Instead of holding torches the figure to the right of Mithra holds up an axe and the figure to the left holds a two-handled cup or oil lamp. The figure with the axe, who otherwise resembles a torchbearer, may represent a sacrificial function belonging to the Pater or ruler. He may perhaps be equated with Cautopates while the lamp or cup bearer may be equated with Cautes. In any case, there is a similar uncertainty of identification of the two figures shown on the Arsha-wa-Qibar relief from Syria. They appear to be twins who hold up the sky with sky-props. The one at the left may be holding an egg or similar round object in his hand, while the one at the right holds a round saucer or similar object. The iconography of the whole group is unusual in these and other minor respects (cf 2 b), possibly because the pictures were still in an early formative period of development, or otherwise because of special emphases in their ideology.

6. A fair number of tauroctones, especially of the more developed types, show the sun driving a chariot drawn by horses. Some of these also show the Moon in a chariot drawn by bulls or sometimes by horses. The motive is abbreviated in a few instances, showing only the bust of the divinity and the animals in whole or in part. The tauroctones having the chariot motives are:

PLACE	TYPE	SUB-TYPE	TORCH-BEARER		CHARIOTS
Rome (*335*)	VIII	C	w	?	Sol, Luna
Rome (copy) (*337*)	I	CDE	e	rev	Sol
Rome (*415*)	VII	ABC	e	rev	Sol, L. horses
Rome (*532*)	I	C	w	rev	both abbrev.
Rome (*554*)	I	C	(absent)		both abbrev.
Rome[65]	I	C	w	rev	both abbrev.

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65) M. J. Vermaseren has kindly sent me photos of two tauroctone reliefs from Rome that are to be published in the near future. One comes from a Mithraic grotto on the Via Tiburtina and is of the normal C subtype, showing the raven perched on Mithra's arched mantle, the bull's tail branched into three wheat stocks and the usual snake and scorpion. Mithra's head is missing. Of particular interest is the way in which the solar quadriga and the lunar biga are shown emerging from the rocky sky cave. The horses of the sun are mounting upward from the rocks, whereas the bulls of the moon are descending, thus suggesting the upward and downward paths of the divine fire as an element of the material world. The torchbearers moreover are in the South Iranian positions, which tends to confirm my hypothesis of the

Rome[65a]	I	B	(absent)		Sol, Luna
Aquileia (*736*)	I	C	w	n	Sol, L. bust
London (*810*)	V	CDE	w	rev	Sol, Luna
Sarrebourg (*966*)	VIII	DE	w	n	Sol, Luna
Heddernheim (1083*)	VIII	DE	w	n	Sol, Luna
Neuenheim (*1283**)	VIII	C	w	n	Sol, Luna
Osterburken (*1292**)	VIII	DE	w	n	Sol, Luna
Königshofen (*1359*)	VIII	DE	w	n	Sol, Luna
Pohanica (*1458*)	VI	C	?	n	both abbrev.
Poetovio III (*1579**)	VII	C	?	n	frag. Luna only
Poetovio III (*1599**)	VII	C	?	rev	Sol abbr., L. lost
Sarkeszi (*1816*)	VII	C	(one each),	n	both abbr. L. horses
Narona (*1879*)	I	C	e	rev	Sol, L. lost
Sarmizegetusa (*2048*)	III	ABC ?	(both lost)		Sol, L. frag.
Viminacium (*2216*)	I	ABC	w	n	both abbrev.

Tauroctones having a Sol bust with a whip only are:

Capua (*181**)	I	CD	e	rev	
Nersae (*650**)	VIII	C	w	rev	
Fellbach (*1306*)	VI	CDE	(absent)		Luna also
Brigetio (*1727**)	III/VI	CDE	w	n	As days of week
Salona(*1859*)	I	C	w	n	
Raetinium (*1910*)	VI	ABC	e	n	
Dragu (*1919*)	VI	CDE	w	?	
Potaissa (*1920**)	IV	AB	w	n	
Tavalicavo (*2244**)	III	ABC	w	n	

typically Iranian emphasis on the sky chariot motives for Sol and Luna. The abbreviated form of the motives, which does not show the chariots, suggests an early third century date for the relief. See now: E. Lissi Caronna, *Bull. d'Arte*, 1965, pp 91-94.

65a) The second relief, probably from Rome, and now in the collection of Vermaseren, shows fully developed chariot motives, the lunar *biga* being drawn by horses. The wheels of the chariots have risen above the rocks, thus indicating a celestial *dromos*. This relief is one of the best examples of the relatively rare subtype B tauroctone, which is a Roman artistic version based more or less on the Victoria motive as portrayed in the frieze of the Basilica Ulpia of Trajan and on his Arch at Beneventum. The following details are to be noted: Mithra's head is completely in profile, his mantle does not form a dome but streams downward in good artistic form, the raven is omitted, and the bull's tail does not end in wheat stocks. Moreover the torchbearers are omitted also (cf *554*). In this connection it must be observed that on the Poetovio III relief of the South Iranian group (*1599* = Fig. 3) the torchbearers are added in separate panels. The inclusion of the torchbearers in the tauroctone picture, as in the Dura frescoes (Figs. 10, 11), appears to have been a late second century development in the East (cf 3a). The good proportions of Mithra and the bull, together with the other details noted, suggest that the relief was sculptured in Rome in the second half of the second century. On the quadriga in art, v. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* 2, pp 210ss.

In my publication on the *Typology* of the tauroctones (III 6) I pointed out that the DE subtype tauroctone tended to become a standard one in Germany. This is particularly true of the type VIII reliefs which are the most complete and standardized development of Mithraic art. The other reliefs in the above list are mainly of basic C subtype, as are those having the Luna sphere motive, and at least eight belong to the South Iranian group (cf 4 j). The Poetovio triptych having an abbreviated Sol chariot (Fig. 3) can be dated approximately to the beginning of the third century (*Typology*, IV 5 e). On the whole the chariot motives appear to be of southern Iranian derivation or emphasis.

7. A significant feature of the chariot motives is not the association of Sol with horses and Luna with bulls, but rather that Sol is shown in spirited ascent and Luna in a steep descent, especially on reliefs having South Iranian torchbearers. On reliefs of this group (4 j) which use busts of the sun and moon, Sol looks upward or toward the tauroctone action, while Luna looks downward and away. Her attitude is the same at the Trapeza Mithrou (*641**, cf *435** *650**, 3 e). On a tauroctone from Rome (*435**) even the column near Luna and Cautopates which frames the picture is shown upside down. This can be no accident nor a mere artistic device. Upward and downward progressions are indicated.

h. Opposite and Complementary twins. The upward and downward progressions are not those of Sol and Luna only but also of the soul, as in the Mithraic initiation rites as stated by Porphyrius (pt 1). Various antitheses are prominent in Mithraic iconography which reflect dualisms in the theology. Fundamental opposites were an integral part of Indo-Iranian religion and not of Zoroastrianism only, which was characterized by its moral emphasis. These opposites could be either complementary or hostile. They might be either elemental like fire and water or opposite phases of a total cycle like those of life itself.

1. In a passage connected with Mithraic rites Porphyrius speaks of honey being a symbol of physical birth on the one hand but on the other of the death of the soul (7 b 1). A complementary dualism of body and soul appears in the thought of Heracleitus as preserved in a quotation from Noumenios by Porphyrius (*De antro*, 10), which says,

> It is a pleasure and not death for souls to become moist, and falling into birth is a pleasure for them. And elsewhere Heracleitus says, "When we live it is their death, and when they live it is our death."

In Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* (3.2) physical life is called a death in contrast to the life of the disembodied soul. A similar dualism is found in a fragment from Pindar (Sandys in LCL, p 509) which runs as follows:

> While the body of all men is subject to overpowering death, a living image of life (*aiōn*) still remains, for it alone is of the gods. It sleeps while the limbs are active, but to those asleep it shows with many a dream a discriminating judgment that arrives at things both pleasing and difficult.

In the *Timaeus* (45D) Plato makes a similar contrast between the visions of the soul in sleep and the images seen through the eyes when awake. Plato thought that the preexistent soul which had seen the full truth drank of the river Lethe when it came into birth, so that birth was a drunkenness of the motions and perceptions of the soul, an idea more obscurely expressed in a statement of Heracleitus that, "Water becomes a death to souls and earth to water, but from the earth comes water and from water a soul".

1.1. In later Zoroastrian teaching[66] it was said that birth in the *gētēh* world is a death in the *mēnōk* and vice versa. The deep rooted dualism of Iranian cosmology has already been discussed at length (5 f 1), a dualism that gave rise to various conceptions of twins (5 f 7.1). Being and not-being as body and soul (5 f 3 and 7) appear in the Gathic conception of the Twin Mainyu (or Mano), one of whom was Sleep and Life and the other Not-sleep and Not-life

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66) *Sel. Zātspram* 31.1=*Rev. Hist. Rel.*, 157 1960, 174s. In early Greek thought *genesis* and *thanatos* or *phthora* (cf n 53) were opposite and complementary twins in the physical world, while being and not-being came to be the opposed twins in later speculative thought. "For us there is no real participation in Being; on the contrary all mortal *physis* being in the midst of *genesis* and decay (*phthora*) presents an appearance and seeming of *Physis* itself that is distorted and unstable" (Plut., *Mor.*, 392A). Being is everlasting, ungenerated and incorruptible, upon which time never once forces change. Time and change are Not-being and if Physis is subjected to the processes of time and change, then there is no part of Physis that has permanence or existence. Being is truly Being only when, like God, it is eternal, immovable, timeless and unchanging (Idem 392E-393B).

(Yas 30.3-6). The two Mainyu were divinities of Body and Soul in whom light, sleep, morning and full day were correlated and put into contrast with dark, wakefulness and night. The twin of sleep and day was said to be clothed in the stone garment of heaven radiant with light, and was the Spenta (Expanding) Mainyu. As such he would correspond to the third stage of generation, which was the expansion of the elements into bodies (5 f 3.2). The twin of night, wakefulness and Not-life was Angra Mainyu, who should correspond to the second stage of generation, which was the motion of conception and hollowing out.

1.2. With these ideas we may compare the description of the ancient Phoenician Kronos as given by Philo of Byblos[67]. It runs as follows:

> Before this the god Tauthos made representations of the powers of the existing gods, of Kronos, Dagon and the others, and he fashioned the sacred characters of the elements. He also devised for Kronos as signs of royalty four eyes in front and back, [two opening wide] and two gently closing, and on his shoulders four wings, two as if flying and two as if at rest. The symbol was this: when Kronos was asleep he was seeing, when awake he was sleeping. Likewise with reference to the wings, when at rest he was flying and flying he was at rest. For the remaining gods he devised two wings on the shoulders of each, so that they might fly with Kronos; but again, on the head of Kronos he put two wings, one for most ruling mind (*nous*) and one for perception (*aisthēsis* = life).

Kronos is the twofold principle of soul and body whose opposite motions and sensibilities are in opposite and complementary states of existence, like *mēnōk* and *gētēh dahišn* in the *abzār*, the original instrument of Iranian cosmology. As potentials these are simultaneous opposites rather than sequential like day and night (cf. 5 f 7.1, note 53). The difference here is between potentiaility and actuality. Angra and Spenta Mainyu were from the *mēnōk=mainyu* viewpoint simultaneous opposites, but from the viewpoint of *angra* and *spenta* they were separate and sequential opposites, for *spenta* (=*ksva-nta*) was the increasing or expanding power that sleeps in the material world of developed bodies, whereas *angra* was the active and moving power that is sleepless (*axvafna*) in the world of unformed matter. Spenta Mainyu, clothed in the crystalline garment of the sky, became the Good (Vohu) Mainyu for the Zoroastrians, because for them goodness was a material world of perfected bodies. On the Vahuman (=Vohu Mainyu) day of the month therefore the good believer was to put on new clothes, probably in imitation of Vahuman whose garment was the new formed sky. The primary ceremony of each day of the month had a direct reference to the nature of the god of each day. Thus on the day of Ohrmazd the believer was to drink wine and be merry, probably in recognition of the joy of the spirited soul (*ǰān*) being united with the body (*tan*). On the day of Artvahišt, the Mēnōk of fire, one was to go to the fire temple, on the day of Šahrēvar, Joyous Sovereignty, one was to rejoice, on the day of Spandarmat, Mēnōk of Earth, one was to till the land, on the day of Hurdāt, Mēnōk of Water, one was to irrigate the land, and on the day of Amurdāt, Mēnōk of plants, one was to plant shrubs and trees[68].

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[67] In Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 1.10.36-37 = p 39 (F. Vigerus) = p 48 (Dindorf). The Egyptian god of world order was described by Porphyrius (in Euseb., *P.E.*, 3.11.45 = p 138s, Dindorf) as follows: "The Demiourgos, whom the Egyptians call Kneph, is anthropomorphic, but has a dark blue complexion, is master of girdle (*zōnē*) and scepter, and about his head lies a royal wing, because reason (*logos*) is rather elusive, concealed and not visible and because he is a life-creator, and a king, and is moved intelligibly (*noerōs*); therefore the nature of the wing rests on his head. But he (Porphyrius) says that this god ejects an egg from his mouth from which a god is engendered whom they call Phthā (= Ptah) but the Greeks Hephaistus, and they interpret the egg to be the cosmos" (see n. 100). Here the dark blue signifies concealed *logos*, the girdle the origin of life, the scepter kingship, and the wing intelligible motion (cf Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246C). It is quite probable that the Phoenician Kronos-El was also a god of the world order of time and motion.

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[68] R. C. Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi*, p 107s, from *Handarz i Āturpat i Mahraspandān* (*Pahlavī Texts*, p 58-71), 119ss. In connection with this calendar of duties for each day of the month, it is instructive to observe that the month is divided into four groups of days, the first two groups of seven days each, and the last two of eight. The first group is that of the Amahraspands and therefore typically Zoroastrian. The other three groups are each introduced by a day for a creator (*dadhv*, cf 5 e 2.2), the first being the Dadhv-pat-Ātur (Creator as Fire-lord), the second being the Dadhv-pat-Mihr (Creator as Lord Mithra), and the third being Dadhv-pat-Dēn (Creator as Religion-lord). Following the first Creator are the days for the cosmic principles of Ātur(fire), Āpān(water), Khvar (sun), Māh (moon), Tīr (Mercury), and Gōš (cattle, or ox). The duties correspond to the day: on Ātur one should walk about but bake no bread, on Āpān abstain from water or its affliction, on Khvar take children to school to learn wisdom, on Māh, drink wine, converse, and ask favors from King Moon (cf n 74), on Tīr

2. In Zoroastrianism the connection between the Expanding Mainyu and Creative Religion was very close (5 e 2.2), for Spenta Mainyu through Daēna as a Creator brought the expanded world into being and through Expanding Wisdom will recreate the world for the Fraškart, or Restoration. It is not surprising that Spenta Mainyu was eventually divided into seven Immortal (*ameša*)

send children to learn archery and other skills, and on Gōš tend the stables and train oxen to plow.

Following the second Creator are the days for Mithra and the divine powers most closely connected with him (cf pt 6). On the day of Mihr one is to ask justice before Mithra if wronged, on Srōš one is to ask for the favor of the salvation of the soul, on Rašn, since life is gay, do what one will that is right, on Fravartīn take no oath but sacrifice to the Fravahrs to please them, on Vahrām lay foundations of a house for swift completion, and go to battle for victory, on Rām enjoy a wife and take suit to judges to be acquitted and victorious, and on Vāt do not go beyond words (?) nor undertake anything new.

Following the third Creator are the days for Dēn and the principles of law and cosmic order. On Dēn kill noxious beasts and reptiles, on Art buy new things needed for the home, on Aštāt breed domestic animals for good health, on Āsmān start a long journey for a safe return, on Zāmdāt do not take medicine, on Mahraspand mend clothes and put them on and have intercourse with a wife for keen-witted children, and on Anaghrān trim hair and nails and have intercourse for exceptional children.

It must be observed that on the three Dadhv days one is also to trim hair and nails, on that of Dēn one is also to clothe himself and also enjoy his wife; on the other two Dadhv one is to wash his head, and on that of Mihr he is also to pick grapes and press them (cf n 74). The day of Anaghrān, the realm of Zoroastrian endless light (5 c 2-3), would appear to be in reality that of a Dadhv who should be over the Amahraspands which immediately follow in the next month. Cutting off hair and nails is symbolic of the separating of life from the First Body, separation being a first motion of creation, while the begetting of perfect children is symbolic of all genesis which comes from the First Body or Ras. Anaghrān, the Endless, would correspond to the Dadhv Gās (Space), and perhaps Ātur to Zamān (Time) since it was the fire in the Sun and Moon that marked the divisions of time.

It must also be observed that on a few of the days there were certain taboos instead of positive duties, as for fire and water on their days. The taboo on medicine suggests that Zāmdāt, one of the Judges at the Činvat Bridge (6 b 1.3), had to do with the healing arts, and the taboo against oaths suggests that men swore by the spirits of the dead (*fravahr*) as a most solemn oath, as in Greek myths the gods swore by the river Styx. Ancient medicine employed a spoken formula of magic power, and the divine utterance was the essence of Dēn, Aša, and Mahraspand whose origins were in the Āsmān of Endless Light. The taboo against starting anything new on the day of Vāt was because the Wind was the first motion of all generation (5 f 3, j 2).

Spentas of which the greatest was Ahura. In the *Gathas* Ahura and Spenta Mainyu are frequently fused into one, or scarcely separated into distinct beings. As the creator of man and lord of all creation, or good creation, Ahura was the Wise One (Mazda) in keeping with the wisdom of Religion. As the creator of cosmic man (Gayōmard) Ahura displaced the creator of the cosmic ox (Gōšurvan) who was Vohu Mainyu, or Vahuman, the Mēnōk of cattle. For the Iranian the creation of cattle was the best of all gifts, and only gradually did the horse tend to displace the cow in social esteem, but scarcely as an object of religious veneration (cf 6 a).

2.1. The strong dualism of Zarathustra upset the older cosmic and complementary dualism, and introduced a dualism of hostile opposites. This caused the reduction of the older gods (*div-*) to demons and of Angra Mainyu to an evil (*aka*) creator of a counterfeit (*druj*) world of night, dampness and cold. Had Zarathustra been less throughly materialistic, or more "Platonic", Angra Mainyu might have become the Good Mainyu, for he was the moving mind of wakefulness and Not-life. The word *angra* is closely related to Sanscrit *ang-*, move quickly, in *angiras*, fiery messengers (cf Greek *angelos*), *anga*, limb of the body, *anguli*, finger as a mover, *angara*, hot coals (cf Eng. *anger*, moved to anger). Vohu Mainyu as an antithesis to Angra Mainyu was taken to be the antithesis of *anger* in later Zoroastrian thought [69]. That Angra Mainyu was the first cause of movement in the sky was preserved in the idea that until he came as the "Aggressor" (=Mover) "The sun, moon and stars stood still and did not move (*G. Bund.* 29.12=ZZ p 148). In an older Iranian myth his attack upon the Water Bull of Heaven started material creation, but in the Zoroastrian version his attack was upon the Cosmic Man Gayōmard (5 f 9.3). In the Mithraic mysteries the attack upon the cosmic bull was by Mithra in order to initiate material creation, or generation (7 b 2).

2.2. Wakefulness and night were also attributed to Mithra of the many eyes and ears, for he was also a fiery mover of creation. Mithra however was completely ignored in the *Gathas* of Zara-

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69) Idem p 66=*Shikand Gūmānī Vazār* 8.128.

thustra, being in reality displaced by Ahura Mazda himself, for Ahura was closely identified not only with sky-fire but also with cattle culture, as the *Gathas* make clear. Cattle culture was a particular interest of the ancient Iranian Mithra, whose traditional epithet was "Lord of Wide Cattle Land" (cf 6 a 3-4). When Mithra reappeared in the later *Avesta* (cf Yt 10) he was more closely identified with horses than with cattle. That the ancient Mithra was a god of farmers and cattle raisers is clearly indicated by the tradition that Kavi Guštāsp (=Hystaspes) established the Burzēn-Mihr fire on Mount Raēvant in Khorāsān as the sacred fire of husbandmen (*Bund.* 17.8). The sacred fire in Atropatene was established as the victorious (*varhrām*) fire of Kings and Warriors and the Farnbag fire in Seistan for priests. Since farming and cattle raising require a firmly established law of the land (cf Greek *nomos*, law, and *nomos*, pasture), the Mithra fire was the fire of *arta* and reason, as illustrated in the attribution of the four virtues. Of these temperance was attributed to priests, fortitude to rulers and warriors, energy to artisans, but reason (*ardi*, or *khardi*) to husbandmen, "For the function of reason is the tilling of the soil and the promotion of a continuous evolution towards the final rehabilitation (*fraškart*)" [70]. The law and wisdom of tillage was not only attributed to Spandarmat, the Expanding Wisdom in the material world, whose helpers were aspects of *aša* (5 h 4), but also to Zurvān as god of Time, and to the Spihr of Zurvān. "It is the Spihr that bestows good things, and its sovereignty as Ahu and Ratu (*pātuxšāyīh*) makes progress according to fate (*baxtārīh ’kunēt*) as when husbandmen till the earth" [71]. The ancient association of Mithra with cattle is preserved in the mysteries of Mithra bouklopos and tauroctonos. As the sleepless watcher and hearer he was the male power of fire in contrast to the female power in Spenta Armaiti. In later Zoroastrianism Mithra was reduced to the status of an assistant of Joyous Sovereignty (Šahrēvar) who was the Mēnōk of metals and of the powers of the sky, the sky being the first manifestation of the sovereign and creative

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70) *Bundahišn* 12.26; *Kārnāmak i Artaxšahr* 1; *Shikand Gūmānī Vazār* 1.26-29; Zaehner, *Teachings*, p 87.

71) *G. Bund.* 26.2=ZZ p 337.

word. Mithra was said to be the first of the *mēnōk* (or *mainyavo*) gods to cross the summit of Hara in front of the swift-horsed sun" (Yt 10.13). Eventually in Persia and in the later period of the mysteries Mithra was identified with the sun.

If the moral dualism of Zarathustra eliminated Mithra by the substitution of Ahura Mazda and reduced Angra Mainyu to a false creator, the mysteries of Mithra, on the contrary, had little or no place for Ahura Mazda as such, but retained Angra Mainyu as the Deus Arimanius (11 b 6). Mithra himself was both the Demiurge and Despot of Genesis, that is, the Ahu and Ratu of living things (6 b 2). The same also was the Ahuna formula of Ahura Mazda (Visp. 14.3). Moreover as the Gathic Ahura or Spenta Mainyu was clothed with the *āsmān* (5 c), so was Mithra with the star-studded sky-mantle or wind blown robe.

3. It has long been thought that the Zarathustrian Ahura Mazda was a modification of, or otherwise akin to, the Vedic Asura Varuna. Mazda was closely identified with fire and light, whereas Varuna was progressively identified with rain-clouds and water. He was the sky that covers (*var-*) more than the sky that shines (*div-*). Mazda was more akin to the Vedic Mithra, a god of sky-fire and light [72], and also a god of social wisdom whose essence was friendship and agreement. The name Mazda came to denote the Wise One rather than the Mighty One, perhaps in opposition to the husbandman's Mithra whose law was the wisdom and fate of the cosmic order.

3.1. The Mazda of Zarathustra was, I believe, inherited from an ancient Indo-European Masdes, the Mighty. Avestan *maz-* and Vedic *mah-* (great, mighty) as applied to the Asurian Father of the Twin supports of heaven (5 f 7.2) come from a basic root *mak'ad-* in which the *k* (or *g*) may be followed by a sibilant or aspirate. This root appears in Lycian *mahana-*, Luvian *massana-*, denoting god as a *mighty* one [73], and in Greek *megal-* (for *megad-*) and Latin *magn-* (for *magand-*, cf Hittite *mekkis*, *makkēss-*, great, become great). A Luvian or Arzawan king was named Masduriyandus (Mighty-ruler?) and a conqueror of Arzawa was named

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72) Griswold, op cit (n 25), pp 113, 133-138.

73) *Syria*, 35 1958, 283s.

Maddu-wattas (Mighty-father? cf *attas*, father). Manes (Herod. 1.94; 4.45), also called Masdes, was an ancestral king of Phrygia whose deeds created the word *manika*, according to Plutarch (*De Iside*, 356B), and Mazeus was a Phrygian Zeus. The Phrygian Moon-god Mēn was a survival of Manes, or Masnes, or Masdes. The Gathic Mazda as a god of Mainyu power, of cattle and of material growth had more in common with a Moon god Māh or Mēn, the Mighty, than with the sun or fire as such. In fact the duties of the Māh day of the month were identical with those of Ohrmazd day, that is the drinking of wine and merry-making, but in addition one was to ask favors of "King Māh" [74]. The drinking of wine was a

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[74] Zaehner, *Teachings*, p 107s, from *Handarz i Āturpat i Mahraspandān*. According to Ctesias (cf Cumont, *MMM* II, p 10) the Persian King Darius became intoxicated on the day of festival dedicated to Mithra. Citing Douris as his source he goes on to say that only the King became intoxicated on that day and danced the *persikon* while all others in the kingdom abstained. It would appear that the Persian King devoted to Mithra the rites that were accorded to Māh and Mazda in the Zoroastrian calendar (n 68).

Māh and perhaps Mazda-Masdes more or less correspond to the Phrygian-Anatolian god Mēn. Although the latter was sometimes shown with a lunar crescent issuing from his shoulders, or otherwise, he was more than a moon-god; cf Paul Perdrizet, *Mēn*, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 30 1896, pp 55-106, figs 1-7. He was called the Light-Bringer (Phosphoros), Despot (Tyrannos), Uranian (Ouranios), Subterranian (Katachthonios), the Above (Anōthen) and Below (Katōthen), but his most common title was Askainos or Askēnos, which may denote the god of the Sky-tabernacle, or Sky-tent (euphonic *a* + *skēn-*, *skain-*). As Tyrannos he became an attribute of Attis in the mysteries of the Great Mother. He is called Attis Mēnotyrranos in several more or less Mithraic inscriptions (*513 515 522*). In the mysteries also Attis came to be considered an equivalent of the Second Helios that rules the sky and of the Third Helios that is incarnate in the living world (n 12, pt 7). Also like Mēn, a god of the Above and Below, Attis was a god of the bright sky-lights and of the dark world cave. As the former he was Mighty Helios and the Wise Logos, but as the latter he became the Witless. The wise and starry Attis corresponds to Mazda the Wise and Mighty whose garment is the star covered *āsmān*, but as the Witless in generation he corresponds to Māh, the *lunatic* power of growth. This is the Spenta Mainyu aspect of Mazda. Birth or generation is an intoxication of the soul (5h1; 6 g2.1) when it takes on a physical garment. On the day of Vahuman (= Spenta or Vohu Mainyu) one puts on new clothes, but on the day of Mahraspand (= Māthra Spenta), the Word that causes growth, one mends or makes clothes as well as puts them on (n 68). But one also puts on clothes on the day of Dēn as Creator because the creative Wisdom of Religion was simultaneous with the creative motion of the Good Mind (5 e 2.2). On this day also one indulges in pleasures including intercourse with a wife, and the best of wives were those nearest of kin in Magian-form of *mantic* experience, or more specifically an embodiment of *mēnōk* sensibility. From the Moon came the *mēnōk* of cattle, in Zoroastrian thought, but of men also in the Mithraic mysteries if the moon was the gate of birth (cf 7 b 2). The attribution of kingship to the moon is quite un-Zoroastrian, but accords with the supremacy of the moon in various oriental cultures, as also in the ancient Phrygian and Albanian. In Phrygian it is reflected in the later title Mēnotyrannus, and in the Albanian moon cult mantic frenzy was a prominent feature (Strabo, 11.4.7).

According to Herodotus (1.94; 4.45) Manes or Maion was the ancestor of the Maionians, who were later called the Lydians. According to Hesychius *mai* is the same as *mega*, great. The Maionians or Maiones were the same as the Masones or Masdones, whose ancestor was Masdes or Masnes or Masdnes [75]. But Masdon is only a variant of Makedon, the root of which is *mak'ad-*, great, or mighty. The ancestral god or shaman of the Getae was called Zalmoxis, the Great-Mighty One, for *zal* (=*sal*, *sar*) means great, strong, or many (cf Hesychius) and *moxis*, or *missus* [76], is a variant of *masd-* and *mize-* or *massa-* as in Sar-mize-getusa (the Great-Mighty-Getic place), Salmydessos (the Great-Mighty -essos), and Massagetae (the Great- or Mighty Getae). The Thracian name of Zalmoxis was Gebeleïzis, from *gal-* or *gval-*, great, and *mizis*, mighty.

3.2. Among the gods worshipped by the Scythians, according to Herodotus (4.59), were Goitosuros, whom he equates with Apollo, and Thagimasades, equated with Poseidon. Goito-suros is a variant of Vedic Gavyuti-sura and Avestan Gaoyaoitiš-sūrō (cf M.P. *gōyōt*), which is the constant epithet of Mithra as the "Lord of Cattle-Land". This Mithra-Apollo, the lord of cattle culture, according to Herodotus, was a god of all the people, whereas Thagimasades was worshipped only by the kings. *Masades* or its variant appears in the names of Scythian kings, that is Octo-

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Zoroastrian teaching (5 h 5). In cult and myth Attis was both son and consort of his mother (cf n 12, pt 7). The divine Logos, intoxicated, frenzied and witless in physical generation, becomes as lunatic as a Gallus priest!

75) *Syria*, loc cit.

76) As in Zilmissus, used by Macrobius, *Sat.*, 1.18.11.

masades[77], Maisades[78], and Madus[79]. *Masades* must be the Scythian form of *masdes*, while *thagi-*, corruped to *thammi-* by assimilation of sounds, is a cognate of Vedic *tvaks-* in Tvastar and in Avestan *thvāša=spihr* or *spahr.*[80] *Tvaks-* or *taks-*, to fashion by putting into motion, is the essence of Tvastar Visvarupa, the All-forming Fashioner of the swift moving sky and of thunderbolts (cf 5 f 7.1). The Greek *thakos* or *thabakos*, coming from the same root, was not only a throne of rulership, of which the greatest was the revolving sky, but also the winged car of Oceanus and the Oceanides (Aesch., *Pr. Vin.*, 282). Thagimasades was the Mighty-Fashioner of the sky and therefore connected with sky-waters and thunderbolts like the ancient Poseidon. *Thakos* as a fashioner or orderer appears in the Thessalian *Tagos*, a chieftain, who put his soldiers or subjects in order (cf *tasso, tagē, tagma*) much as a *tektōn* fashions his material. Thagimasades was appropriately a god of kings because of his close connection with the sovereign power of the sky, just as the ancient Poseidon was a *wanax*, ruler, or *posis*, lord.

3.3. The Mazda of Zarathustra, derived as I believe from an ancestral Masdes, may have been a Moon god in origin, but more likely was a god of life-producing (*asura*) waters, like Poseidon or the Vedic Varuna, or even the Assyrian Ašur, for the Assyrians, we are told[81], considered air (=vapor) to be a primary substance. Such a god may very likely have been worshipped in the region of the Alborz Mountains and have survived in the names of Mazan and Mazanderan, whose gods, along with those of the mythical Varena, were the object of particular Zarathustrian opposition (Yt 5.21-23; 15.6-9). The victory over them was attributed to the mythical Kavi Hušravah, mover of the primeval mass and as such the discoverer of holy fire (5 f 2.3), and therefore the equivalent of Angra Mainyu. The life producing force of heat and moisture is implied in the title Asura-Ahura (cf 5 f 7.2), and especially as applied to Ahura Napāt Apām, Grandson of the Waters, who was

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77) Herod., 4.80.
78) Xenophon, *Anab.*, 7.2.32.
79) Strabo, 1.3.21.
80) ZZ p 89.
81) J. Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 4.

apparently the hot flashing light in the sky-waters (Yas 1.5; R.V. 2.35; cf 6 f 1). He was assigned to the evening period of the day which was opposite to that of Mithra of the dawn period. He was not only a "Lord of females", who were the generative waters (Vedic Apsaras), and the "Maker of man", who was generated by the uniting of fire and water, but he also dwelt in the waters. As a grandson he would be the third stage in cosmic evolution, the first being the moist air mass, the second its movement in the separation of the elements, and the third the combination of the elements in bodies (cf 6 h 5.1). He would therefore correspond to Spenta Mainyu, the Increasing Mind of Ahura Mazda. The power of growth and increase as well as the source of consciousness and knowledge were believed to reside in water especially. The gods of sky-water therefore could be both increasing and wise as well as mighty.

The Zarathustrian Mazda may have been the ancestral god of Kavi Huštāspa (Hystaspes), also called Guštāsp and Vištāsp (cf 6 f 3.1), the king who was reputed to be the patron and sponsor of Zarathustra. The latter's materialism would make it easy for him to exalt the Masdes of a royal family into a Wise and Increase-producing god of sovereignty, whose sovereignty was said to be simultaneous with his creativity (*G. Bund.* 1.18). Productivity and Rulership were the two powers of Ahura Mazda most emphasized in the *Gathas*. Various aspects of these powers were emphasized in the six subordinate Spentas, Ahura himself being the Expanding Mind and Motion in the material world, his essence being the Fire embodied in the garment of heaven.

Later attempts to disembody Ohrmazd from matter and make him potential, intelligible, or *mēnōk* light (as in *G. Bund.* 1.2), perhaps in response to Greek or Platonic thought, were on the whole unsuccessful. He had been fully characterized by Zarathustra as material fire, the very stuff from which his creatures were fashioned (*G. Bund.* 1.26), including the starry sky which was even called his body (Yas 50.10). It was impossible, however, for Zoroastrians to hold consistently to the concept that fire (or light) of any kind was the stuff of creation, though it might be its energy, for a more basic view that the primal stuff of creation was moisture (cf Thales) could not be forgotten (5 f 7). The moist stuff was sometimes described as wind, or air, as semen or semen and blood (*G. Bund.* 1.38), as semen-flowing, or a septic mass. The latter idea will be found in the primeval *mōt* of ancient Phoenician cosmology (5 j 2).

3.4. The primary stuff in its heated and moving state corresponded to Angra Mainyu, for it was not forgotten in later Zoroastrian writings that Ahriman was an *abzār,* not only of material darkness, but of a hot substance like coals[82]. In a consistent Zoroastrian dogma, however, Ahriman was identified with the cold of the north wind and the like. If in actuality the heat in the substance was Angra Mainyu, the growing and expanding power was Spenta Mainyu, and the fully formed body was the Spihr of Zurvān. The perfected body was also the Ras, for it was *fitted together* (from *ar-*, *ra-*) as in Sanscrit *ara*, spoke of a wheel, *ratha*, a chariot, *aram*, fitted, and *ṛta* (*aša*), the fitted, or the principle that makes things fit. The expansion of bodies was caused by a *spanta* (or *ksvanta*) force within the *tan*. *Tan* (body) is related to Sanscrit *tan-*, extend, spread, *tanu*, stretched out, outward form, body (cf Greek *tanuo*, *teino*, stretch; English *tendon*). *Spanta*, from the root *k'va-*, as noted above (5 f 1; note 34), is related to Greek *spadion*, Lation *spatium* and *expando*. In short, the individual body was conceived to be an expanded covering of the soul and to resemble the bovine, anthropoid, cave-like, or spherical covering of the sky, or world garment.

4. The two Mainyu were by no means the creation of Zarathustra. They belonged not only to the religion of Zurvān in northwest Iran[83], but also to the Indo-European peoples, as is suggested by Prometheus and Epimetheus in Greek myths. These are also two Mainyu (=metheus) who are connected with a Pandora of "All-gifts", just as the Mainyu are connected with a Spenta Armaiti as the counterpart of Spenta Mainyu. Spenta Armaiti is akin to the Vedic Aramati, a goddess of Devotion or religious Wisdom. Her name is a compound of *ara*, a thing that is fitted together like the spokes of a wheel, and *mati*, devotion, mind, intelligence (from

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82) *Sel. Zātspram* 1.29=ZZ p 340.

83) ZZ p 88s.

man-, think, consider). Aramati was the Wisdom embodied in the established order. *Mati* has a Sanscrit parallel in *dhi-*, devotion, intelligence, mind, skill, which is related to *dhēna*, the equivalent of Avestan *daēna*[84], and comes from the root *dha-*, put, establish, in *datar*, creator, establisher. But this is also the root of Greek *tithemi* and *Themis*. Themis was an establisher of social order and law. Like Spenta Armaiti, she was also associated with the earth (Aesch. *Pr. Vin.*, 209s). It is not surprising therefore that Spandarmat was said not only to be the mother of Dēn (=Daēna) but also to be girded about by Dēn (5 f 1.4). In a late Pahlavī work (*Rivāyat* 8.4) Ohrmazd is represented as saying that Spandarmat is both his daughter and also the Queen of Heaven and Mother of Creation. Because she was the Expanding Wisdom in creation, in later cosmological speculations she was given as helpers not only Dēn, Art, Ašišvang and Mahraspand, but also the Waters (Apān) and Anāhita the mother and father of the waters. All of these have to do with aspects of creative and ordering wisdom or with the material world of water in which wisdom is embodied.

4.1. Themis, goddess of material and social wisdom and law, had a parallel in Pandora, an earth-divinity endowed with gifts from all the gods. If Themis-Gaia is the mother of the Metheus-Twins, Themis-Pandora is their mate, or at least the mate of the Secondary Twin, Epimetheus. Prometheus Pyrophoros not only dwelt within the holy cave of Colonus, "an underworld path of brazen steps"[85], shared with the lightning god Poseidon and the Semnai guardians of family ties, but he was also confined within the Caucasus Mountains. His quality of Fire-bearer makes him correspond to the Heat producing twin Angra, the separating fire in the world mass (cf 5 j 5), whereas Epimetheus comes nearer to Spenta Mainyu whose garment was the world mass after its formation into a cosmos. The world order appears in Atlas, brother of the twins and possessor of *oloophrōn* mind (=*mēnōk i čihr nērōk*), who knows the depths of all the sea and holds the tall posts (*kiona*) that keep sky and earth apart (*Od.*, 1.52s). Though Epimetheus is a somewhat shadowy figure, his generative or *spanta*

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84) *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, 157 1960, 184s.

85) Soph., *Oed. Col.*, 54-57.

power is reflected in his becoming the husband of Pandora, a relationship somewhat parallel to the incestuous relationship between Ohrmazd as Spenta Mainyu and Spenta Armaiti, his daughter and queen.

4.2. It emerges therefore that the Ahura Mazda of Zarathustra took over the functions of an older Spenta Mainyu (or Mano), whose creative and expanding activities were initiated by means of a compulsive and Expanding Word (Māthra Spenta), which concept had its origin in the primitive idea of compulsion by the magic of incantation (cf 5 c 5.2). The Māthra Spenta was in actuality an intermediate between Spenta Mainyu and Spenta Armaiti, just as Daēna-Dēn was an intermediate Creator between Space and Time (5 e 2.2), for the word was intermediate between the thought and the deed.

5. It should be observed that, unlike the Mainyu twins, who were males, the Spenta twins were male and female, and perhaps also husband and wife. In Zoroastrian dogma a close consanguine marriage was considered to be ideal[86]. The idea that sky divinities or first causes as unmoved or self-moved movers, were male and that earth divinities as secondary causes were female is in general accord with Indo-European cosmologies, as also with the Pythagorean dogma of opposites[87]. In the *Gathas* (Yas 45.4) Mazda is called

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86) ZZ p 151; 428, F, 2; cf Diog. Laert., 1.6. Bardēsanēs, a Syrian well versed in Chaldaean knowledge and acquainted with world-wide Christianity as well (Euseb., *P.E.*, 6.9.32; 6.10.45) says that, "Among the Persians there was a custom to marry daughters, sisters, and mothers, and not only in that country and region have the Persians made unholy marriages, but also as many as dwell outside of Persia who are called Magousai practice the same lawlessness, transmitting the same laws and customs to their children in succession. Of these there are many up to the present time in Media, Egypt, Phrygia and Galatia" (Idem 6.10.16s). Among other items the same author asserts that Median Christians do not feed their dead to dogs (cf 2 a 2), even though "all Medes cast their dead while still breathing to ravenous dogs" (Idem 6.10.32).

87) Plato, *Phaedrus*, 245ss; Aristotle, *Metaph.*, 986A22; Plut., *De Iside*, 370E. According to Pythagoras (in Aetius, *Epit.*, 1.7.18=Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, p 302), "Of first principles the monad is god and good; whatever the *physis* of the one is, it is mind (*nous*) itself. But the indeterminate dyad is *daimōn* and bad, about which dyad material multiplicity is centered." This dyadic principle apparently was thought to begin at the moon sphere, for Pythagoras "said that everything below the moon was subject to suffering but everything

the father both of Vohu Manah, a specialization of Spenta Mainyu, and of Spenta Armaiti, but in later Zoroastrian dogma there was a tendency to make Ohrmazd both father and mother of creation.

above the moon was more pure and beyond suffering" (*apathē*, Epiph., *Adv. haeres.*, 3.2.9=Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, p 589). Or according to Heracleitus (Hippolytus, *Ref. om. haeres.*, 1.4.2-3=Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, p 558s) discord and friendship are the principle of suffering (*parthē*), and perhaps the true dyad. "Heracleitus for the most part agrees with Empedocles that discord (*stasis*) and friendship (*philia*) are the first principle of all things, that god is intelligible (*noeron*) fire, that all things are mingled together, and that they do not stand still. And likewise Empedocles said all the space near us is full of evils, that the evils stretched out from the space about the earth reach as far as the moon, but extend no farther because the entire space existing above the moon is more pure." The Platonist "Xenocrates, son of Agathenor, a Chalcedonian, took the monad and dyad to be gods, the former as male and possessing the ordering (*taxis*) of a father exercises kingship in the sky, which monad he calls Zēn, supernatural (*peritton*), and Mind (*nous*) which for him is First God, but the latter as female and possessing the right (*dikē*) of Mother of Gods rules the allotment (*lēxis*) under the sky, which dyad for him is Soul of the Universe. The sky also is god and the fiery stars are Olympian gods and other gods are the invisible sublunar *daimones*" (Stobaeus, *Eclog.*, 1.1.30=Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, p 304). The sublunar *daimones* are probably *pneuma*, *psychē*, or *physis* (cf n 12, pt 4). As for the Stoics (Plut., *Epit.*, 1.6.11=Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, p 296), "The sky therefore appears to them to be Father and the Earth mother. Of these the one is Father because he has charge of the outpourings of spermatic waters, but the other a Mother because of receiving the same and giving birth." It may be noted that the Zoroastrians considered it an error to attribute sex to the gods, according to Diogenes Laertius (1.7). Their attribution of sex appears to have been on the basis of function consistent with Pythagorean and probably ancient Indo-European thought. On the same basis Plutarch explains sex in Egyptian religion (*De Iside*, 368C-D): "They say the Apis bull is a living (*empsychon*) image of Osiris but comes into being whenever generative light arises from the moon and illuminates a cow in heat . . . . . Thus placing the power of Osiris in the moon, they say that Isis who is *genesis* coexists with him. Therefore they also call the moon Mother of the Cosmos and think she has a male-female *physis* that is filled and impregnated by the sun but that she in turn emits into the air and disseminates generative principles."

Varro quoted from Valerius Soranus the two verses:

> Juppiter omnipotens regum rerumque deumque
> Progenitor genetrixque deum, deus unus et omnes,

and explained that, "Since it is thought that the one who emits seed is male and the one who receives it is female and that Juppiter is the *mundus*, and that he emits from himself all seeds and receives them into himself, Soranus has written with reason Jupiter progenitor genetrixque, and with no less reason that he is at the same time One and All, for the Mundus is one and in that One are All;" Augustine, *De civ. dei*, 7.9.

In the *Bundahišn* passage (1.38-39) which outlines the evolution of the cosmos from a semen-like substance, through conception, to expansion and movement forward into light, it is said that in the creating of creation Ohrmazd was a mother, but of the principle of creation he was a father (*pitarīh i dahišn*), that in fostering the creation that was created he acted as mother, but in creating for *gētēh* he acted as father.

There is a similar double sex in Ardvī-Sūr-i-Anāhit who was called both mother and father of the waters (*G. Bund.* 3.14-15). For this reason she is uniquely the assistant of two different Amahraspands. As an assistant of Šahrēvar, Mēnōk of sky and metals, she was probably mother of the waters, for sky-water was female, but as an assistant of Spandarmat, Mēnōk of Earth, she was the father. In the myth of the Dog Star Tištrya, who in the form of a white horse, released the sky-waters from Apaoša, these waters flowing down from the Wide Kaša were said to be motherlike (Yt 8.45-47). Of the Amahraspands themselves three were generally male, Vahuman, Artvahišt and Šahrēvar who presided over cattle, fire, and metals respectively, and three were female, Spandarmat, Hurdāt and Amurdāt who presided over earth, water and plants. These genders however were not rigidly fixed. The female waters were the subject of a *Yasna* (*38*) in which they seem to be called the wives of Ahura Mazda, and are clearly called the female Ahuras of Ahura and the Mothers of Life (cf 5 f 7).

6. The gender of the elements, in a carefully stated dogma, depended upon whether they were self-moving from rest or were moved by a mover, but such consistency could not be expected in mythical representations. A Magian conception of the elemental powers of the cosmos, roughly contemporary with the Mithraic mysteries, appears in Dio Chrysostom's description of the Persian cosmic chariot (*Orat.*, 36. 39ss).

In substance he says that Zoroaster and his disciples sing of the mighty and perfect chariot of Zeus (=Oromasdes) for whom they maintain a team of Nisaean horses. They keep only one horse for the Sun whose chariot is much more recent and visible. The cosmos is being driven along a single path as if by a most skillful and powerful charioteer without ceasing in endless cycles of time;

this movement is not visible like that of the sun and moon. The Magi say the horse that is highest in the heavens is superior by far in beauty, size and speed, for having the outside track it runs the longest course and is sacred to Zeus himself. It has wings, is brilliant as the purest flame, and conspicuously marked with the signs of the Sun and Moon; less conspicuous are the names and signs of the planets and the patterns of the constellations (=the winged Wheel, Ras). Next to this star-spangled horse of Zeus is the horse that bears the name of Hera, which is gentle, obedient and inferior in strength and speed. The horse is black by nature (cf 5 c 2), but the part exposed to the sun is regularly bright (=*vāt* or *vāy*). The third horse, sacred to Poseidon, is slower than the second and is related by the poets to Pegasus (=*āp*). In conception the fourth horse is strangest of all, for it is firm and immoveable, without wings and named for Hestia. The Magi insist that this horse is harnessed to the chariot even though it is stationary and champs its adamantine bits (=*gil*). The other horses tend to crowd in upon this horse as they race about him like the horses in the hippodrome. In times past one horse or another has overcome the others causing conflagration or deluge, and at some time in the future all the horses will merge into the horse of Zeus. At this point in the myth the Magi find it difficult to name the creature they have invented, but they say that it has become simply the soul (*ruvān*?) and master (*fravahr*?) of the charioteer, or rather, the very intellect (*phronoun*) and leadership (*hēgoumenon*) of the soul itself.

In this dynamistic myth the fundamental elements of the cosmos, fire in the Wheel, air in the wind, water and earth, are represented as horses, each of which has been equated with a Greek divinity which in contemporary speculative thought had been identified with the respective element, the highest of which was Zeus as the god of the fiery *aithēr*. The idea that all the elements will be merged into the original element is consistent with the general dogma that the end of all things will be a return to the beginning, but the assumption that the primary substance was fiery ether is typically Zoroastrian. Otherwise the primary substance was conceived to be warm-moist air (*vāt* or *ǰān* = *pneuma*) in which there were the twofold powers of mind-motion (*mēnōk=phronoun*) and rulership (*šahr=hēgoumenon*). In an earlier passage of the same oration (36.30-31) the author says that in all phenomena a One has generated an orderly cosmos which the All has divided and separated into many forms of plants and creatures, and even into the forms of air, earth, water and fire, but which is governed by one Psychē and Dynamis. This One is likened by the Stoics to a city because of the beauty and order of its management and because of the multitude of its creatures that come into being and pass away. Such a City can have no government other than a kingship that governs by law with all friendship and concord. This wisest and oldest *archōn* and *nomothetēs* ordains for mortals and immortals and is a Hēgemōn of the whole sky and a Despotēs of its substance (*ousia*). We observe on the tauroctones the four elemental horses which appear in the Apotheosis motive where Mithra Pater as Despotēs and Heliodromus as Hēgemōn ascend to the sky above the waters (cf 9c).

7. A cosmic chariot as conceived in the mysteries of Mithra is shown on the reverse of the Dieburg relief (*1247**). This has been interpreted as a portrayal of Mithra-Phaethon and Helios[88]. A large circle is inscribed within the square surface of the relief so that the circumference of the circle touches the sides of the square. In the corners outside of the circle are the four winds. The one at the lower left is shown back to. Since the relief was oriented toward the east, this bust may represent the wind that is behind at the west. If so, the east wind would be in the diagonally opposite corner, which is missing. In the lower right corner the wind bust is blowing upward, which may represent the south, while at the top left corner the bust is blowing down or across and may represent the north.

The interior of the great circle suggests a hemisphere, or the vast dome of the sky. At the bottom are two semi-reclining figures; the one at the left is holding a large urn and is shown back to, while the one at the right is holding a large cornucopia and is face to. Behind and above them is a hemispherical veil in the dome of which is a large bearded head. Above this veiled head is the main scene, of which the background is the end of a tetrastyle temple. Before the temple is a throne having an elevated platform and a footstool. The platform is in reality part of a mountain top below which is the bearded and veiled head. Seated on the throne is a Zeus-Oromasdes type of divinity. His face is mutilated but behind the head the outline of a nimbus is still visible; there is no evidence of solar rays. This can scarcely be Helios-Apollo, but must rather represent the god of the invisible sky.

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[88] M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithra, ce dieu mystérieux*, pp 139-141.

On a level lower than the platform of the throne stands a youth at the right knee of the seated sky-god. He is clad only in the shoulder cape of Helios-Mithra-Heliodromus, and with his right hand he seems to be clasping the right hand of the seated god or is perhaps receiving some token. Standing at the same level on the opposite side of the throne is a semi-draped female who holds in her raised left palm an indefinable object of fish shape. She probably represents the autumn season, which would be appropriate if the other figure is Mithra since the Mithra-month was at the beginning of the autumn. Back of her, standing at the left shoulder of the seated god, is a fully draped female who holds in her left hand a reed or arrow; she probably represents winter. At the god's right shoulder stands a young female with naked torso and rests her right hand on the nimbus in the manner of a Nike-Victoria; she probably represents spring. Below her is another similar female who rests her right arm across the top of her head and holds in her extended left hand a plate or small basket of fruits; she probably represents summer.

Moving outward from the central group are four naked youths, each with a horse whose bridle he grasps with his right hand and each holds in his left hand an unforked thunderbolt. The youth at the lower left appears to be more mature than the others. The one at the lower right is a full grown youth, while the two in the upper background appear to be young boys; the one at the left faces front, while the one to the right is back to. The latter's horse is shown at full gallop upward.

8. This total picture presents something other than the story of Phaethon and Helios. The enthroned god is the divinity of the

cosmic wheel from which all Genesis comes (cf 11 d; 12 a), the full cycle of genesis being represented by the four seasons of which the crowning glory is the spring and the culmination is the summer. The movement (*ravišn*) of genesis is in the separation of the four elements (5 f 3) which are represented by the Dioscuri type of horsemen with the thunderbolts. In Chrysostom's account of the cosmic chariot the horses represent the four elements, which are the primary motions of creation. The two horses at the top may represent fire that is visible (face to) and air that is invisible (back to), for they are both in spirited ascent. The horse at the lower left moving in a rapid lateral motion may represent water, whereas the almost stationary horse at the right may represent earth. The becoming (*ēstišn*) of genesis appears both in the veiled sky-god beneath the top of the cosmic mountain and in the two figures holding an urn of water and a cornucopia of fruits. In the veiled sky is the First Body and in the water is the embodiment of fire whose final embodiment is in fruits and all living bodies. The youth in the shoulder cape at the god's right knee is Mithra *Invictus* who receives the powers of a *Deus invictus* for the regeneration of the world. These powers are revealed on the obverse of the relief in the mounted horseman and the surrounding scenes (6 c 2).

8.1. In the present connection it may be observed that in the first small scene on the obverse of the relief two animals that more or less resemble horses[89] are shown in completely opposite positions, probably as fundamental and opposite principles. In the fresco at the east end of the Capua Mithraeum opposite the tauroctone, the chariot of Luna (*184*) is drawn by two horses, one of which is fiery colored and wheels in a spirited turn upward and backward,

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89) Or Capricorns (*1247*, *A*, *1*), symbol similar to water-horses? On the cosmic significance of two horses see *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, 162 1962, 199s, and ZZ p 444, F13, 2 and 9, from Firdausī, *Šāhnāmeh*. The double horse motive could be the Mithraic parallel to the androgynous human described by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*; cf E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, p 165s, fig 68. The Janus type of god having a face that looks in opposite directions was protrayed in ancient Sumer (C.-F. Jean, *La religion sumérienne*, figs 59, 30), perhaps as a personification of twofold principles as in the *abzār* (5 f) and *mundus* (n 87).

while the other is dark and plods forward and downward. These two horses probably represent opposite motions of the soul in *genesis* and *apogenesis* (cf Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246), which is also reflected in the symbolism of the seasons whether two or four are shown.

i. Symbols of the Winds and Seasons. As we have just seen, the four winds as well as the four seasons are shown on the reverse of the Dieburg relief. It may also be observed that spring and summer are on the god's right hand, while autumn and winter are on his left. Likewise the east wind (spring) and the south wind (summer) are on the spectator's right hand, if I have identified them correctly, while the west wind (autumn) and the north wind (winter) are on his left. For the god the quarters run in a counter clockwise rotation, but for the spectator in a clockwise rotation (cf 4 b).

1. Representations of the Winds and Seasons are shown on the following tauroctones:

PLACE	TYPE	SUB-TYPE	TORCH-BEARERS		SYMBOLS
Dura (*40**)	VI	D	(absent)		two seasons
Sidon (*74**)	I	AC	(absent)		four seasons
Capua (*181**)	I	CD	e	rev	two seasons
London (*810*)	V	CDE	e	rev	two winds
Sarrebourg (*966*)	VIII	DE	w	n	four winds
Heddernheim (*1083**)	VIII	DE	w	n	four winds and seasons
Stockstadt (*1216*)	VII	C ?	?	n	two ? winds
Schwarzerden (*1281*)	VI	CDE	w	n	two winds
Neuenheim (*1283**)	VIII	C	w	n	two winds
Osterburken (*1292**)	VIII	DE	w	n	two winds
(Germany) (*1388*)	?	CDE	w	n	two ? winds
Brigetio (*1727**)	III/VI	CDE	w	n	four winds

The use of the busts of Summer and Winter on the Capua fresco has already been discussed (3 g), as also the use of the seasonal busts of "Attis" on the Esquiline relief (*350*; 3 d). On two reliefs where the differences are clearly distinguished (*810 1292**) the North wind is on the left side and the South wind on the right, which agrees with the arrangement of the corresponding seasons on the Capua fresco. One of these, the London relief, also agrees with the Capua fresco in having the torchbearers in the South Iranian positions (cf 3 b). It should be noted that the winds are shown primarily with the D or DE subtype of tauroctone and appear only on a relatively few taurcotones and those of full iconographical development.

2. Boreas on the Osterburken relief is at the top left in the same panel with a *Natura dei* (8 a), an *Arbor vitae* (11 e 3) and an ascending solar quadriga (cf 12 b 1-2), whereas Notus is in the corresponding right hand panel with a full grown bull, a falling Hesperus, a *Transitus dei* (8 b) and the descending Luna biga (cf 12 b 3-4). The symbols at the left have to do with Genesis and those at the right with Apogenesis.

3. The ascending solar quadriga and the descending lunar biga occupy the two central panels at the top of the Neuenheim relief. Boreas, according to Cumont, is shown in the panel at the right end of the frieze, and Notus in the panel at the left end. If so, the positions of the two seasons are reversed from those occupied on the Osterburken relief and on the Capua fresco. With the bust in the right hand panel is an *Arbor genetrix* and with the other is an *Arbor frugifera* (11 e 3), which symbols tend to confirm Cumont's identifications, since North is the place of Genesis and South of Apogenesis.

4. The busts of the seasons in the upper corners of the larger Dura relief are not sufficiently differentiated to make identifications possible. That they are busts of the seasons is quite certain since prominent solar and lunar busts were originally shown below the zodiac arch (cf 6 a 1). These busts of the seasons are of particular interest because in artistic form they are almost identical with the undifferentiated busts in the upper corners of the relief of Commagena in Noricum (*1423*). The Verus who dedicated the latter to DEO INVICTO M(ITHRAE) "for the safety of COMACIE ET COM(MUNIS)" may have come from Commagene or eastern Anatolia whence Mithraism was first brought to Upper Pannonia and Noricum (*Typology,* IV init.). The Dura relief shows western influence in placing the sun and moon below the zodiac in accord with western astronomy (5 d 1). Its zodiac is also of the western order (4 b 1). Its Palmyrene dedicant may have served as a commander of the archers in the auxiliaries during the wars of Marcus Aurelius on the Danubian *limes,* whence he could have acquired the iconography of his relief.

5. The undifferentiated seasonal busts take on greater significance when we observe that on the tauroctones of AB subtype in Southeast Europe the busts are generally undifferentiated (cf *2171** *2246* *2266* *2319* et al.) Conversely, differentiation takes place *pari passu* with C subtype penetration into this area. It is quite certain therefore that the busts on these AB tauroctones represent the seasons rather than the sun and moon. This is not surprising since in this area the emphasis falls upon the progression of life in the seasons rather than upon the cosmic forces, like the sun and moon, which govern its progressions (cf 3 d; 8a).

6. All four seasons are shown on several reliefs of advanced development with varying degrees of clarity. The Sidon relief (*75**) had a bust of a season within a circle or sphere, and also an additional characterizing symbol in each of the four corners, the cardinal points being "corners of heaven". In the lower left corner, which would otherwise correspond to the left side, is a duck for winter rain, at the top left corresponding to the top side is a basket of flowers for spring, at the top right for the right side is a blade of wheat for summer, and at the bottom right for the bottom side is a basket of fruit for autumn. According to the zodiac shown around the tauroctone proper the relief was oriented toward the east (cf 4 c). If the signs were distributed at exactly equal spaces around the circle, *Taurus* would be with the basket of flowers and *Scorpio* with the basket of fruit, whereas *Aquarius* would be with the blade of wheat and *Leo* with the duck. This apparent reversal of the rainy and hot signs of the zodiac is explained by the passage quoted from Porphyrius (4 f) in which he assumes that the winter sign of the zodiac (*Aquarius*) is a southern sign and can therefore signify summer with reference to the seasons; Likewise *Leo* being a northern sign can be placed at the winter quarter. On this relief Spring is identified with the eastern and autumn with the western signs of the zodiac. The arrangement depends upon whether the emphasis is upon the progress of the sun through the signs or upon seasonal quarters marked by the conventional directions of the signs (cf 4 h 3).

6.1. On the large relief of Heddernheim (*1083**) the zodiac in the western order forms an arch over the tauroctone cave. If the signs were equally spaced in a circle around the tauroctone, then the four winds and the four seasons shown on the corners of the relief would agree with the progress of the sun through the signs, just as on the Beth Alpha mosaic in Palestine (4 b); *Taurus* would fall to Spring and *Zephyrus* at the top left, *Leo* to Summer and *Notus* at the top right, *Scorpio* to Autumn and *Eurus* at the bottom right, and *Aquarius* to Winter and *Boreas* at the bottom left.

6.2. On the Modena relief (*695**) which shows the Natura dei between the two halves of a fiery egg each of the four winds in the corners is placed directly opposite to the heliacal rising of the sun in the corresponding sign of the zodiac, the latter being shown in an ellipsis about the central motive. This would be in complete agreement with Porphyrius who opposes the seasons to the positions of the sun in the zodiac so that the western sun of autumn is germination (=spring), the southern sun of winter is growing (=summer), the eastern sun of spring is maturing (=autumn) and the northern sun of summer is destroying (=winter). This ideology belongs to a hot and dry climate like that of southern Syria or Phoenicia. This arrangement seems also to have been followed on the Neuenheim relief, as noted above, which also follows Greek rather than Iranian astronomy (5 d 1).

6.3. The Brigetio relief (*1727**) seems to show busts of Winter and Summer on the left corners from top to bottom, and Spring and Autumn on the right. This division of the seasons is due to a conventional boxing of the compass, as the next monument will show.

7. The great altar of the Third Mithraeum of Carnuntum (*1685*) shows the winds and seasons in full length figures around its four sides. In the central position on the face is a bearded Atlas-Caelus figure. Passing from him to the left around the altar, one sees first the figure of Spring on the face and then the West wind on the side; next come the figure of Autumn and on the back the East wind. Passing from Caelus around to the right, one sees on the face the figure of Summer and then the South wind on the side; next come the figure of Winter, and on the back the North wind. Here again the two halves of the year are divided, with Spring and Autumn on the spectator's left and with Summer and Winter on his right,

or with Spring and Summer at the front and with Autumn and Winter at the back. The seasonal progressions are therefore from left to right or from front to back. If one passes clockwise around the altar, beginning at Caelus the order of the compass points is west, east, north and south, which are life progressions; counter clockwise the order is south, north, east and west, which are solar progressions. The latter is the order in which Porphyrius boxes the compass in a Mithriac context, cited above (4 f).

7.1. The busts of the winds were shown on the top corners of the large altar in the San Clemente Mithraeum in Rome (*339*). Boreas is at the front left and Notus at the front right. At the left of the inscription on the side of the North wind a large sphere or germinating seed was shown; at the right was a stock of matured wheat.

7.2. Representations of two winds or seasons are somewhat more frequent than of all four. Symbols of the opposite seasons are characteristic of the AB subtype reliefs of Middle and Southeast Europe. Symbols of the winds are found mainly on reliefs of advanced development and of DE subtype, as noted above. Their absence from the C subtype having torchbearers in the South Iranian positions (4 j) indicates that the Wind motive is more North Iranian than South Iranian, even though the Persians worshipped the winds along with the other elements (Herod., 1.131).

j. Ancient Gods of Wind and Air. Air, according to Firmicus Maternus (*De errore*, 4), was the element especially worshipped by the Assyrians and part of the Africans (i.e. the Semites). Clement of Alexandria (*Protrep.*, V=58P) says that Theophrastus the disciple of Aristotle postulated in one place that god was sky (Ouranos) and in another that he was the Wind (Pneuma), and then severely criticizes the worship of the elements rather than the god of the elements (VI=59P): "I long for the Lord of the Winds, the Lord of Fire, the Demiourgos of the world, Giver of Light to the Sun; I seek God, not the works of God". In Iran the elements themselves were a part of the dynamistic conception of god.

In northern or northeastern Iran a wind god Vayu was of great importance[90]. Vayu and Vata were venerated in Vedic India

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[90] S. Wikander, *Vayu* I pp 202ss N. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, p 300, 317; ZZ p 82.

(cf R.V. 1.134; 10.168 and 186) where Vayu formed a dual with Indra as Indra and Vayu[91]. Indra is even called the charioteer of Vayu (R.V. 1.46.2; 4.48.2). Vata, the wind itself, is called the breath or soul (*ātman*) of Varuna (R.V. 7.87.2) and of the gods, and the germ of creation (R.V. 10.186.4); he is the first born, a friend of the waters and of *ṛta* (R.V. 10.186.3). Vata is even called the Lord of *ṛta* (R.V.8.26.21). The connection between Order and the Wind as a causal utterance will have been clear from our discussion of the creative voice (5 f 6; cf 5 c 5.1).

1. In a passage of the *Gathas* (Yas 53.6) Vayu worship seems to be opposed as belonging to the Lie (Angra Mainyu), but in the later *Yasna* (cf 25.5) Vayu is the object of worship and is placed higher than all other creatures. Moreover, that which belongs to the Spenta Mainyu is said to be contained within Vayu (cf 5 f 7). In a passage of the *Rigveda* (10.168.2) the chariot of Vata is said to be followed by his *vistah* which hasten to him like women to trystings; with his *vistah* in the same chariot he speeds on as King of the World. These *vistah* must be the growths and expansions caused by the air, that contains within itself the Spenta power of *vistartakīh* which defined the third stage in the creation process as expansion, and corresponded to the Avestan concept of "formation" (5 f 1). Increase by growth and expansion was the special function of Spenta Mainyu whose garment was the inflated *āsmān* (5 h 3.3) created by Vāy of Long self-creation (5 e 2.2). In Middle Persian cosmology (5 f 3) Vatōmand (cf Vata-mainyu) was taken to be of like nature as heat and moisture, which were the twofold powers of Genesis in the cosmic Ras, in which Spenta Mainyu was the expanding phase of Genesis. The great god Vayu (Vata or Vāy) was not only a Lord of *ṛta-aša*, but he was also the primary motion and stuff of germination in the world of becoming. The *Rām Yašt* (15), dedicated to Vayu, makes frequent mention of the waters which are brought by the wind. It was said that the robe of the Good Self-created Vāy had to do with speed, valor, and the very breath of man[92]. Speed and valor were the virtues of the

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[91] Griswold, op cit (n 25), p 288.

[92] *G. Bund.* 3.5; 26.1; *Dēnkart* Madan p 203s=ZZ p 375.

warrior. The description of the robe of Vāy is very similar to that of the firmament itself (5 c 3).

1.1. The wind god Rām (Avestan Rāma Hvāstra) was called a chieftain of warriors (*Bund.* 26) and was closely associated with Mithra (Yas 1.3; 16.5; 22.23), although the association may have been relatively late since it does not appear in the *Mihr Yašt*[93]. Hvāstra was the wind that gives pleasure; its origin was in the world forming mass and its breath was the *ǰān* of cattle (4 g 1). As a helper of the Moon the Rām wind caused the seed of cattle to flow through the earth.

1.2. The association of erotic emotions with the wind is very ancient, as is indicated by the association of the dog that "pants" with the dog as a "begettor" and with the breathing sounds of a "kiss" (cf 5 f 1; note 34). Not only was Boreas an erotic wind (5 f 7.2), but in Sanscrit literature the moist air (*rajas*, cf Greek *Erebos*, from *raj-*, be colored, be in love, or passionate) was the first step in the passionate darkening of the soul (cf Plut., *Mor.*, 565C-D), which in its pure existence (*sant*, from *as*, be, exist) possessed goodness (*sattva*). From the state of passion and darkening the soul passed to the state of darkness (*tamas*) or stupefaction (*tam-*, become inactive, powerless, darkened).

1.3. An association between primeval darkness, wind and love is found in the Orphic cosmogony of the cosmic egg, as set forth in the *parabasis* of Aristophanes' *Birds* (693ss; cf. Plut., *Mor.*, 926 F):

> Chaos was and Night, and black Erebos first and Tartarus wide;
> Earth was not, nor Air nor Sky. But in Erebos' boundless bosom
> Black winged Night engenders a wind-filled egg primeval,
> Wherefrom in circling seasons sprouted Erōs much desired,
> His shoulders flashing golden wings like gusty winds awhirl.
> Mingled with winged Chaos black as night in Tartarus wide,
> He hatched our race and brought us first to light.
> The race of Immortals was not before Erōs commingled all,
> But from the mixture heterogeneous came Sky and Ocean
> And Earth, and the race imperishable of the Blessed Gods.

Although the Wind gods tend to appear only on the more developed tauroctones, it must not be overlooked that the mantle of Mithra is regularly shown either wind inflated as a sky canopy or is streaming backward in the wind. In his tauroctonos activity Mithra was engaged in the generation or regeneration of the living world, a result that follows a cosmic conflict.

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[93] Gershevitch, op cit (n 27), p 299.

2. An emphasis upon the primacy of wind in the evolution of the world appears in the cosmology of the Phoenician Sanchuniathon[94], which begins as follows:

> The beginning of all things was Air dark-moist and windy (*aēr zophōdē kai pheumatōdē*), or it was the blowing (*pnoē*) of dark-moist air and a Chaos dark-vaulted like Erebos (*chaos tholeron erebōdes*). For a great epoch (*aiōn*) these were unlimited. But when the wind (*pneuma*) became enamored of its own beginnings (*archōn*), a *syncrasis* arose; that weaving was called longing (*pothos*). This was the principle (*archē*) of creation of all things. But that same thing (*auto*) did not know its own creation.
>
> And from the interweaving of the wind arose *mōt*. Some say *mōt* is mud, but others the fermentation (*sēpsis*) of a watery mixture. From the latter arose every seed of creation (*pasa spora ktiseōs*) and birth of all (*genesis tōn holōn*). There were certain creatures without perception (*aisthēsis*) from which arose noetic creatures (*zōa*). And it was called Zophasēmin, that is, Overseers of Heaven (*ktoptai ouranoū*). It was formed in the likeness of an egg, and *mōt* flashed forth, both sun and moon, both stars and great constellations.

In this account at least two parallel cosmologies appear to be woven together, one of which stressed the formation of the sky and the other the generation of creatures from the wind.

2.1. The former cosmology centered around the old Canaanite myth of Mōt, or Mouth, who not only gave fatness, that is, substance to gods and men, but was also said to "eat mud"[95]. This

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94) In Eusebius, *P.E.*, 1.10.1-2=p 40 Dindorf.

95) T. Gaster, *Thespis*, p 198, 204; G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p 103. Parmenides, a disciple of Xenophanes, according to Theophrastos (Diog. Laert., 9.21.22=Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, p 482), "first showed that the earth is spherical and lies at the center, that there are two elements, fire and earth, that the former has an ordering function (*taxis*) of a demiurge, but the latter an ordering function of matter, and that men's *genesis* first arose out of slime (*ilun*); that from the same arose heat and cold of which all things are compounded, and also that mind (*nous*) and soul (*psychē*) are the same." Archelaus, the Milesian philosopher (Idem 2.17), thought water melted by heat produced earth surrounded by air, that living creatures were produced from heat of the earth that cast up a milk-like slime as a food, and likewise produced men. As for cosmic slime or mud, I note the following passage in Plutarch's discussion of the *Face in the Orb of the Moon* (*Mor.*, 940E): "When those men (in the moon) look out at the sediment and mud of

accords with the view of those who said that *mōt* was mud or clay (*ilun*) in which self-generated heat caused the formation of a fiery egg that flashed forth with heat and starry lights[96]. Heat and light were the overseeing powers of the sky, or Zophasēmin (from *šfy*, view, watch, and *šmn*, sky), heat being the equivalent of *mēnōk*

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the universe obscurely visible in moisture, mists and clouds, they would, I think, be much more amazed at the earth, a lightless, low and motionless little room, to think that it engenders and nourishes animate beings which partake of motion, breath and warmth." Cf Plato, *Phaedo*, 109 s. The notion that world order arose out of a *sēpsis* of watery matter lies deeply embeded in early Greek philosophy and has a close parallel in Iranian cosmology as well as Phoenician, as traced in the text.

The gnostic cosmology of the Graeco-oriental sect of the Peratae, according to Hippolytus, *Ref.*, 5.9, began with a Moving Voice in the epoch of Night that separates the Power in chaos, an abysmal depth of mud. This power heaves up the slime of the incorruptible and moist expanse of space. The force of the convulsion evermoving and of the color of water, rotates stationary things, frees things in their progressions, illuminates things that have permanence, separates things that increase, being a faithful keeper of the path of the winds. This power along with another called Thalassa (Sea), but in ignorance called Kronos, sends down the invisible waters. The power to which Thalassa has been subordinated is an Hermaphrodite (like the Ophite Primal Man, n 6, pt 3).

96) Gaster, op cit p 200 221; Driver, op cit, p 99. With this cosmology one should compare that of Anaximander (Plut., *Stromateis*=Euseb., *P.E.*, 1.7.16=Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, p 579): "Anaximander, an associate of Thales, says the unlimited (*apeiron*) possesses the entire causation of the generation and decay of the universe, out of which in fact he says that both the skies and in general all the worlds (*cosmoi*) that are unlimited were separated. But he also showed that corruption (*phthora*, decay) came about long before *genesis* out of an unlimited epoch (*apeiron aiōn*) of all these things that revolve. The shape of the earth he says is cylindrical, having a depth that would be one third of its breadth. But he says that the generative force of heat and cold derived from the unlimited was separated at the *genesis* of this cosmos, and out of this flame a kind of sphere was grown about the air around the earth like bark about the tree. But the sun, moon and stars were composed of whatever matter was broken off and enclosed in sort of circles. He says still further that at the beginnings of various kinds of animals man was engendered out of the swift mastery of the other animals for his own benefit, but that man only was in need of nursing for a long time. Therefore at the beginnings he would not be kept safe through existing circumstances." Thus it appears that the *sēpsis* or *phthora* of the moist world matter long preceded the formation of finite bodies in the sky out of an unlimited motion of life (*aiōn*). Fermentation, movement and separation led to heat, light and condensation of revolving bodies. How Anaximander explained the *genesis* of living beings is unfortunately abridged.

power in Iranian thought and light of the visibility (*čihr*) power of *gētēh* creation. The original substance of *mōt* was a limitless chaos of Erebodean darkness. It may be recalled that Hesiod's chaos brought forth Night and Erebos, and the latter in turn produced fiery ether and day. Apparently the original substance of Erebos was thought to be capable of producing heat by a kind of sepsis, as for example in bread-dough or quick lime.

2.2. In the alternate cosmology of the passage the primary substance was a hollow vault (*tholeron*) of limitless air, pneumatic, dark and moist. The self-moving force was love (Erōs-Pothos) which caused a blowing and weaving (*ploxē*) of the *pneuma* in a *syncrasis* from which came the moist mixture of a septic *mōt*. This would correspond to the Iranian *kōt* or *KYŠ* whose doughy mass caused the evolution of the sky and of all subsequent *genesis* (5 f 1.3). Likewise the septic *mōt* was the spore of all creation and generation, the latter passing through unperceptive creatures (like plants or bodies without a *ruvān*) to perceptive creatures having a perceptive *ruvān*, or *thūmos*.

2.3. The heat generated in the evolving mass caused great conflagrations and the separation of the parts of the cosmos. In the process male and female powers were generated in the noetic creatures, for thus the cosmology or zoogony continues:

> The air was set aglow. Because of the burning of the sea and earth there arose *pneumata* and clouds and mightiest down-pourings and floodings of uranian waters. When there was a complete splitting up and a withdrawal from natural locations on account of the solar conflagration and everything was in conflict in the air and was shattered, thunder and lightning were perfected. At the crashing of the thunder the previously mentioned noetic creatures were stirred and took flight at the sound (*ēchos*); and there was set in motion in earth and sea both male and female.

2.4. The male and female produced by the powers in fire and water are akin to the Vedic Yama and Yami who were offspring of the Flasher and the Flowing One (5 f 7.1). The Avestan Yima was actually the cosmic man whose division produced his twin Yimeh (6 f 3; 6 h 5). His Zoroastrian equivalent was Gayōmard, the Blessed Man (*nar i ahrov*) of Ohrmazd (*Bund.* 3.11) who ruled the *āsmān* which was in the form of a man's head[97]. From Gayōmard came the Male (Mašyē) and Female (Mašyānē) twins in the form of a rhubarb plant. "Then the two of them developed from the plant form into human form, and the *xvarr* (cf 6 g 1) which is in them entered into them *mēnōkīhā* (by self-motion). Even today do trees grow up in this wise, ... trees whose fruit is the ten species of man" [98].

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97) *Pahl. Rivāyat*, in ZZ p 361, 4. Cf Sextus Empiricus, *Pros physikous*, 1.37: "For the wise men of that time called the two hemispheres, that above the earth and that below the earth, Dioscuri" (as in Homer, *Od.*, 11.298-304). "And they set felt caps (*pīloi*) upon them, and on the latter stars, symbolizing the construction of the hemispheres." Kritias the Tyrant (B.C. 404) speaks of the gods of the sky "wherein dwell the lightnings . . . . . and awesome claps of thunder and the starry *demas* of sky fair-spangled by that cunning craftsman Time . . . . ." (Ibid 1.54). *Demas* in contrast to *sōma* is a living body, which body is a *poiklima*, a various colored texture. Time, like Tvastar or Takhma (5 f 2.4), is the fashioner of a starry body (*Yima khšaēta*).

98) *G. Bund.* 14.4 = Zaehner, *Teachings*, p 69s. According to Aetius, *Epit.*, 5.26.4 (= Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, 438s), "Empedocles says that trees were the first of all living beings (*zōōn*) to grow out of the earth before the sun made its circuit and before the separation of day and night, but by a symmetry of composition the *logos* enveloped male and female; when separated they were increased by heat in the earth so as to be parts of earth just as embryos in the womb are parts of the mother, but fruits are surpluses of water and fire in plants."

According to Hippolytus, *Ref. om. haer.*, 5.2, the first of mortals in Phrygia were the Korybantes (cf n 6, pt 3) whom the sun first beheld springing up like growing trees. In a later passage Hippolytus says (5.4) the Phrygians considered Amygdalos, an almond tree, to be the Father of the Universe. Apparently because of the evolution in cosmology they denied that he was a tree but rather was the Pre-existent which contained within himself the self-moving and invisible impulse of perfect fruit (= offspring). Just as *amyxai* is to open or burst something like an inflamed tumor, thus Amygdalos produced the Invisible Syrictas (cf *syringē*) which is the Musical Pneuma who is the Father, the many-named and thousand-eyed Incomprehensible and immaterial One from which all things are produced like forms from a point or seeds from a seed. In the words of the dramatic actor he is celebrated thus: "Whether of the progeny of Kronos (Saturn) or Fortunate Zeus (cf Xvarr) or Great Rhea, hail Attis, sad mutilation of Rhea. Assyrians (= Phoenicians) term you thrice-longed-for Adonis, and all Egyptians Osiris, celestial Horn of the Moon; Greeks name you Intelligence, Samothracians Holy Adam, Haemonians Korybas and Phrygians now Papa and again Corpse, or God, or Fruitless, or Aiopolis, or Verdant Ear of Grain that has been reaped, or He whom most fruitful Amygdalos produced, a Man-Musician." This is multiform Attis (cf n 12, pt 7), son of Rhea, who is also Pan and Bacchos and Shepherd of brilliant stars.

3. After naming the winds the Phoenician cosmologist continues:

> The Winds first consecrated the plants of the earth and named them gods; and they used to prostrate themselves before the things from which they themselves, those who followed them and all before them were generated, and they made libations and sacrifices (cf op. cit 1.9.5).

In this curious passage the winds are represented as the founders of cult, which began with the divinity of plants but also included the elements from which wind and all else were derived. The divinity of the tree, like that of the tree in the House of the Apsu (cf 5 f 9.2), may very well be more ancient than the somewhat sophisticated worship of the elemental forces like wind. However that may be, the Phoenician cosmologist went on to say that "The reasons for the worship were such as for sickness and timiditiy of soul". The plant as the "tree of life" and immortality would be the healing divinity, whereas the wind as the bearer of *xvarr*, which gave speed, strength and courage, would be the divinity of the warrior (5 j 1).

4. Next follows a cosmology that apparently began with Hollow Wind and Night:

> The author says there were born from the Wind Kolpia and a female Baaut, the latter being interpreted as Night, Aiōn (Life) and Protogonos (Firstborn), being mortals so-called. Aiōn discovered food from trees. Those who came from these two were called Genos (the Genitor) and Genea (the Genetrix), and they inhabited Phoenicia. Because of droughts they lifted their hands toward the sky to the sun, for the latter they considered the only Lord of the Sky, calling him Beelsamēn, which for the Phoenicians is Lord of the Sky but for the Greeks is Zeus. From Genos, offspring of Aiōn and Protogonos, was generated directly mortal children whose names were Phōs, Pūr, and Phlox. These, he

The drama of a mystery ritual (cf 9a10) must have been made more meaningful by such *logia* of theological content, like the hymns of the Magi (5e2). Attis the Shepherd of brilliant stars probably denotes the Divine Shepherd of fiery souls, which could be symbolized by his shepherd's crook, or *pedum*. Cf Hermes and Apollo, *Hom. Hymn to Hermes*, 423 ss; 496 ss; 527 s.

As for the almond, it may be observed that the Median mountaineers, from whom the Median kings were chosen on the basis of manliness and who were considered to be divine, made their bread (*artos*, cf n 4, pt 9) from almonds, according to Strabo (11.13.11), the loaf being an harmonious ordering of the crushed fruit of the tree (cf n 34).

Anaxagoras, Democritus and Empedocles thought plants possessed both *nous* and *gnōsis*, and Plato that they experience desire because of the excess of their nutritive faculty (Ps-Aristotle, *Peri phytōn*, 815A23, B16).

> says, discovered fire from rubbing sticks and taught its use. These engendered sons very great in size and prominence, whose names were given to the mountains which they ruled, so that from them were named Kassion, Libanon, Antilibanon, and Brathu. From these were born Samēmroumos, that is, Hypsouranios, and Ousōos.

The twin offspring of Wind and Night were the twofold principles of motion and becoming, for *Aiōn* is related to Sanscrit *ayus*, activity or vitality (from *i*- to go) and Protogonos is patently the Firstborn. Genos and Genea are the equivalents of *bavišn ravišnīh* and *bavišn ēstišnīh* (cf 5 f 3). From Genos alone, apparently, came light, fire and flame, the different forms of energy in matter, which produced the great mountains of Phoenicia. Of these mountains one became the summit of the sky, that is, Hypsouranios. This sequence corresponds to the final flashing forth of fire and light from the primeval *mōt* (or *kōt*) in the formation of the First Body as a Sky-egg or -mountain. In the *Pahlavī Rivāyat* (cf 5 c) the earth was said to have been formed from the feet and legs of the cosmic man by great mountains growing upward and downward, the former being called Harburz (=Avestan Hara berezaiti) and the latter apparently Burz, located toward the sunset (cf 6 h 10). The mountains were surrounded by the sea Fraxkart, which must correspond to the Avestan Vouru Kaša that surrounded the lofty Hara or Hukairya (cf Yas 65.3). The House of the Phoenician El, called the Bull of Heaven, was located at the top of the sky-firmament where the Two Oceans separate[99]. The conception of a great mountain in the midst of the encircling sea is akin to the Mesopotamian conception of the Mountain of Heaven and Earth in the midst of the primeval Apsu (5 f 6.1).

5. If in the Phoenician cosmology the twin of the upper sky was Hypsouranios, the other twin must be the fiery energy that produced the mountain. Ousōos appears to be identical with Chrysor, called in Eusebius' account Hephaistos, whom Mochus-Damascius called Chousor, the Anoigeus (Opener), and identified as one of the twins of the cosmic egg[100]. As the Opener he should

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99) Gaster, op cit (n 95), p 183.

100) *De principiis*, 125; cf *Syria*, 36 1959, 99; Euseb., *P.E.*, 1.10.9-12. In describing the statue of Ptah-Hephaistos (see n 67) who was engendered in a cosmic egg, Porphyrius says, "They fashion a representation of this cosmos

be the fire in the egg, his fiery nature being the reason for calling him Hephaistos, and his brother should be the outer shell or highest covering of the egg. The house of Mōt generated by the heat of great conflagration was described as being cavernous and covered about by a great mountain of the north (*špn=zaphon*)[101]. Ousōos-Chrysor was credited with the setting up of two shafts to Wind and Fire for worship. In Wind (*pneuma*) and Fire were the warm substance and energy of all *genesis* (5 f 3).

The fiery Opener has a close parallel in Angra Mainyu who was charged with breaking into the created world of Ahura Mazda (=Spenta Mainyu). He was followed by Fire and by Vohu Mainyu who saved the flowing waters and plants (Yt 13.76-78). It was Ahriman who split the world apart by dragging the lower half downward from the region of the stars[102]. According to another version Ahriman pierced his mother's womb in order to be born first[103] with which one may compare the Vedic idea that the primeval Ox pierced Earth's dwelling to diseminate living beings (5 f 9.1). At his final defeat Ahriman will rush back through the same hole by which he first entered into the sky, which entrance was not into Zoroastrian darkness but into the sky vault of metal into which the earth that he first dragged downward will be drawn back in order to enlarge the immortal world of the *fraškart* (*Bund.* 30.30-32). In building the Vara for the "seed of animals, men, trees", and the like, Yima put in a door and a window self-shining. Its lights were created and uncreated. In order to build this Vara he crushed and

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by an anthropomorphic form with its feet together and clothed with a variegated garment reaching from above to the feet, and on his head he has a gold sphere, all because of no changing motion, because of the variegated nature of the stars, and because the cosmos is spherical" (Idem 3.11.47). "Having called the power of fire Hephaistos, they have made his statue in human form and have put on him a dark blue sky-cap (*pīlos*) as a symbol of the circuit of the sky where exist the principle form and most unmixed of fire. But the fire of the sky that is carried down to earth is more diffused and in need of support and a basis, that of matter; therefore he is lame because he is in need of matter for a support" (Idem 3.11.23).

101) Gaster, op cit p 199.

102) ZZ p 343.33; 365.6; Zaehner, *Teachings*, pp 46-49; *G. Bund.* 4.3-5, 13.

103) ZZ p 64, 66; Plut., *De Iside*, 370A. A young viper, like Ahriman, eats his way out of the womb, cf Herod., 3.109; Aelian, *Nat. anim.*, 15.16; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 10.170; Plut., op cit 355 F, for birth of Typhon-Seth.

kneaded the earth like dough or clay (Vend. 2.21-40). According to another ancient myth Yima was sawed in twain by his brother Spityuria (Yt 19.46; *Bund.* 31.1-5). Likewise in ancient Sumerian mythology the sky was believed to have been separated and carried away from the earth[104] which has a parallel in the *Rigveda* (6 h 5.4).

6. The twins Samēmroumos (from *šmm*, sky, and *rm*, lofty) and Ousōos or Chusor appear in Ugaritic documents as a Siamese twin Kothar-wa-Hasis. Kothar (cf *kšr*, make fit, in *kosher*) is the builder of the palace of Aliyan Baal, which he wants to pierce with a window against the wish of Aliyan, and finally does so[105]. Likewise the creatures of Arimanius pierced the world egg of Oromazes and entered it, thus mingling evil with good[106]. Baal by the name of Haddu was the kingly storm-god whose house was created by intense flames, its substance being gold, silver, and precious stones[107], and therefore quite like the sky-house of Mithra and the sky itself (cf 5 c). The sky palace of Baal was located in the recesses of the north (*špn*) on the Great Mountain[108]. The mountain itself was H'asis, the equivalent of Samēmroumos, the Height of Heaven. H'asis was an epithet of Nergal, the Babylonian god of the lower world[109]. The Assyrian Atrahasis (= Kathar-H'asis) was the builder of a great ship that sailed the sea[110]. The great ship in the midst of the sea is a mythical variant of the world mountain in the midst of the sea. We have already noticed the Iranian *srišaok* ship on which Ahura Mazda kindled the sacred

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104) S. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer*, p 82; Id. *Sumerian Mythology*, p 39s. Plutarch (*De Iside*, 370A) says, "Then Oromazes enlarged himself to thrice his former size (cf Yima, 7 c 4.2) and removed himself as far distant from the sun as the sun is distant from the earth, and adorned the sky with stars."

According to Dio Chrysostom (*Or.*, 36.53) the fiery horse which was the starry sky, by absorbing the other horses, greatly increased his size and strength. Thereafter he regenerated the other elements and the animate world in perfect forms (55-59, cf 5h6).

105) S. Kramer, *Mythologies of the Anc. World*, p 207; Gaster, op cit p 188s, 195s.

106) Plut., *De Iside*, 370A.

107) Gaster, op cit p 189s.

108) Ibid p 216.

109) *Syria*, 36 1959, 97.

110) Kramer, *Mythologies*, p 126.

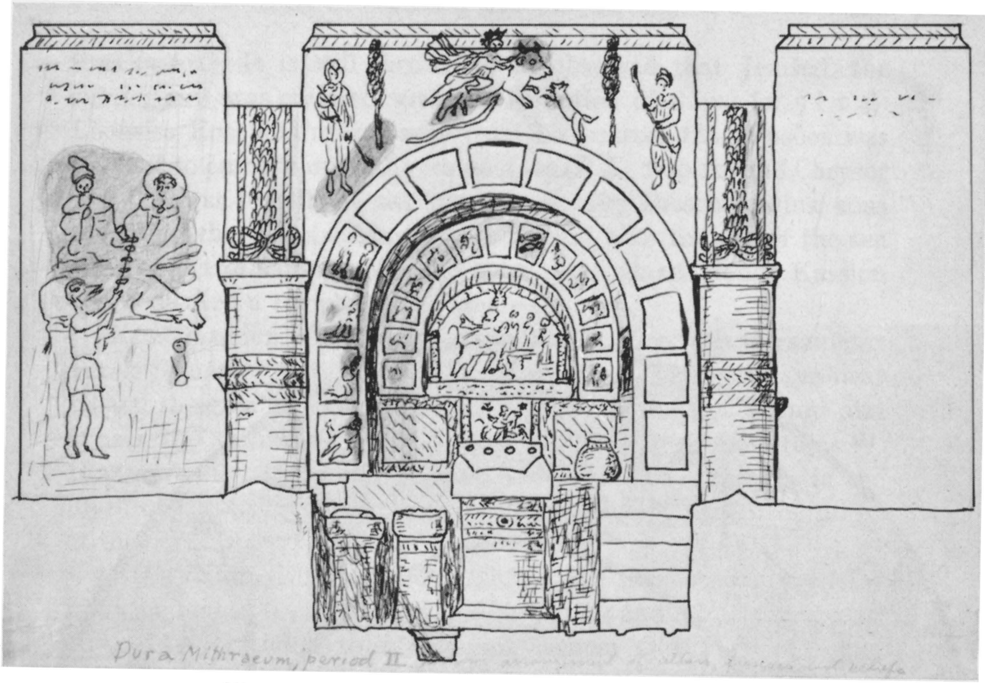
Dura Mithraeum, period II.

Fig. 11. Dura II. Front wall and shrine.

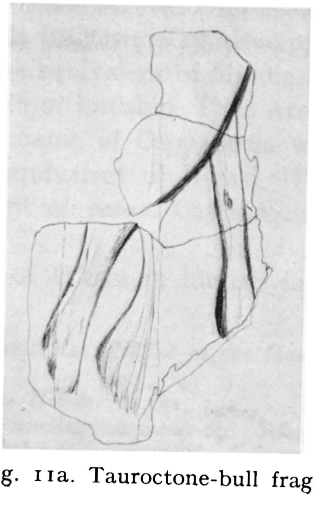

Fig. 11a. Tauroctone-bull frag.

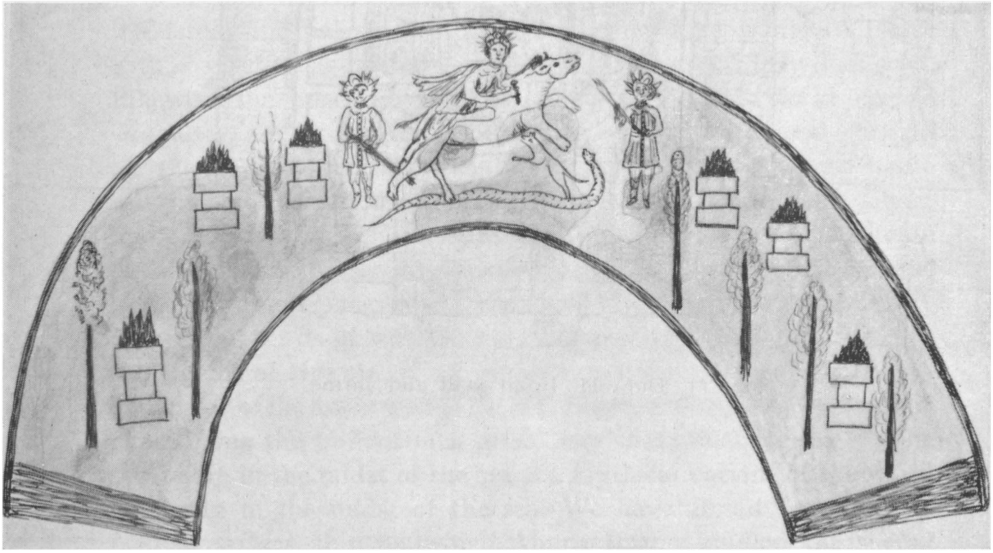

Fig. 12. (45*). Dura III Painted tauroctone.

fires (5 f 1). It is still further to be observed that Jemšed, the shining sky, was credited with the invention of ships (cf 5 f 2.4). Likewise Eusebius makes note from his sources that Ousōos was the first to embark upon the sea on a log (*P.E.*, 1.10.10) and Chrysor was the first to sail the sea (loc cit, 11). The Dioscuri twins, sons of Suduk, the Just (=Ašavan), discovered both the use of the sea and the art of sailing and their sons sailed about Mount Kassion and dedicated a temple there (loc cit 20).

Mount Kassion, the Great Mountain of the North, is the same as H'asis-Samēmroumos. In the Hittite sculptures of Yazalikaya near Khatti the great sky-god rests his feet on the heads of Namni and H'azzi, the anthropomorphic representations of two mountains [111]. H'azzi was the Phoenician Mount Kassion which is famous in the myth of Kumarbi who engendered a giant mountain in the midst of the sea [112].

7. The names H'asis, H'azzi, Khatti and Kassion are cognates from the root *k'va-*, hollow out, puff up, in *kōt* and *KYŠ* (see 5 f 1.1), and when extended to *k'vava-* appears in Old Persian *kaufa*, Avestan *kaofa*, mountain [113]. That Kassion or Kasios means "mountain" is shown in the Greek translation of the inscription of Šapor [114] in which the Caucasus mountains are called Kap-oros. *Oros*, mountain, translates *casus*. But *kav-* is also an ancient word for mountain (from *k'va-*, *kav-*), so that *kav-kas-ios* means either Mount-Casios or Kap-Mountain, the combination being the result of linguistic fusion as in Kaporos. *Kap* also appears in Cappadocia, in which *padocia* is the equivalent of Middle Persian *padak* (O.P. *patan*, *batan*), a domain or lordship. Thus Atropatene is the Fire-Domain. The Hittite name of Cappadocia was Kizzu-watna, in which *Kizzu-* is the equivalent of K'azzi, H'azzi and Kap, and *watna* is the equivalent of *patan*. Cappadocia therefore was the Mountain-Domain.

The representation of H'azzi in human form or as a human head upon which the sky-god stands is directly related not only to the idea of a cosmic man but also to the conception of a mountain in the sea being a *head* or *head*land. From the same root *k'va-* extended to *k'va-d-*. come Sanscrit *kapala* (for *kapada*), shell, cup, cranium [115], Greek *kephalē* (for *kephadē*) [116], Latin *caput*, Old English *heafod* and English *head* [117]. A mountain by the sea is not only a *head*land but also a *cape*, which is a cloak with an attached *cap* or *hood*. The warm felt cap worn by Macedonian kings was a *kausia*, whereas in Greek, *kausis* or *kauma* was a fever heat in the body, but *kaustis* was a bladder and *kusthos* a hollow [118]. With these words and meanings the name Ousōos-Chusor-Kothar may also be connected, since he was the windy fire that opened or inflated the world-mountain, or sky-head.

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[111] R. Dussaud, *Les rels. des Hittites et des Hourrites, des Phéniciens, et des Syriens*, p 347, 352.

[112] O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p 141, 192.

[113] Cf German *schöpfen*=English *scoup* out, *Schopf*, tuft, top of head.

[114] *Syria*, 35 1958, 307.3.

In Mithraic iconography we find not only the world mountain with its hollow cave, but also the sky-cap and egg as well as the sky-mantle. With Mithra also are the Twins who wear the sky-cap and warrior cape. The hemispherical, or half-egg shaped, cap is common in the ancient religious art of Western Asia. An alternate type is the high conical hat, sometimes decorated with bull's horns. In Mithraic art we find a variation of the latter in the so-called Phrygian cap or *kausia*, whereas the skull cap is characteristic of the Graeco-Roman Dioscuri.

7.1. The name Cautes may be derived from *k'va-t-* and connected with Middle Persian *xvar* (=*khva-r*), which was solar fire, whereas *xvarr* (=*khvarenō*) was a radiant breath as the manifestation of divine power, and *xvaray* was a flame. Cognates appear in Greek *kaio* (=*kavao*), kindle, burn, make hot, and in Latin *cautes* and *cōs*, a caustic, sharp, or flinty stone (that produces hot sparks). The association between a radiant potency that manifests itself in sovereigns (cf *xvatāy*, self-creation, sovereignty) or in the sun and in burning heat of material substances like caustic, brimstone or flint, may be found in our cosmological *Kōt* or *KYŠ* which by the

[115] Cf German *Schote*=English *husk*, shell, and *Kopf*=English *head*.

[116] Cf *kottis*, *kōtis*, head, *kōdua*, poppy head.

[117] Anglo Saxon *hafala*.

[118] Old Church Slavic *kyselu*, become fermented and bubble up; Greek *kotos*, heat of anger, *kotylos*, small cup, and *kotara*, hollow in a tree.

heat of fermentation produced the radiant stone sky in the form of a hollow crystal shell.

7.2. The sky was looked upon as an ornate garment or *cosmos* supported on the shoulders of the sky god, or as a shell, vault or canopy supported by sky-props. Such were the *Kastores*. Kadmos, a spear, steep hill, or shield (according to Hesychius), Kasmilos and Kastor are cognates from the root *k’va-s-*, whereas Polydeukes the twin of Kastor was the one possessed of *much light* (=*polyleukes*). The Mithraic twins assist the god when he emerges from the rock mass into the light (8 a 5). On the Hittite rock relief the fiery twin Kothar-Chusor or Cautes is called Namni. In ancient Sumer Nammu seems to have been the power in the primeval waters that engendered the Mountain of Sky and Earth [119]. It seems quite probable that Nammu and the Hittite Namni are variants of the same name. Engendering fire and wind were the *mēnōk* and *vāxš* (cf Ved. *vāk ambhrini*, voice in the cloud) which initiated *aša* in the world.

8. A mountain pillar, a sky treasure-house, a sky-ship, or bull, a god of the world mountain, the birth of fire in the world egg, twins presiding over the birth of the god, and the death of a cosmic bull are some of the motives that appear on our Mithraic monuments. A study of these Mithraic art types which, with interruptions, has extended over more than a quarter of a century has compelled me to give ever more attention to their possible Iranian origins. There appears to be real substance in Lucian's satire on Mithra's ignorance of Greek (*Deorum concil.*, 9). The contemporary authors generally referred to the Mithraic mysteries as being "Persian", whereas modern scholars have tended to minimize the Iranian elements and treat the mysteries as being essentially Greek. I have been forced to retreat from a similar approach and to recognize that in the more or less Graeco-Roman art forms there are ideologies that are essentially oriental if not purely Persian. This however does not mean oriental and Iranian religions had no parallels in Greek religion or that there were no borrowings from one another. Even in the present context note might be taken of the egg-born

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119) Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer*, p 83.

Dioscuri as a parallel to the egg-produced Zophasēmin. A parallel of the twin offspring of the Wind Kolpia and Baaut might be noted in the winged twins Calais and Zetes who were born of Boreas, the North wind, and Orithyia, the Mountain-Spirit, but such parallels are not the most direct road to an understanding of Mithraic art types. This applies in particular to the following parts of this work.

PART SIX

MITHRA EPHIPPOS AND INVICTUS

There are several reliefs which do not show any symbols of the sun and moon, or of the seasons. They are of subtypes AB (*1625*); CDE (*158 318 2252*), D (*200*), E (*1275*), and DE (*690* 692*). On a few others (*27 207 766*) these symbols may be omitted because of a lack of space or because of the medium employed for the relief. It is important to observe that on four of the tauroctones that omit the symbols Mithra himself is shown with a radiate head (*27 318 690* 692*, cf *337*). The radiate head of Mithra and the omission of the solar symbol suggest that on these tauroctones Mithra himself is identified with the sun rather than with the more basic element of fire or light.

a. Mithra ephippos and charioteer. The changes in the decoration of the Dura Mithraeum at the beginning of its Second Period[1] have a direct bearing on the ideology of the E subtype of tauroctone, which subtype in particular tends to omit the solar and lunar symbols. At the beginning of the Second Period, about A.D. 211, the Mithraeum was completely rebuilt by Antonius Valentinus, commander of *vexillationes* of the IV Scythica and XVI Flavia Firma legions. The building was restored as a TEMPLUM DEI SOLIS INVICTI MITHRAE. Enough fragments of the fresco tauroctone of this period survived[2] to show that it was of the E subtype, according to my own examination of the fragments (Fig. 11). Likewise enough of the Third Period fresco survives (Fig. 12)[3] to show that Mithra must have been wholly on top of the bull as in other E subtype tauroctones. Unfortunately Mithra himself did not survive from either of these frescoes, but on the later one the surviving Cautes is shown with a radiate cap, which is unique; and below on the soffit of the tauroctone arch the signs of the zodiac were shown in the eastern order (*43**). It should be noted that, whereas in the dedicatory inscription Mithra is called the DEUS SOL INVICTUS, a painted inscription (*54*) in Greek of about the same period, that is, in the reign of Caracalla, runs as follows: "On behalf of the Victory of our Imperial Lord, NAMA THEŌ MITHRAI, NAMA to the Fathers Libeianos and Theodorus, NAMA also to Marinos the PETITOR, NAMA to all the SYNDEXIOI in the presence of the God". Here Mithra is still Theos Mithras as on the Zenobios relief of A.D. 170/171 (*40**), and not Helios Mithras.

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[1] *Excavations at Dura Europos, Prelim. Rep. Seventh and Eighth Seasons*, pp 70ss, 85-87, 101-104.

[2] Ibid p 101.

[3] Ibid pl 18.2.

1. By a critical examination of the various layers of coloring on the two earlier reliefs I indicated in the excavation report that at the beginning of the Second Period in all probability the busts of the sun and moon were removed from the larger relief of Zenobios and likewise the serpent from the small relief of Ethpeni (A.D. 168). Both of these men had been in command of Palmyrene archers stationed at Dura. It was probably at this time also that the busts of the seasons on the upper corners of the larger relief were covered under the plaster, as also in the Third period. The serpent was not removed from the larger relief probably because it is very inconspicuous. In the Second Period decorations the two reliefs were grouped together in the central part of the back wall and were surrounded with a series of thirteen small scenes forming an arch, while above on the face of the arch was painted the fresco tauroctone of subtype E. On the wall to the left of this ensemble was a scene of the Trapeza Mithrou (Fig. 11). On the wall to the right, where only small fragments of the painting survived, one would expect to find a Mithra ephippos, as in the next Period. In the later Period the pictures of Mithra ephippos were painted on both side walls adjoining the tauroctone wall, of which the one on the left is best preserved (*52**). The sun and moon are not shown in these scenes and generally not in the other Mithra ephippos pictures (6 c 2-5).

2. The removal of the snake from the smaller relief and of the sun and moon busts from the larger relief, leaving only the radiate bust of the Sky-god at the middle of the zodiac arch, can best be

explained by assuming a change of emphasis in Mithraic ideology at the beginning of the second period of the Mithraeum when members of the two Syrian legions restored the cult. This change was, I believe, closely connected with the introduction of a Mithra ephippos ideology in which Mithra was conceived to be the Unconquered, or Victorious, Sun who would complete the restoration of the world. It would appear that at least initially the snake was alien to the Mithra ephippos cult, even though it appears in some of the later ephippos pictures, as in the Third Period at Dura.

3. The conception of a victorious Mithra riding over the world is emphasized in the *Mihr Yašt* (10), even though he rides or flies along on a chariot rather than on horseback. The chariot seems to have a solar disk for its wheel and is drawn by four white horses (Yt 10.124ss). He is accompanied on his right hand by the "most right, expanding and lofty Rašnus" and on his left by the "most right, libation-bearing Čista" (5 e 1), who is called the *upamanem* of Masdayasnian Religion. With him also goes Dāmōiš *upamanō* in the shape of a wild boar (=Verethraghna) and about him is Blazing Fire called the Visible (*kavaēm*) Hvarenō (6 f 1 ss). His chariot is equipped with arrows, spears, axes, daggers and clubs.

In an earlier passage (67 ss) the "Lofty Ašiš the Good" is said to be Mithra's charioteer and Daēna (Religion) the preparer of his road whenever Dāmōiš Upamanō launches his chariot; and he is preceded by Verethraghna in the form of a wild boar who destroys all resistance by his "manly" force. Dāmōiš Upamanō seems to be the same as Verethraghna, the Unconquerable, or Victorious. *Upamanō*, if related to Sanscrit *upamanyu*, zealous, eager, would be the "aggressive" power of creation (*dāmōiš*), for such in essence was Verethraghna (2 c 5).

3.1. According to another passage (95-101) Mithra "goes along the whole width of the earth after the setting of the glow of the sun, sweeping across both edges of this wide round earth whose limits are far apart; everything he surveys between heaven and earth, holding his mace in his hand. . . . . . . Along flies Mithra *vouru.gaoyaoitiš* and master of countries over the right hand border of this wide round earth whose limits are far apart; on his right hand flies the Good Sraoša Ašyo, and on his left flies the tall strong Rašnus; all around him fly the Waters and Plants and the Ašaonam Fravašayo" [4]. Here Sraoša Ašyo takes the place of Razišta Čista; Waters, Plants and the Fravahr of the Righteous (Old Persian *artavan*) take the place of the Victorious Verethraghna. Moreover Rašnus now is on Mithra's left hand instead of his right, as in the other passage [5].

3.2. Clearly Mithra is not identical with the sun, for he is said to be the first of the *mainyavo* gods to fly over the lofty Hara in front of the swift-horsed sun and the first to seize the mountain top (Yt 10.13-16). He is the self-moving dawn light, which connects him with the *hāvan* period of the day in particular, but he also passes over all regions of the world as a Hvarenō-creator and Kšathrō-creator, and increases Victory in all who are trained in the knowledge of Aša. He is the skillful warrior who has white horses and pointed spears with long shafts, "who shoots afar with swift arrows", and "who is the inspector and supervisor of the *fravōiš* of all creation, the caretaker who without falling asleep watchfully protects the creatures of Mazda" (102-103). In the morning he brings into visibility the many shapes of the creatures of Spenta Mainyu as he illuminates his own body (143).

4. These passages are sufficient to show that Mithra's connection with horses and sunlight is of considerable antiquity on any reasonable dating of the materials of this *Yašt.* His connection with cattle as the *vouru.gaoyaoitiš sūrō*, Lord of Wide Cattle-land, is supported only in one passage (83-86) in which he is invoked as the rescuer of chieftains in distress, of people in poverty and of cows that are being neglected or stolen. Beyond the ever recurring epithet, his connection with horses is therefore much more emphasized. Even in the opening verses (cf 3) it is said that to those who keep the covenant (*mithrem*) Mithra grants strong horses (*āsu.aspem*), while Fire grants the straightest path (*razištem pantam*) and the good strong Spenta Fravašayō of righteous souls (*ašaonam*) grants noble progeny.

b. Powers and Companions of Mithra. Both Fire (*ātarš*) as the Visible Hvarenō (cf 6 g) and Fravašayō or Fravōiš as a rulership principle of life (cf 4 g 2) accompany Mithra when he drives over the world. His two great powers, as cited above, were Hvarenō and Kšathrō, the former giving increase of power and victory and the latter giving rulership. Spenta and Kšathrō are the two great powers of Ahura Mazda so often emphasized in the *Gathas*. Mithra's own soul or life (*vyāne*) is said to be a great and aggressive pledge (*maza? amava nidatem*) to the beautiful and far-spreading Religion by which its manifestation (*čithrem*) is spread to all the seven regions of the world, and his chariot, when he passes over the lofty summit of the Hara or Hukairya (cf 88) surveying the world, is accompanied by the most important principles, elements, or divinities of the material world (50 ss, 64-66). He is escorted by Ašiš Vanguhi (the Good Order) and Pārendi (the Reward) in her carriage, by Manly Valor (*naire ham.vareitiš*) who is otherwise called Nairyō-Sangha (cf 6 h 2.1), by Kavaēm Hvarenō (Visible Fortune), by Thvāšem Xvadātem (the Sky Self-created), by Dāmōiš Upamanō (Creative Force) and by the Ašaonam Fravašayō (the First principle of the Just).

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[4] Gershevitch, op cit (pt 5, n 27), p 121, 123.

[5] Ibid p 39.

1. Two very closely related powers of Mithra are embodied in his two companions, Rašnus and Sraoša or Čista. *Sraoša* means Hearing or Obedience, but his obedience must be of the same quality as that of the Median King Deioces, who was both the creator and follower of his own principle of law (5 c 4)[6]. Such law was unchanging for the Medes and Persians. Sraoša is called the embodiment of Māthra, which in turn is called the soul of Ahura Mazda (Yt 11.3; 13.80). He is therefore the manifestation (*čista*) of the divine word of Mithra-Ahura. As the embodiment of the Word he was the Hearing of the Word which is the best destroyer of Falsehood. From sunset onward he protects the material world

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6) Likewise Thvaša, the Spihr or Swift sky, if its epithet *xvadāt-* means obedient to its own law, as Zaehner generally translates it, rather than self-created. In reality the self-created must also be self-directed and therefore its own law. In the Zoroastrian calendar of days (n 63, pt 5) Rašn appears to be connected with the soul or life principle that is gay and free to do whatever is in accord with *aša*, whereas *Srōš* has to do with the soul that is in need of salvation. The former would be the *mēnōk* soul that enjoys the pleasure of *genesis*, when the soul is intoxicated with sweet water or honey (5 h 1), and the latter would be the *gētēh* soul that experiences the bitterness of physical life or *Apogenesis* (7b1). Srōš is ruler of this world, *Pahl. Rivāyat* 56.3.

with his club up-lifted, and has never enjoyed sleep from the time the Two Mainyu created the world (Yt 11.11). He protects the faithful in both worlds against remorseless Wrath (Yas 57.25). After sunset he strikes down Wrath (Aēšma) and is the sleepless guard of Ahura's creatures (Yas 57.9 and 16). His house, like that of Mithra, stands victorious on the highest peak of lofty Hara and is self-lighted from within and star-studded without (Yas 57.21). As *ašyō* he partakes of the quality or power of Ašiš who is identified with the Hvarenō of the Heavenly Arta (Ašavahišta, 6 h 4.2).

1.1. Sroš, described as the just, well-grown and triumphant, was the guide of Arda Viraf through heaven and hell, his associate guide being Fire. In the *Bundahišn* (3.13) Sroš is made an assistant of Artvahišt, Mēnōk of Fire, whose Space (*gās*) was the period of noonday. His fellow assistants were Varhrān (=Verethraghna), the establisher of victorious fire on earth and in the hearth, and Neryōsang, the manly fire in kings and heroes. The Space of Varhrān was the first part of the night, whereas that of Sroš and Rašn was the second half of the night (*G. Bund.* 3.18 ss). According to the *Yašts* (2.2; 11.16) Sroaša, Rašnus *razišta* and Arstāt made the world grow and increase in the dawn period. Sroš rules and preserves the fire which Varhrān established in the hearth as lord of the house and when it becomes extinguished and invisible he returns it to Ātur (fire) and Ātur returns it back to Artvahišt.

1.2. It would appear that Sraoša-Sroš who obeys cosmic Aša and Māthra, who in fact embodies these, was the embodiment of living fire, that is, the fire in living bodies. He was the visible embodiment (Čista) of the invisible fire of life (Hvarenō). In Zoroastrian thought Artvahišt (=Ašavahišta) was the diametrical opposite of Aēšma (Wrath), which was taken to be the destructive or evil fire in living bodies (Yt 19.45). Since Sroš was the embodiment of the Heavenly Fire he must be the final destroyer of Wrath. While Sroš was the embodiment of living fire in all the faithful and obedient, and perhaps in all good creatures, Neryōsang was the living fire in kings and warriors, and Varhrān was the fire of the whole social group represented by the hearth. Both of these are increasing fires in their primary powers but victorious and conquering in their secondary powers.

1.3. Rašnus, described in the *Mihr Yašt* as lofty (*berezō*=M.P. *burz*) and most ordering (*razišta*), became in later Zoroastrianism an assistant of Amurdāt, Creator of Immortality and Mēnōk of Plants. His fellow assistants were Aštāt and Zāmdāt, and these three were said to be the Xvarr (Hvarenō) of the souls (*ruvān*) of men at the Činvat Bridge (*G. Bund.* 3.17) [7]. It appears that Rašnus-Rašn, whose name is related to Ras, the cosmic wheel, was a Ratu (judge and ruler) of the world order. As such he would be more closely connected with Kšathro (rulership) than with Hvarenō (vital force). We shall see later (6 g 1) that *xvarr-hvarenō* was closely connected with air and wind, but souls coming to the Činvat Bridge also came in the wind (4 i 4).

2. The powers of Hvarenō and Kšathrō may be put into parallel with the Avestan powers of *ahū ratūmča*, Lord and Judge, which is applied to both Mithra and Ahura Mazda [8]. In the *Mihr Yašt* (10.92) Ahura Mazda not only accords to Daēna the rulership of material beings (*ratuthwem barāt gaēthanam*) but also considers Mithra the Lord and Judge of material beings (*ahūm ratūmča gaēthanam*). These two functions are the powers of vitality (*ahu*) and rulership (*ratu*). Since *ahu* corresponds to *tan* as one of the five parts of man (4 g 1-3), it clearly has to do with life (cf Ved. *asu*, life, lordship, in *asura*) and should therefore be related to Sraoša and Hvarenō. *Ratu* as a ruling and ordering principle (cf Ved. *ṛta*) should be correlated with Fravahr and Kšathrō. Rulership has its origin in the *fravahr* of man, which we found reason to correlate with the god Mars-Verethraghna (4 g 3). This is the god of Victorious, or Unconquered, Fire in man and especially in the rulers of the social group, symbolized by the hearth. Order-

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[7] In *Artāy Vīraf* (5.3) the Protectors at the Činvat Bridge are Rašn the Just, the Good Vāy, the Xvarr of Mazdayasnian Dēn, and also the Angels Mithro, Vahram and Āstād. These may represent three kinds of function which would equate Rašn with Mithra, Āstād-Aštāt with the Xvarr of Religion, and Zāmdāt with Vahram and the Good Vāy. Cf *Dātastān ī dēnīk* 3.13=Molé, op cit (n 11, pt 4), p 476. "Likewise pure friendship, faithful adoration and reasonable gratitude are strengthened and exercised when Vahuman dwells in thoughts, Srōš in words and Art in deeds." It is quite probable that the three judges are concerned with thoughts, words and deeds, the three chief virtues.

[8] Gershevitch, op cit, pp 237-240.

ing fire is the essence of Rašn as also of the Heavenly Arta-Aša. The twin powers of rulership and vitality correspond to the twins Angra and Spenta Mainyu, to Mithra and Ahura, Rašnus and Sraoša, Cautes and Cautopates, Ratu and Ahu. These twins may also be two functions of one divinity like Mithra or Ahura.

3. In the decorations of the Second and Third Periods of the Dura Mithraeum twin figures were shown flanking the tauroctones. In the Second Period these twins were portrayed on the inner face of the arch to the right and left of the reliefs; above them were shown the stars of heaven. During the Third Period the signs of the zodiac (*43**) occupied the same position, whereas the twin figures were placed on the face of the wall outside the arch (*34**). They have been variously interpreted as famous Magi, perhaps Zoroaster and Ostanes, or as Patres of the Dura community. Their twinship is indicated by the fact that they are as nearly identical as Cautes and Cautopates. The main difference between them is in the staff which each holds, which corresponds to the difference in the torches held by the torchbearers. The one to the left holds in his right hand a short wand or baton which he crosses in front of him in order to touch its tip on the surface of his throne to his left, an action that suggests a magic touch. Above his wand in his left hand he holds a rolled up book. The man to the right holds in his right hand a staff which has a top like a mace. This is held in a vertical position like a scepter, while in his left hand he also holds a rolled up book in front of him. Other differences are minor: the figure to the left is slightly smaller in scale or a little less prominent in the total ensemble.

While both hold a closed book, which may suggest the mystery of Religion, the one with the scepter or mace is the Ratu whose genius is Kšathrō. The one to the left with the shorter wand is the Ahu whose genius is the invisible Hvarenō. In the membership of the Mithraeum of the Second Period a certain Marinus, as we have seen (6 a), was hailed as a *Petitor*. This may be the transliteration of a Latin word used in the place of Quaestor, a Seeker, who was a magistrate, judge, and dispenser of public funds. As such the Petitor would correspond to the Ratu, whereas the Pater as Lord and Giver of life would correspond to the Ahu. In the inscription (*54*) he is named immediately after the Patres. His more normal Latin title was probably *Antistes* (cf *282 315 422*). The Avestan Ratu was a ruler of the subdivisions of a kingdom (Yas 19.18) [9] and therefore a magistrate more or less like the Quaestor. His Fravaši was that of the ruler endowed with Kšathrō power (Yas 17.18), whereas the Ahu was endowed with Hvarenō power, a power that sometimes became visible in the Ratu as radiant light. Thus the head of Cautes on the Third Period fresco tauroctone shines with rays of light like the sun while he illuminates or even prepares the slaughter of the Sky-bull (7 e 1). The head of the Sky-god on the larger tauroctone relief was not only surrounded with rays of light but was also crowned with a *kalathos* as a symbol of vital productivity and the powers of Genesis. Cautes was the Ratu of Genesis, like the cosmic Ras itself (5 f 3). Rašn, the Ratu of the Ras, eventually became a Xvarr of the Mēnōk of Plants (= life-forms, *advēnakān*) and of Immortal Life (Amurdāt). He was the Good Fortune of human souls in their passage between the two worlds. At the sacred meal shown on the reverse of the Fiano Romano relief (*641**) Cautes in the likeness of Hermes with his magic *caduceus* causes fire to blaze up from the ground near the large urn of holy water, while Cautopates passes this drink of life in a *rhyton*, or bull's horn, to the communicants (9 b 6). Cautopates, presiding over life after birth (*apogenesis*), is the *ahu* and *pat* of incarnate souls (*ruvān*) whose fiery principle as *aša* or *fravaša* has become embodied. Such fire, embodied in the sacred drink, is unconquerable (6 h 5).

4. On the Zenobios relief of the Dura Mithraeum (*40**) the torchbearers are not shown, but instead two men in hieratic posture stand on a platform which is supported by kneeling twins. This Atlantid type of support indicates that the standing figures are not ordinary mortals. The kneeling figures may be interpreted as the Fravaši of the righteous, since such Fravaši are said to support the sky from below (Yt 13.29). Standing Atlantids who probably represent the faithful subjects of the kingdom support the lofty throne of King Darius at Persepolis [10]. On the first step

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9) Ibid p 265s.

10) Sarre, op cit (pt 4, n 28), pl 13.

of a strairway leading up to the platform of the Dura relief stands Zenobios, dedicant of the relief, whose native name was Eiaeibas, son of Jaribol. Zenobios seems to be placing incense on a *thymiaterion*, although he may be watching a blazing *baetylos* (cf 6 c 5). The man standing on the platform nearest to Zenobios is identified as Jaribol, which was also the name of the Palmyrene sun god. His headdress and hair are so arranged as to suggest solar fires. At his belt is a dagger which he grasps with his left hand. His right hand is held upward but is concealed behind the head of the man to his right, who is called Barnaadath. The hand of Jaribol is in a position to touch the head of Barnaadath near the crown. The latter's head is covered by a turban which suggests a sky-cap, in the front of which is a large jewel. His left hand drops in front of him while his right hand is held upward in a closed hand salute, a salute which is almost identical with that shown on the Luristan silver plaque to indicate the reception of powers (5 f 8). Barnaadath, therefore, identifies his own genius with the powers of the sky.

4.1. The name Barna-adath signifies, I suggest, Lord, or Baal (*adath*), of Hvarenō, for *barna* is a cognate of Persian *farn-*, in Farnbag, and Greek *phern-*, in Arta-phernes, and also of *hvaren-*, in Hvarenō. We shall find (cf 6 g 3) that the ultimate source of *hvarenō* was in the original stuff (*k'va-t-*) of the cosmos and variously manifests itself in the material world of sky and living creatures. *Adath* may be taken as a cognate of Adad or Hadad, the Syrian Baal of sky and lightning (cf 5 j 6). These two figures have been identified as the father and grandfather of Zenobios, but if so they are presented here as gods of the Sky and Sun rather than as mortals. Jaribol with the dagger and more or less radiate head possesses ruling or *kšathrō* (*šahr*) power which he derives from the *hvarenō* (*xvarr*) of Barna-adath. The latter represents the heavenly Ahu, or embodiment of vital power, which is most visible in the blazing sun that is represented by the jewel in his sky-cap and by Jaribol himself. Jaribol is the heavenly Ratu whose sovereign power controls the material world. In Barnaadath is the embodiment of power, in Jaribol is its activity, just as Samēmroumos-Kassion-H'asis was the sky-mountain embodiment of cosmic fire of which Ousōos-Kothar-Namni was the creative activity. The former corresponds in function to Spenta Mainyu or Cautopates or Sraoša, the latter to Angra Mainyu or Cautes or Rašnus.

c. Mithra ephippos as Verethraghna-Invictus. Because Mithra as the Giver of Hvarenō and Kšathrō is the Ahu and Ratu of all creatures, he thereby causes both Increase and Victory, these also being twofold powers of Verethraghna, the slayer (*ghna*) of opposition (*verethra*=*vrtra*). Verethraghna is the victorious (*verethraghnem*) and unconquered (*invictus*) power of Mithra in the vital drive and virility (*dāmōiš upamanō*) of world generation. These are the recreative powers of Mithra whether mounted on a chariot or on horseback as in the Dura frescoes. As a symbol of Hvarenō and Kšathrō power the mounted horseman had gradually replaced the charioteer. For example, Sassanian kings were mounted on horseback, whereas the old Persian and Assyrian kings were mounted on chariots. A similar change took place between the time of the Trojan hero and the classical Greek warrior. On the Sassanian rock reliefs not only is Ardašir mounted on horseback but so also is Ohrmazd while king and god pledge a *mithrem* and the king is invested with both *kšathrō* and *hvarenō* power [11]. The mounting of gods on horseback became a wide spread phenomenon during the first centuries of our era [12].

In the *Mihr Yašt* and elsewhere in the *Avesta* the sun is called "swift-horsed", with which one may compare the line of Pindar (*Ol.*, 7.126) which describes the sun as "the life-giving father of rays, the first principle (*archos*) of horses breathing out fire". The Indo-European word for horse (Ved. *aksva*, Avest. *aspa*, Gk. *hippos* for *ekvos*, Lat. *equus*) came from the same root (*aksv-*) as the word for swift (Ved. *aksu*, Gk. *ōkus*, Lat. *ōcior*) and for sky and lightningbolt (*āsmān, Gk. akmōn*). The connection between the horse and the sun and sky turned on the swiftness with which the sun and sky made their revolutions. In the passage cited from Dio Chrysostom (5 h 6) we are told that a single horse for the sun was more recent than the quadriga for the sky, which may mean that the solar horse was either later in cosmic evolution or later in the development of religious symbolism. According to Quintus

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11) Ibid pl 70.
12) E. Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, pp 106-112.

Curtius (3.3.8) a mounted sun god followed the chariot of Ahura Mazda in the procession of King Darius. In Greece Poseidon Hippios as well as female divinities called Hippa or Hipta go back to a pre-Homeric date [13]. These gods were probably in horse form rather than gods mounted on horses, although the Phoenician Anath-Astarte was shown on horseback in the second millenium before Christ [14].

1. A cult of Mithra *ephippos* must have been well established in Pontus by the end of the second century after Christ as coins of Trapesus testify. While Pontic coins of Trajan show only the head of Mithra in a Phrygian cap radiate with seven rays, under Lucius Verus (A.D. 194) the head and forepart of a horse appear to the right and behind Mithra. Later under the Severi the coins show Mithra fully mounted and accompanied by the two torchbearers [15]. These are nearly contemporary with the Dura frescoes of the Second Period and also with the appearance of the solar and lunar chariots on the tauroctones (5 g 6).

2. The large relief of Dieburg (*1247**) may be dated as early as the third quarter of the second century. It has a large central panel which is surrounded on all four sides by small panels. In the central panel Mithra is mounted on a horse that gallops toward the right. He holds a drawn bow ready to shoot. Behind the horse's head is a tall tree. Unfortunately Mithra's head is missing because of the blow aimed at it by those who destroyed the Mithraeum. To the left and right of the horseman the two cross-legged torchbearers stand on pedestals that have the shape of large urns of water. They are in the South Iranian positions. Cautes at the left

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[13] T. Schachermeyer, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des gr. Gotterglaubens*, pp 15-18; 26-29; on Athena Hippia, pp 19, 31, 36, 152, 193.

[14] *Syria*, 37 1960, 1ss, 19ss.

[15] F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, II, p 190, figs 13-16; Waddington, op cit (pt 4, n 1), pp 154, 139, pl 16.1, 2, 4; pl 15.20, 22, 27; pl suppl. M, figs 2, 3.

For the antiquity of the Scythian Goitosuros (Mithra)- Apollo as a god mounted in a chariot and on horseback, see W. Blawatsky et G. Kochelenko, *Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire*, Leiden 1966, p 6s. The close relations between Pontus and the north coast of the Black Sea from the time of Mithradates Eupator should also be noted (pp 19-22); cf my *Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones*, pp 23, 30, 42s; Zotović, op cit (n 12, pt 2), pp 29, 58, cf p 7.

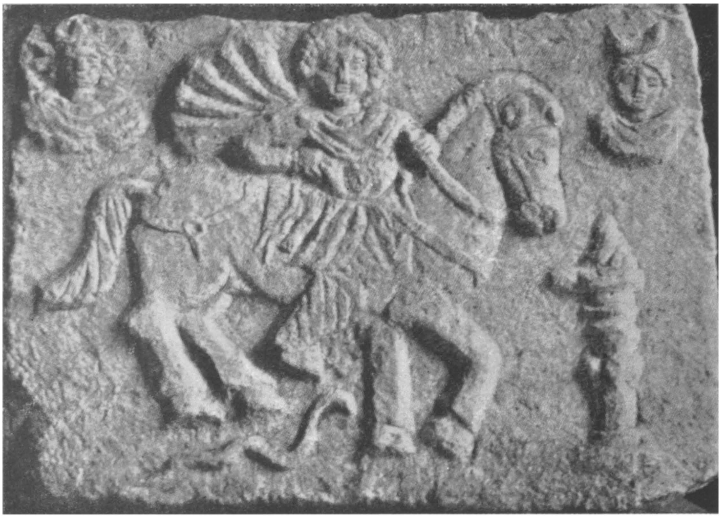

Fig. 13. Hama. Mounted God. (6 c 5).

holds a raised torch in both hands while Cautopates at the right holds a torch downward in his right hand and upward in his left. Below him is a rabbit. In the space below the horseman are three dogs leaping toward the right.

2.1. In the small side panels the first scene at the lower left is that of the two opposed animals already described (5 h 8.1). These seem to represent two primeval principles of the cosmos. In the next scene at the lower left corner a naked, bearded god sits on a high throne of rocks, and in his right hand which he rests on his knee he holds a dagger with its point turned upward. This figure, whose parallels must be noted later (12 a 6), is the god of the world mountain who presides over the Birth of Mithra, the blade being the instrument of separation and creation. The following panel, passing upward, shows the *Natura dei* in which the god holds a torch and dagger, the symbols of creative fire and finite creation (cf 4 g 7). In the next panel a naked figure in a Phrygian cap strides toward the right holding an object in his right hand that might be a dagger (cf n 4, pt 12). Unfortunately most of the panel at the top left is missing, though enough remains to indicate that it was an *Arbor frugifera* scene (11 e 3).

These scenes on the left start with the twin principles of the cosmos as swift moving matter and the formation of the finite order by separations, and then proceed to the generation of finite fire in the *Natura dei*, through genesis-in-motion to genesis-in-being as an *Arbor frugifera* scene (11 e 3).

2.2. In the panel at the top right a naked figure in a Phrygian cap lies on his side on the back of a bull which gallops toward the right. In the next panel below a Mithra figure is carrying the bull on his back toward the right; the bull's hind legs are drawn over the man's shoulders while the front legs drag on the ground. The bull would appear to be dead. In the next panel three heads with Phrygian caps grow on a three branched tree trunk; the central head faces right, while the other two face left[16]. In the next panel at the lower right corner is the Trapeza Mithrou (9 b 3), which in turn is followed by an Apotheosis (9 c).

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16) Cf the three Graces in classical and renaissance art, E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, pp 34, 39-56.

These scenes on the right represent the transition (*sačišn*) and completion (*fraškart*) of life. Transition is represented by the *Deus invictus* (8 c) and *Transitus dei* (8 b 2), whereas completion is represented not only by the triform *Arbor vitae*, or *Arbor genetrix* (11 e 3) but also by the Trapeza taurika and Apotheosis. The three heads represent the totality of life, just as the three-headed Celtic divinity may be intended to represent the totality of divinity[17]. For Zoroastrians the totality of life was Good Thoughts, Good Words, and Good Deeds (5 f 2.4), which were rewarded respectively in the star region of Humat, the lunar region of Hūkht, and the solar region of Hvarst, the highest region being Garōdmān (Yt 22.15; v. *Pahl. Rivāyat* 56.7; n 2, pt 11). These could also correspond to Fravahr-Ruvān as motion, Daēna-J̌ān as breath and intelligence, and to Ahu-Tan as the living body. The first is eternal, the second temporal and everlasting, and the third temporal (cf 7 h).

2.3. In a double length panel at the top of the relief Mithra as the Cattle Thief is shown stealing the bull from the *Templum caeleste* (cf 10 a 1). Within the building which is *distyle in antis* the bull is shown in a crouched position, and wheat is growing from its tail. The thief makes his assault from the left and carries the live bull away on his shoulders toward the right. In the pediment of the *Templum* a bust of the moon is shown to the left and of the sun to the right, as on a very few of our tauroctones (5 g 4); between them is a large bird (goose?) perched on a stone and extending its head downward toward the left.

The Cattle thief has to do not only with the male power of fire

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17) *Am. Jour. Arch.*, 55 1951, 16, 34s and 41; Duval, op cit (pt 5, n 61), p 69. "In celebrating the festival of the Pamylia, which . . . . is phallic, they carry about and exhibit a statue whose male member is threefold, for the god is a first principle (*archē*); but every first principle by its generativity multiplies what issues from itself. But we are also accustomed to say 'thrice' for 'many times' as in 'thrice blessed' and 'Bonds, even thrice as many without limit' (Hom., *Od.*, 8.340), unless, by Zeus, the threefold is made powerfully clear by the ancients, for the moist *physis*, since it is an *archē* and *genesis* of all, made out of itself the first three bodies, earth, air and fire" (Plut., *De Iside*, 365 B-C). "Of a one by itself the virtue is a triad: a *synēsis*, a *kratos* and a *tychē*" (Ion of Chios, Harpocratio, *Test.*, 229), which are construed to be fire, earth and air respectively. Since *synēsis* is a coming together or understanding, *kratos* is physical power and *tychē* is the fortuity of life, the three together represent the totality of each individual.

(1 e) but also with Genesis (7 b 1), the bull being the Bull-plant, or Gōšurvan (12 b 3). Mithra as *Invictus*-Verethraghna is the central figure in the total cycle of Genesis and Apogenesis which is preparatory to the Fraškart or regeneration of the world. So also is Mithra *bouklopos* and *tauroctonos*. The problem is the connection between Mithra *invictus* and Mithra *bouklopos* and *tauroctonos*. On the reverse of the relief, as we have seen (5 h 7-8), Mithra receives the powers of the cosmos for the regeneration of the world. Here on the obverse these powers are shown in action from original creation to the *fraškart*. Here however it is clear that Mithra *ephippos* and *invictus* is substituted for Mithra *tauroctonos*, although he too is called *invictus*.

3. The fresco on the left wall of the cult niche in the Dura Mithraeum of the Third Period (*52**)[18] shows Mithra riding toward the right and shooting arrows into various wild animals which are leaping forward in the same direction. Beneath Mithra's galloping horse is a snake which is moving forward with him. Just in front is a lion and still farther forward is a wild boar. A close examination of the animals reveals several noteworthy details. All of the animals have been pierced by arrows except the lion and snake, but none of them appear to be mortally wounded or even hindered from running forward although they are bleeding. Two of the deer nearest to Mithra carry double lunar crescents in their horns. In the boar and one of the two wild gazelles the arrow shaft is broken in the middle. The hunting scene takes place in a field of small plants and trees. The main difference in the picture on the opposite wall is that the snake is replaced by a young lion and the wild boar by a fully mature lion. These are not pierced by arrows. In the *Mihr Yašt* the wild boar was the most powerful manifestation of Verethraghna as the Dāmōiš Upamanō that goes in front of Mithra breaking all opposition, but here instead the lions are clearly shown as the companions of Mithra, along with the snake. The absence of a dog is to be noted, as compared with the Dieburg representation.

4. On the reverse of the Rückingen relief (*1137**) the hunting

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18) For a color plate see op cit note 1, pl 15.

scene is shown above the communion meal, a combination that is commonly found on grave reliefs. Mithra appears to be armed with a lasso. To the left of him are a dog, boar and a kneeling horse, below him is a spirited colt and to the right are a boar, deer and ox. The rocky ground of the scene tends to emphasize the wildness of the animals.

5. The remaining *Ephippos* pictures add little to our data. A fresco similar to those of Dura was discovered in a sanctuary at Susa which lacked the normal side benches of a Mithraeum. I have no information as to the details of the picture. On the *Ephippos* relief of Neuenheim (*1289*) Mithra rides at full gallop to the right against a background of six or seven cypress trees, his companions being a lion and a snake as in the Dura fresco. In his hand he carries a ball. The god born within the circle of the zodiac on the Trier relief (*985**) also holds the cosmic globe, like the standing Sol-Heliodromus (*1591**) and Mithra-Dolichenus (*334*). The world ball signifies a Kosmokrator. In a small side panel of the Osterburken relief (*1292*,5f*) Mithra *ephippos* is armed with a drawn bow and is accompanied by a lion; he is followed by a groom who carries a quiver horizontally across his shoulder. A horseman relief from Hama in Syria, which may be Mithraic[19], shows a snake beneath the horse, a *thymiaterion* or *baetylos* in front, and in the upper corners busts of the sun and moon in their normal Mithraic positions. This god would therefore appear to be other than solar (Fig. 13).

d. Manifestations of Hvarenō Power. The Mithra ephippos pictures give no clear evidence that Mithra is identical with the sun. Even if his head were radiate, which is not the case, it would not be conclusive evidence since the sky god may also be radiate in a Syro-Iranian milieu where the sky god was conceived to be of fiery essence, as on the larger Dura relief (*40**). The latter's *kalathos* or *polos* is similar to that of Jupiter who appears amid the planetary gods of the days of the week on the Bononia relief (*693**). These are symbols of the generative power of the Sky and were also characteristic of the Hellenistic Zeus Serapis, who was generally

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19) M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art* in *Yale Class. Stud.*, 1935, fig 42. See Fig. 13.

associated with Hades, and the latter in turn with Ahriman (Plutarch, *De Iside*, 369E). On the tauroctones we have found the solar bust to have a radiate crown combined with a sky-nimbus (5 g), which identifies solar (and less ofter lunar) power with the invisible sky power (cf 5 h 6). The dedicatory inscriptions of the Dura Mithraeum of the Second Period and on the reverse of the Dieburg relief are to DEUS SOL INVICTUS MITHRAS, indicating that there was an emphasis upon Mithra's solar powers in both Mithraea. It does not follow, however, that Mithra was nothing more than the sun, for he was the god of all fire in its male or *mēnōk* function, which also in its productive activity and conquering aspects was *verethraghnem.* Likewise Ohrmazd's sovereignty was simultaneous with his creativity (note 59).

1. These pictures make it clear that the most constant companion of Mithra ephippos was a lion. The lion has taken the place of the Avestan wild boar which was the special manifestation of Verethraghna who embodied conquering power and virility. The lion was also taken to be an embodiment of both virility and conquering force (cf 4 g 3.1). In the inscriptions of King Antiochus at Commagene (*32*), Artagnes, a name cognate with Verethraghna, was made an equivalent of Herakles whose most characteristic symbols were the lion's skin, which he wears as the embodiment of its powers, and the club with which he crushes all resistence. On the relief Artagnes-Herakles-Ares is shown crowned with a wreath, the symbol of both vital force and victory. Such a wreath the Kings Šapor and Bahram receive from Ohrmazd[20]. A characteristic of Herakles-Artagnes, as also of Mars-Ares, was virility in sex as well as in battle. In Verethraghna's incarnations as a bull and a white horse, "Well-shaped Force and Victory" were present in the horns of the bull and on the forehead of the horse (Yt 14.2,7,9). This Manly Force and Victory was the Hvarenō which is "both health and strength" of which Verethraghna was in particular a bearer, like the budding shoots of the earth and the wind (5 j 3).

1.1. The lion's head is emphasized in the pictures of the Deus aeternus (cf 11 b 1). In the more ancient psychology of man the

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20) Sarre, op cit (pt 4, n 28), pls 71, 78.

powers of courage and the emotions of anger were attributed to the head, whereas the capacity for understanding was attributed to the heart or lungs (*phrenes*), these being reversed in the psychology of Plato and the later philosophers (n 9, pt 4). This reversal is indicated by the more humanized *Deus aeternus* of Merida in Spain (*777*) whose head and body are human, but the lion's head is placed on the chest, or *phrenes*, to indicate the seat of manly force, or courage. On a relief from Egypt (*103**) the leonine head of the god is both radiate and surrounded with a nimbus, thus representing both the visible and invisible Hvarenō, whereas the torso is human as the seat of intelligence, and the loins and legs are in goat-form to indicate the seat of manly passions, or reproductive powers. On the Castel Gandolfo statue (*326**) an eye is placed on the breast to indicate the seat of understanding, while the seats of courage and driving force are indicated not only by the usual leonine head but also by placing lion heads on the midriff and on each kneecap. Man's generative power (*gen-*) also was once closely associated with his knee (*genu*).

2. A rock relief near Heliopolis in Syria shows a mounted god radiate with seven rays and holding a globe in his hand, this probably being a representation of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. In connection with this divinity a strange tale has survived[21] about a certain Eusebius who claimed to have seen a flaming sphere descend at the foot of a mountain where he had arrived after a long journey and where there was an ancient temple of Athena. He saw a lion of huge size standing near the flaming sphere, but in a moment the lion vanished, the fire disappeared and the ball turned out to be a *baetylos* which Eusebius took into his hands and questioned. The *baetylos* declared that it belonged to Genneas, a divinity which the people of Heliopolis adored in the form of a lion that was installed in the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus[22]. Whatever may be the meaning of Genneas (cf Arabic *ginn, djinn*), various mounted gods of Syria were so called.

3. In the fantastic story of Eusebius there is a supernatural

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[21] In Photius, *Bibl.*, p 348a, Bekker.

[22] H. Seyrig and J. Starchy, "Genneas", *Syria*, 26 1949, 230ss, esp. 238-243, 246, 248-254.

lion, a ball and *baetylos*, as well as a mountain of some sanctity and a mounted sky god of solar powers. All of these elements appear in our Mithraic iconography. Mithra Kosmokrator with the world ball in his hand is accompanied by a lion, as on the Neuenheim relief described above. As the new-born Kosmokrator on the Trier relief (*985**) he is surrounded by the winds and the upper hemisphere of the zodiac. This he supports with his right hand (cf 8 a 1) while he holds the world-ball in his left. In the tympanum of the relief a spirited lion appears at the left under the bust of the sun and to the right under the moon a thunderbolt leans against a quartered globe. Between the lion and thunderbolt stands a large bowl of water encircled by a snake, this being a symbol of the primeval waters and the *pneuma* of all life (cf 2 b 8). Below the zodiacal egg out of which the new sovereign God of fire emerges is a mountain top in front of which are a raven at the left, a snake at the center, and a dog at the right. On the Hama relief and on one of the Pontic coins of the mounted Mithra (6 c 1) a post or *baetylos* stands in front of Mithra's horse, while on a tauroctone relief of Tirgusor (*2036*) Cautes holds a pine cone on the top of a post.

3.1. On the Mithra-Dolichenus type of relief in Rome (*334*) Mithra stands on the prostrate bull while he holds a dagger in his right hand and a world-ball in his left. The bull on which he stands with his right foot between its horns is by no means dead even though more or less prostrate. On the contrary the bull represents manly force and virility while the god who has conquered him represents Kšathrō power and Victory. On this same relief the lion is shown in a small cave directly under the Solar bust as a symbol of full physical incarnation of the divine fire (cf 4 g 3.1).

3.2. Both round and prismatic pillars and also stone balls have been found in the Mithraea (8 a 3). The pillars are forms of the *baetylos*. It should be recalled (5 j 5) that *baetyloi* in the form of pillars were set up to Wind and Fire by Ousōos, the twin of fiery energy. In the same general account of Phoenician religion[23] it was said that Sky (Ouranos) devised *baetyloi* which were *lithoi empsychoi*, ensouled stones, while the Sky and Earth (Gē) were said to have engendered El-Kronos, Baetylos, Dagan and Atlas. If El-Kronos as the Bull of Heaven was the source of Genesis, Baetylos was the manifestation of creative and genetic force, while Dagan as the god of grain was the embodiment of vital force and Atlas was the fully formed cosmos, or world mountain. It may be recalled (*Gen.* 28.10ss) in this connection that Jacob anointed a stone upon which his head had rested in the night while he saw a vision of heavenly powers and he called it Bethel (=*Baetylos*) because the stone seemed to be *empsychos* as a "House of God".

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[23] Eusebius, *P.E.*, 1.10.14 and 23.

e. The snake as Pneuma. The secondary companion of Mithra ephippos, the pneumatic snake, may be taken to represent vital breath that is spirited, swift moving and imperishable (cf 2 b 8). The snake with radiate head and lunar tail has already been noted (2 b 2) on a statue base dedicated to NUMINI INVICTO SOLI MITHRAE, which may be the equivalent of an *agathos daimōn*. Such a snake is totally un-Zoroastrian but typically Mithraic. I suspect that this base once supported a statue of the Deus aeternus, whose most characteristic feature, besides the leonine head, was a coiling snake (11 b 2). This god may well have been the Deus Arimanius (=Angra Mainyu) whom the Zoroastrians identified with the serpent Aži, often conceived to be an Evil Alien (Dahāka= *daha-aka*).

The snake was not only placed in the swift flying wings of the Deus Aeternus (11 b 2), but it also had its head in the god's mouth (*382*), though more usually on top of the leonine head (cf *312* 545 551*), or even on top of the fiery world egg (*695**), which was said to be wind inflated (cf 5 j 1.3). The breath from the god's mouth was very hot since it ignites the fire on an altar (*383*), just as the fire in the cosmic egg was ignited by blasts of generated heat. The snake coiling upward through the signs of the zodiac and about the body of the god suggests the all encompassing presence of the heavenly Pneuma.

The generative power of the pneumatic snake is suggested by its coiling about the Petra genetrix from which Mithra is born (8 a 2). In the Roman house the Genius, represented by a snake before a blazing altar, was the generative potency of the ancestor which would insure future generations. The Genius as a first principle of life should correspond to the Iranian Fravahr as the first part of man. The Spenta Fravašayō was an Increasing First Principle (6 a 4).

f. The Horseman as Victorious Fortune. As a mounted horseman armed with bow and arrows and accompanied by the lion and snake, Mithra himself was the *verethraghnem* bearer of invisible *hvarenō*. The winged arrow represents the radiant energy of invisible wind or *pneuma* which brings about vital change. The left hand of the Deus aeternus of Castel Gandolfo (*326**) grasps an arrow engraved on the edge of the large wing. Both wing and arrow suggest swift flight or motion of wind energy. The mounted Mithra of Dieburg, Dura and Neuenheim rides with the swiftness of the wind. A similar swift motion of the bull is emphasized on the subtype E and DE tauroctones which are most affected by the Ephippos ideology. On other tauroctones swift motion is emphasized by the wind blown sky-mantle streaming from Mithra's shoulders. In all of these Mithra is the Deus invictus, for the origin and essence of Kšathrō (*šahr*) power was in the voice and self-motion of the blowing wind (cf 5 f 1 and 3).

The horseman was an agent of changing fortune. According to Zātspram[24] a fiery form in the shape of a man riding a fiery horse would bring in the *fraškart*, or final restoration of the world[25]. A similar expectation inspired the story of the so-called Triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on a colt (or ass?). In the formation of the world order Takhma Urupa (cf 5 f 2.4) rode Angra Mainyu around the world in the shape of a horse for thirty years, and he was accompanied by Hvarenō (Yt 19.28; *Bund.* 34.4). In preparation for the *fraškart* it was said that the primeval Kavi Khošrau would be revived to destroy the demons. To do so he must turn Vāy of Long Self-creation and the destroyer of the *ǰān* of men, according to Zoroastrians, into a camel and ride him around Iran[26]. The camel also was one of the incarnations of Verethraghna (2 c 5). In a vision Papak saw the head of his servant Sasan, father of the first Sassanian King, surrounded by a solar halo, and the next night he saw him seated on a richly adorned white elephant, which was taken to forecast future strength and victory[27]. We recall that fire, which is the *kavaēm hvarenō*, flies in front of the triumphant Mithra mounted in his chariot (6 a 3).

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[24] *Sel. Zātspram* 34.54=ZZ p 347s, 354.

[25] Cf *Book of Revelation* 19.11-21.

[26] ZZ p 87.

1. According to an old myth (Yt 10.127) Angra Mainyu and Vohu Mainyu fought a battle with darts in an attempt to get possession of *hvarenō*, but the latter swelled up and went to the great sea Vouru Kaša where it was seized by Apām Napāt, the swift-horsed, in the depths of the sea. This Ahura, as noted above (5 h 3.3), was the male fire in the sky-waters, and as such was the maker of man. Fire and water of the sky were believed to issue from and return to Harburz, the sky mountain (*Bund.* 20.4) which was regularly described as lofty (*bereza*, a retranslation of *hara*, which also means "high"). *Bereza* was the epithet also applied to Apām Napāt, which epithet eventually became the God Burz who was made an assistant of Šahrēvar, Mēnōk of the metalic sky and of sovereignty. Burz, like Apām Napāt, was assigned to the evening period of the day (Yas 1.5; *G. Bund.* 3.19), the time and place wherein the celestial fires descend into the waters of Ocean. The *hvarenō* swelling up in the waters corresponds to the stage of expansion in the evolution of the world and of living bodies (5 f 3.2). The darts used in the conflict of the two Mainyu were the radiant energy of *hvarenō* itself. That the Ahura of the uranian waters was swift-horsed associates the horse with the dynamic heat energy in the waters. Not only was the Greek Poseidon a god of horses but also of rain water and lightning, and Oceanus was the swift (*ōkūs*) flowing river that encircled the world. The horse being the swiftest of animals, was associated with the swiftness of fire in the watery winds or moving sky and sun (6 c).

2. In the *Zamyad Yašt* (19), which is mainly devoted to Hvarenō, the opening verses urge the worship of the great mountains of the earth, the first being the Hara Bareza, which in the fifth *Yašt* is called the Hara in Mazanderan (=the Alborz) and is said to surround the whole earth (cf 5 c). These mountains are also said to be surrounded above and below by *xvarr* (=*hvarenō*) like an egg with an unhatched bird inside, which probably means, like an egg

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[27] *Kārnāmak i Artaxšahr* 1.

that is hatched by enveloping warmth or hot wind. In similar manner the mountainous rock from which Mithra is born is surrounded by the pneumatic snake (8 a 1). The world mountain, sometimes identified with the Hindu Kuš, whose substance was ruby, was in the midst of the Wide Kaša, the domain of Apām Napāt. This was the mythical Lake Kasāva of Kavi Kavāta (5 f 2.1) to whose inhabitants Hvarenō was said to cling (Yt 19.66). The name Kuš, as well as Kaša and Caspian, should be related to KYŠ, the primeval and pneumatic mass which was heated by fermentation to form the world egg (5 f 1).

3. According to another myth in the same *Yašt* (19.31-35) Hvarenō clung to Yima, the Shining son of Vīvanghvant (the Flashing) until he forsook *aša* (cf 6 h 5.1). Then it departed from him in the form of the Vāregan bird and Mithra seized it. The second time it departed from Yima, in the same form and for the same reason, Thraētaona, a variant of Vedic Trita Āptya, seized it. The third time likewise it was seized by Kavi Keresāspa, a man of manly courage (Yt 19.36-38). Thereafter, apparently, Yima was sawed in twain by his brother Spityuria, a contestant with Ahura Mazda for the Hvarenō (v. 45) Thus Yima acquired a twin Yimeh as his female counterpart (cf 5 j 2.4), and thus sky and earth are separated by the *spihr's* width *-uria* (Gk *eūros*, Lat *ārea*).

3.1. The three flights of Hvarenō in raven form correspond to the three stages in the establishment of *aša* in the world, the first being the manifestation of the Mithra fires in the separation of the elements, the second the embodiment of the fires in the watery element, called the Watery (Āptya) Third (Thraētaona), like the Third Region of Poseidon (Plut., *Mor.*, 381 s), and lastly the embodiment of Hvarenō in Man of manly force. Keresāspa was equated with Ošnar (=mortal or wise hero) or Ostanes (cf 5 f 2.2). Like Herakles fighting with the intoxicated Centaur, Keresāspa overcomes the fiery Gandarewa. Keresāspa appears to be a variant of Gušnāsp (=Huštāsp, Vištāsp) the hero king who established both the victorious fires of kings and warriors in Atropatene (5 h 2.2) and the Lofty Mithra fires of the farmer on the heights of the Hystaspes[28]. These were the fires of *aša*. If the destructive fires were the evil Dīv or Dahāk, the mountain mass would be Kūš, a reputed brother of Dahāk, which appears in the name of the Hindu Kuš mountains as also in the Caucasus (5 j 7).

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[28] *Pahl. Rivāyat* 31-35=ZZ p 362.

4. The name of the manly hero links him with the form or swiftness of the horse (*aspa*, cf 6 c) or with the relatively more recent equestrian culture. The use of horses as well as the blood and right arms of prisoners in the cult of the Scythian Ares, a god of kings (4 g 7), may be understood as the devoting of the swiftness of horses as well as the strength of men to the god of similar powers. The mound of brushwood on which the bloody rites were performed may have been in imitation of the world mountain (cf 12 a 6). The hurling of the severed arms into the sky indicates an association of the god with the sky or wind, and probably with the wind since Vayu was the first incarnation of Verethraghna and a special bearer of Hvarenō which gives the warrior swiftness and strength, the robe of Vāy being the robe of the warrior. His second incarnation was in the Water bull and his third in the swift horse (2 c 5). In the Yima myth above the order is to fire (=Mithra) first instead of wind, then to water and to the horse (= Keresāspa; 6 h 5.1).

g. The first verse of the *Zamyard Yašt* (19.9) devoted directly to Hvarenō says that its visible or ruling (*kavaēm*) form is most conquering, lofty working, possessing health, wisdom and happiness, but also that it is more powerful than all creatures to destroy. In the Yima myth the form of Hvarenō was that of the Vāregan, which was also one of the primary incarnations of Verethraghna (2 c 5). Likewise the raven flying in advance of the emerging sun orders Mithra to slay the cosmic bull. The death of this bull was simultaneous with the triumph of light (7 e 1), with the motion of the world order (cf 5 f 9.3) and the beginning of creative Wisdom (5 e 2.2). The creatures who will restore and keep the world from corruption, the *Yašt* continues, will be composed of Hvarenō, for this belongs to the gods of both worlds (cf 10 f 6) and to the *fravašayo* of the righteous both born and unborn who will maintain the world.

1. Similar ideas recur in a most difficult passage of the *Dēnkart*, where it is said: [29]

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29) Madan p 347.1-22 = ZZ p 369. M. Molé (op cit pt 4, n 11), p 289, translates "seed" as "race", and "body" as "individual".

> The seed (*tōhmak*) from which *xvarr* comes is the Endless Light (*anagr rōšnīh*). *Mēnōk* fire, water and earth maintain its *mēnōk* character; *gētēh* fire, water and earth maintain its *gētēh* character. The *mēnōk* gods by the command of the Creator fated it to the *gētēh* seed. Time in activity, which is the inevitable regulator of *xvarr* in the seed and body fated it to the seed and to the body within the seed. What fosters and preserves the *xvarr* in the seed and in the body within the seed are Guiding Wisdom, Generosity, Rectitude, Gratitude, Contentment and a proper Concentration of Effort. Its proper activity is for the safety and saving, enlargement and enlarging of the *xvarōmand* according to the *xvarr* itself and its own nature to the extent of the *xvarr*. When the *xvarr* has performed its work it returns to the elements by which it is maintained. At the *fraškart* it will be united with *fraškart*-accomplishers, a generation fully possessed of *xvarr* for *fraškart* accomplishment, and at the Final Body it will be united with the whole existence of organic matter (*axv i astōmant*).

In this passage Xvarr must be a form of air which is supported by the other three primary elements in both worlds, the world of causation (*mēnōk*) and of becoming (*gētēh*). Its origin therefore was in the primary element of the universe which in the ancient cosmogonies was warm moist air, but for the Zoroastrians was some kind of endless light. This vital moving breath was Pneuma or Vayu which by limitation became Vayu of Long Self-creation, which is a correlate of Time as Zurvān of Long Self-creation. The Wind in one of its primeval aspects or qualities was erotic and its self-love was the cause of life-creating motion. This erotic quality has already been discussed (5 j 1). Virility, if not erotic love, was a chief characteristic of the *hvarenō*-bearing Verethraghna.

2. If Xvarr is warm air nourished by both potential and actual fire, water and earth and is fatally bound to the seed and to the body within the seed, it comes close to the Greek and Latin theological conceptions of *thūmos-animus* as the ruling, perceptive and fiery breath which enters and leaves the animate body bringing thereby or taking away conscious knowledge. According to the *Bundahišn* (14.3) the Xvarr was created first and the body afterwards; it was put into the body for man's characterization (*khwēskarīh*), the body being created for the function. The interpretation of this, it was said, is that the *ruvān* (perceptive soul) was created first, then the body, and the soul directs the functions within the body. From this it would seem that the *ruvān* and the

xvarr are the same in essence and function. It was previously shown that the "seed", to which the *xvarr* is fated by time in its activity, was the *advēnak=urvan,* a primary form and appearance (4 g 1). This was the combination of the elements in a body to which the *fravahr-ruvān* was joined to fix its character (cf 5 f 3.1). The *advēnak*-seed having a body within it would be a *mēnōk,* or causation, body consisting of *mēnōk* fire, air, water and earth, which would fix the *gētēh* body of the same four *gētēh* elements. The Zoroastrians traced the origin of the *ruvān* to fire rather than to moisture or water as for other creatures than man and ox. Wind (*vāt*) and breath (*ǰān*) were bearers of both moisture and *xvarr* which, since it was in essence the same as the Zoroastrian *ruvān,* must be essentially heat. Xvarr is the heat in wind and breath which, in the process of world generation, or of time's activity was generated from moisture and the other elements and must be supported by them. *Thūmos* was also essentially heat in the breath and body.

2.1. The attraction of the pre-existing soul (*fravahr-ruvān*) to a moist body is set forth by Porphyrius (*De antro,* 11) as follows:

> Now then it must be that souls (*psychai*), which may be either embodied or disembodied, when attracted to a body, and especially those about to be dampened either in blood or completely wet bodies, descend toward dampness and are embodied because they have been dampened. Therefore also by pouring out gall and blood the souls of those who have died are attracted, and body-loving souls being attracted to damp *pneuma* thicken it like a cloud, for a cloud consists of moisture that has been thickened in the air. Souls become visible by an abundance of damp breath (*pneuma*) that has become thickened in them. By such means the souls who confront certain people in a vision are the manifestations of forms (*eidōlōn-advēnakān*) that have made contact with the *pneuma*; those undefiled by birth (*genesis*) however are turned back. But Heracleitus himself says, "A dry soul is wisest." According to its desire for mingling therefore the *pneuma* becomes damp and more moist, because the *psychē* is attracted to wet vapor by its inclination (*neusis*) to *genesis.*

In this passage *psychē* seems to signify a dry soul, whereas *pneuma* denotes either damp air or a dampened soul. The body is that seen in a vision, which is the same as a dampened soul. This would be a *mēnōk* body in Iranian terms and comes close to Aristotle's definition of the *psychē* as an *entelechia* of a physical body having potential (*dynamei*) life (note 9, pt 4). This is the *advēnak-urvan* part of man or animal (4 g 1).

These basically Platonic ideas (cf *Rep.*, 411B) are stated by Plutarch (*Moralia*, 566A) as follows:

> The thinking part (*phronoun*) of the *psychē* is overcome and dampened by pleasure, but the irrational and bodily form by becoming watery and fleshy creates a memory of the body, and out of the memory a desire and longing (*pothos*) draw the soul toward *genesis*, which therefore is called an inclination (*neusis*) of the soul toward substantive earth by becoming heavy with dampness.

In this conception of *genesis* as being the total process by which the soul is drawn downward from a pure state to a material existence, it is clear that the pure soul is its thinking part (*phronētikon*) which corresponds to the dry or wise *psychē* of Heracleitus. In the development of the psychology of man the *phronetic* power, attributed to Athena (11 e 2), was more or less intermediate between *aisthēsis*, a power of physical sensibilities, attributed to the sun or Mercury (4 g 3), and *nous* or *logos*, the full power of rational thought, attributed to the sun or Saturn. The conception of *nous* as being god or causation had been postulated by Thales (n 8, pt 4). The Pythagoreans took *nous* to be a mortal part of the *psychē* in contrast to the *phrenes* as being immortal and the seat of *phronēsis*. *Nous* was probably conceived to be the cause of motion as in the thought of Anaxagoras (n 8, pt 4), and *thūmos* of courage. *Logos* as the cause of man's reason or intelligence was breathed in from the wind (n 9, pt 4). It was Plato in particular who developed the concept of *nous* as being the immortal and intelligible essence of man and akin to the immaterial essence of the sun, a concept which Aristotle tended to endorse (n 9, pt 4), even though he believed that the *psychē* in its highest power was in accord with *logos*. God and *logos* had been postulated by Heracleitus as the rational energy of ceaseless change, whose substance or *hypostasis* was fire or vaporous air (n 53, pt 5). This materialistic concept of *logos* was developed by the Stoics into the idea of God as a *spermatikos logos* of the cosmos and of all rational beings (n 10, pt 4), the *sperma* being a *pneuma* and fragment or compound of the *psychē*. This Logos was the Law of Nature (*physis*) and a fashioning fire or fashioning *pneuma* which as a *sperma* became the *psychē*, an *aisthētikon* or perceptive *pneuma* (n 10, pt 4).

2.2. The Iranian conception of a *mēnōk xvarr* appears to be a close equivalent of the Stoic *spermatikos logos* or *pneumatikon sperma* which was the fiery and creative law of *physis* and *genesis*. The *gētēh xvarr* is otherwise the *ruvān*, which is the moving and perceptive soul of fiery nature in man. It is located in the midriff, the Greek *phrēn*, which is the material body of the *xvarr-ruvān*. As *thūmos* or *animus* it is a ruling power as well as perceptive. The *phrēn* or *phrenes*, as the seat of thought, was traditionally located in the midriff, but as the seat of anger, in the head, which positions were reversed by Pythagoras and Plato (11 b 1). The *phrenes*, as more than one organ, were probably more or less equated with the lungs [30].

The *xvarr* (=*hvarenō*) fire which gives character, or *spirit*, to man was the invisible fire which, when located in the breast or midriff of kings, was called Manly Valor (6 b, 1.1) or otherwise Nairyō Sangha (6 h 2.1). This *xvarr* has a close parallel in the Greek concept of *phrēn* and *splēn* either as an organ of the body or as a moving force, and *phrēn* has been found inscribed on a Roman coin which appears to have been modified to suit Mithraic ideology. This coin was found at Saint Albans, the Roman Verulamium, in Britain (*827*). The obverse of the coin had been erased and the word PHRĒN was inscribed in the middle, while around the circum-

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30) According to R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 2ed, p 59ss, 61s, *thūmos* was the warm consciousness-producing breath which the *phrenes* breathed in and out, the latter being the lungs rather than the heart or diaphram. See however n 9, pt 4. According to Plutarch (*Mor.*, 450F-451B), who follows Plato (*Tim.*, 69-70), the spirited or courageous power (*thūmoeides*) is located about the heart (*kardia*), the appetitive power (*epithūmētikon*) about the liver (*hēpar*), and, of course, the intellective (*neotikon*) in the head. As Plato correlated the parts of the body with those of the Polis (State), so the Stoics correlated them with the parts of the cosmos. For them (Plut., *Mor.*, 928) "the stars were the eyes in the face of the cosmos, the sun was the heart dispensing heat and light in the form of blood and breath, and the moon was the liver, heart, breast, or some other *splangchnon* transmitting *thermon* from above and *anathūmiāsis* (n 10, pt 4) from below and refining them in herself by a sort of fermentation and purification." The slow development in the correlation of physiology with psychology and cosmology is reflected in the development of the Deus aeternus iconography (cf 11 b 1).

ference was MITHRAS ŌROMASDĒS. On the reverse the Deus saxigenus was represented by Tarpeia being half buried in Roman shields. Here *phrēn* is presented as a principle of some kind within the circle of the sky gods of fire and life, and may well be the equivalent of *xvarr* which governs the fortune of birth, as represented by the Deus saxigenus motive. The root of *phrēn* should be **khvrn-*, which is the root of *hvarenō* (=*khvrn-*) and *xvarr* (=*khvr-*). *Kh-* before a *v* may go to a *ph-*, or in a sibilant language to an *sv-*, *sp-*, as in Sanscrit *svar, surya,* solar heat, and in Greek *splēn,* Latin *splenum* and *spiritus.* Closely related are Greek *pluema*=*pneuma* and Latin *phulmo*=*pulmo,* lung. The *splēn* or *phrēn* was either the midriff or lung which was believed to govern one's *spirit* and consciousness. Like the *ruvān-xvarr* the *splēn-phrēn* was the seat and cause of perception and ultimately of prudence (*phronēsis*) and character (*spirit*).

3. The form of the word *hvarenō* indicates its derivation from *hvar-*, which denotes the impelling and ruling force of heat, particularly in the sun. The Iranian conception of the sun (*hvar*) was that of a ruling power, because as the major light in the First Body it controlled all creation below (5 f 1). The Vedic Surya, from *svar-*, denoted light, lordliness and fortune, as well as the gleam of the sun, the sun itself, or the sky. Savitar, the Impeller, the rising sun of stimulating force (*pra-sava,* pre-impulse), was taken to be incarnate in all forms of life (R.V. 2.38.7) and governor of their fortunes[31]. This resembles the manyfold incarnations of Verethra-

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[31]) Griswold, op cit (pt 4, n 25), p 275. The connections between *xvarr,* as divine breath (*pneuma*) and as one's character and fortune (*physis, psyche, daimōn*), and the substance of the sun and stars have close parallels in Stoic philosophy. "Zeno says (Arius Didymus, *Epit.*, 33=*Doxogr. gr.*, Diels, p 467) the sun, moon, and each of the other stars, is intellective (*noeron*) and prudent (*phronimon*), but a fiery one of technical fire. For there are two breeds of fire, one being non-fashioning (*atechnon*) changes food, or fuel, into itself, but the other being fashioning increases and protects as in plants and animals, wherein it is *physis* and *psychē* (cf n 8, pt 4); of such fire is the *ousia* of the stars."According to Zeno (op cit 20 and Stob., *Eclog.*, 1.11.5 = Diels p 457) "*ousia* is the first substance of all existing things, and all this is everlasting, becoming neither more nor less; but the parts of this do not always remain the same but are divided and combined. By means of this *ousia* the *logos* of the universe is fixed, which some call *heimarmenē* (fate), such in fact also is the seed in generation." This takes one back to Heracleitus (Plut., *Epit.*, 1.28.1 =

ghna who was a preeminent bearer of *hvarenō* and a god of good fortune and victory. Savitar was a bi-name of Tvastar as the sky-mover and fashioner (cf 5 f 7.1) who was also called the father of fire (R.V. 1.95.2) and the father-in-law of Vayu (R.V. 8.26.21). This would make the Wind Vayu the equivalent of Vivasvant as the consort of Saranyu whose offspring were not only the twin Horsemen of dawn light but also the twins Yama and Yami of the shining cosmos (5 f 7.1).

4. The Mēnōk Xvarr is that of heavenly ordering (*vahištīk artayīh*) and was said (*G. Bund.* 3.15) to be embodied in Ašišvang, the Good Aši, who, apparently, was a pneumatic power, for as a Mēnōk she purified earth, water and seed (=fire). Ašiš, the guide of Mithra's chariot, was the actuality of Aša, the moving and

Doxogr. gr., p 323) who said that "the substance of fate (*ousia heimarmenēs*) is *logos* that penetrates through the substance of the universe. This is the etherial body, a seed of the *genesis* of the universe." But the Stoic Chrysippus said that this fate was "a pneumatic power supervising an arrangement of the universe." In other works he said it was "the *logos* of the cosmos" (op cit 3). For the same author (Arius Didymus, *Epit.*, 28 = *Doxogr. gr.*, p 463) "Being (*to on*) is *pneuma* moving itself toward itself or out of itself, or a *pneuma* itself moving to and fro; but it is called *pneuma* because the same is said to be moving air; but it also becomes analogous to ether, so that they come to be the same in common speech." If fashioning fire is a *logos* and *pneuma* which fixes fate as a seed of seeds (cf 5 f 3), it is also a *daimōn-fravahr*, that is, a particular and self-moving activity in man, his more divine essence, and character, for according to Heracleitus (frag. 119) "*daimōn* is man's character (*ēthos*)." It is man's *psychē* and *physis* (n 12, pt 4). "The Stoics demonstrate god to be an intelligible, fashioning fire traveling on the road toward the *genesis* of the cosmos, being involved in all the spermatic *logoi* by which each thing comes into being according to *heimarmenē*. *Pneuma* penetrates the whole cosmos . . . ." (Plut., *Epit.*, 1.7.33=*Doxogr. gr.*, p 305s). "The Stoics assert that all causations are bodily, for they are *pneumata*" (op cit 1.11.5=p 310).

The Stoic conception of *pneumata* as the fatal and fashioning fires of *genesis* and *physis* has a close parallel in the Zoroastrian conception of various *xvarr* which determine not only the character of individual men but also of groups or kinds of men. According to the *Greater Bundahišn* 162.7-13 (=Molé, op cit n 11, pt 5, p 437) the *kayān xvarr* fixed the character of ancient sovereigns like Hōšeng and Yam, whereas an *ērān xvarr* fixed the character of the Iranians as a whole and the *agrift xvarr* characterizes priests whose wisdom cannot be seized (*grift*). That man is what his spirit makes him, or is known by his spirit and character, is a rather common idea as expressed in phrases like "the artistic temperament", "the American character", or "the warlike spirit", and so forth.

ordering force of fire. Ašiš was a helper of Spandarmat, Mēnōk of earth, and her associate helpers were the Mēnōkān that watched over Xvarr. Of these Art (Order) and Dēn (Religion) had to do with the Xvarr of the house. The latter should reside in the energy of the Varhrān hearth fire.

5. The foregoing analysis should emphasize the importance of the Winds that frame the picture of Mithra Sol Invictus when he receives the powers of world regeneration from the God of the Sky-nimbus (5 h 8), or is about to slay the cosmic Bull to regenerate lives. The large wings of the Deus aeternus, either two or four in number, also indicate his close connection with wind and air, the firmament being indicated on his anthropoid body by the signs of the zodiac (11 b 2). The multiple wings and multiple eyes were called signs of rulership (5 h 1.2) which consist of multiple powers of motion and perception. The Wind was the unmoved mover whose Kšathrō power was manifested in self-motion and invisible utterance.

h. The Deus Invictus Inscriptions. Because of their ruling powers both Mithra and the Sun (Xvar) were made assistants of Šahrēvar, the Pleasing Sovereignty, who was the Mēnōk of metals, because of their strength, and was identified with the powers of the Sky. The Iranian conception of the Sun as invincible and sovereign power (cf 7 h), of Xvarr as the Force and Fortune of souls, and of Fire both visible and invisible, both *mēnōk* and *gētēh,* as generative and sovereign, helps to explain a considerable number of Mithraic inscriptions which would otherwise be more obscure. The most important of these I now survey for their contribution to a better understanding of Mithra as Verethraghna, the Deus Invictus.

1. One of the very early inscriptions (*362*) was to SOL INVICTUS MITHRAS by Titus Flavius Hyginus Ephebianus, an imperial freedman. The parallel Greek inscription by the same man on behalf of his father was to HELIOS MITHRAS only. Since *Anikētos* is omitted, the Hellenistic Greek word HELIOS must have had the connotation of INVICTUS, like the Iranian word XVAR. An inscription from Bandorf in the Rhineland to DEUS INVICTUS REX (Dessau, *ILS* 4236) was probably not to Mithra but to the

Hellenistic Helios or Persian Xvar which conveyed the idea of Kurios or King. A dedicant giving a gilded bronze relief of the sun (*typum solis*) to the DEUS INVICTUS has a parallel in the gift of a SOL to SOL INVICTUS MYTHRAS by a Cappadocian (*17*), the solar image being interpreted as INVICTUS MITHRAS. Other inscriptions call MITHRAS the SUMMUS INVICTUS (*206 515 516*), while Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter dedicated his tauroctone relief (*174*), probably of the fourth century, to OMNIPOTENS DEUS MITHRAS (*175*). The solar god Mithra was supremely high as well as powerful because the sun was the highest and most fiery of the heavenly lights in Iranian astronomy (5 c 1).

1.1. A certain Tiberius Claudius Thermodon, perhaps a native of Pontus, dedicated a cave sanctuary and its furnishings to SOL INVICTUS MITRHAS (a native aspirated *r*), whereas he and his wife Mettia Lochias dedicated two marble sculptures of SPES (Hope) to FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA (*660*). Fortuna Primigenia would be the Mēnōk Xvarr whose origin was in the cosmic seed or in the heat and motion of the primeval air. The latter would have a parallel in the Phoenician Kolpia, or Enfolding Wind, who brought forth from Night both Aion and Protogonos (5 j 4). The two pictures of SPES (cf n 7, pt 8) must have emphasized twin aspects of Fortuna, these being Mēnōk Xvarr and Gētēh Xvarr. Such twin aspects were also expressed in Aion, the moving (from *i* go) and Protogonos, the First Begotton. These correspond to Heat and Moisture (*garm 'ut xvēt*), the primary elements of *bavišn*-Genesis which produced *ravišn* as Genos and *ēstišn* as Genea (5 f 3).

1.2. P. Clodius Venerandus, one of the seven priests of the imperial cult, not only made a dedication to NUMEN CAELESTE (*304*) in Ostia, but also to (INVICTO) DEO SOLI OMNIPOTENTI ....O CAELESTI NUMINI PRAESENTI FORTUNAE LARIBUS TUTELAEQUE (*305*). These terms are, I believe, Latin translations of Irano-Hellenistic ideas. The *Invictus Deus Sol* is the equivalent of the solar Mithra Verethraghna as a Ratu, *Omnipotens* (*Domin*)*us* is the equivalent of Mithra as Ahu, the Caeleste Numen would be Mēnōk Xvarr, Praesens Fortuna would be Gētēh Xvarr, while the Lares and Tutela would be the Xvarr of the Law and Religion of the *domus* (cf 6g4). King Tiridates said to Nero, whom he would adore as his god and Mithra, "I shall be whatever you grant to me, for you are to me both Moira and Tychē" (Dio Cassius, 68.1.7). Here Moira and Tychē correspond to Mēnōk and Gētēh Xvarr (cf 11css).

2. A second inscription in parallel Greek and Latin texts requires particular attention. It comes from Apulia (*171*) where Sagaris, general manager of Bruttius Praesens, made a dedication to HELIOS MITHRAS for his master's health. The parallel Latin inscription is to MERCURIUS INVICTUS. A Bruttius Praesens had been governor of Cappadocia about A.D. 122[32]. Sagaris may well be an Iranian name. His Mercurius-Hermes must be equated with Helios Mithra as in the inscription of Nemrud Dagh (*32*), but in the Latin the word Invictus again had to be added to convey the connotation of the Hellenistic Helios or Persian Xvar. Such an epithet for Mercury and his substitution for Helios Mithra are unexpected and would be unexplained if one did not grasp the Iranian character of Hermes-Mercury as Tištrya or Airyaman. In the *Yasna* (cf 1.11) Tištrya is grouped with Ahura and Mithra, with the stars of Spenta Mainyu and with the Moon and Sun. The bright star Tištrya, identified with the Dog Star, destroyed the demon of drought and brought rains, health and prosperity. In these respects he was the equivalent of Verethraghna or Indra, the Destroyers of Apaoša or Vṛtra, the Water-Coverer. Tištrya took the form of a white horse in one of his incarnations in order to descend into the Vouru Kaša and contend with Apaoša in the form of a black horse; the white horse was also the form taken by the waters (Yt 8.20, 46; 2.13). In the *Greater Bundahišn* (3.16,19)[33] Tištar, also called Tīr, is equated with the planet Mercury and is

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[32] W. Ramsay, *Social Basis of Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, p 15.

[33] Cf also *Bund.* 57.7; ZZ pp 158-161, 335s. Tištar-Tištrya was also identified with the Dog Star Sirius. This was the bright star of the east, which "Oromazes established as the guard and overseer of all the stars" (Plut., *De Iside*, 370A). As a guard of the rain cattle he is called Apaoša also (*G. Bund.* 57.7 = ZZ 160, 165H). Both the Dog-Star and the planet Mercury are morning and evening stars, and as such were connected with rain and drought. The Tīr month was at the beginning of summer (n 3, pt 11).

grouped with the watery wind and the Fravahrs of the Righteous as an assistant of Hurdāt, the Mēnōk of water. Fravahr and Varhrān, moreover, were gods of the Aiwisrūthrīm (conquering?) space of the night, which was the first half. Here in the lower world of water and night the Sun and Mithra were unconquered (6 h 10). Hurdāt, like Mercury, was also a Wealth-giver (Plut., *Mor.*, 370 A).

2.1. Mercury-Hermes in an Iranian milieu could also be considered to possess *invictus* power as the equivalent of Airyaman or Nairyō-Sangha, the divine magicians and messengers, both of whom were ancient Indo-Iranian divinities appearing in the *Rigveda* as Aryaman and Nara-šansa. Aryaman was frequently grouped with Mitra and Varuna as the "loyal friend" and helper. *Arya*, faithful, is the root of the name Aryans. In the *Avesta* Airyaman inhabits a heavenly mansion like that of Mithra and Sraoša, but like Hermes he is a messenger of exorcism and healing (Vend. 22.7, 19-24). His prayer, is the most potent of all spells (Yt 3.5 ss). In the Pahlavī documents he was the divine messenger who would come to the earth with Artvahišt, Mēnōk of Fire, and would act as Sōšyans the Savior in accomplishing the *fraškart*[34]. In these functions therefore he would be Invictus.

2.2. In the *Rigveda* Nara-šansa was also a messenger, in the form of fire (*agni*), especially between gods and men. *Nara*, primal man, manly spirit, is related to Old Latin *nero*, manly. The Vedic *nṛ* were not only *chanters* at religious rites but also warriors, heroes, and even gods. *Šansa*, from *kšans-*, speak out, wish for, praise, was a prayer, blessing or curse in the form of a *chant* (cf Lat. *casmen*, *carmen*, *censere*). Aryaman and Šansa may have remote kinship with the old Italic god Sancus, who was called Fidius Sancus and Greek Zeus Pistios, but was characterized as Herakles, a hero *invictus* in particular. *Fidius* and *pistios* are close equivalents of *arya* in Aryaman, the loyal helper. Sancus was also called Semo or Semo Sancus; *semo* may well be the equivalent of Greek *semno*, holy, revered, as applied to gods, demi-gods and powers like the Erinyes as protectors of childbirth, health and family weal. Sancus would be the Italic retranslation of Semno-Semo,

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34) ZZ pp 177, 187, 349, 352s.

the possessor of mysterious spells that make the possessor dangerous or holy (cf Greek *hagnos, hagos, hagios,* accursed, holy). Nara-šansa has a parallel in Hittite Sankunnis and Sumarian Lu (man-sign)-sanga. These were priests or magicians who chanted spells to cure sickness and exorcise evil spirits. The chanting priest or god of spells was an Invictus mediator of conquering powers.

2.3. In a passage of the *Vendīdāt* (22.1ss), which is devoted to the exorcism of all evil spirits and sicknesses, Airyaman, Nairyō-Sangha and Māthra Spenta are all represented as having essentially the same powers and functions. The first of these is in name the "Faithful Spirit", the second is the "Heroic Chanter" and the third is the "Increasing Word". Nairyō-Sangha was also called a divinity (*yazad*) of "royal lineage" and he was named with the various kinds of fire, for he was the "fire that dwells in the bosom of kings"[35]. He would bring the souls of the righteous to the Geronmanem, the House of Heavenly Treasure, and was thus similar to Hermes *psychopompos* (cf 8 b 3) and Airyaman as a Sōšyans. Helios Mithra was also the Victorious savior of men (12 c 5); the dedication to Helios Mithras-Mercurius Invictus was for health in particular.

3. An important group of inscriptions and monuments center around Mercury and the Dionysus child. In the Dieburg Mithraeum, which emphasized the mounted Mithra Invictus, a statue of Mercury (*1257*) had at its feet a ram, cock and turtle. His altar (*1267*) bore the inscription of dedication to DEO XANCTO MERCURIO. In the Second Mithraeum of Stockstadt a statue dedicated to DEO INVICTO MITHRAE MERCURIO (*1210*) showed the god of the magic *caduceus* with a ram, cock and turtle and also with the child Dionysus and grapes. In the First Mithraeum of Stockstadt a statue without an inscription (*1176*) shows Mercury with the Dionysus child in whose left hand is a snake; in Mercury's right hand is a wallet

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35) *Yasna* 17.11; *Sīrōzar* 9; *Nyāyis* 5.6. Some time after writing the foregoing analysis of *nara-šansa* it came to my attention that in ancient Sumer the *nar* were priestly chanters, whereas the *sanga* seems to have been the administrator of temple property, C.-F. Jean, *La religion sumérienne,* pp 197-200, 209. As a temple administrator, it seems to me, the *sanga* would be very close to the chief ruler in the city-state, who was in reality a priest-king.

which rests on the head of a goat. A ball divided in half spheres is shown on the base, according to the discoverer. A statue from the Merida Mithraeum (*780*) shows the naked Mercury seated on a high rock throne over which a mantle is spread. Leaning against the throne is a large lyre on which Gaius Accius Hedychrus the Pater made his dedication to INVICTO DEO MITHRAE.

3.1. A statue (*590**) from Rome shows the Natura dei in the likeness of Mithra-Dionysus. The left hand of the god rests on the rock in front of him where a bow, arrow and dagger are outlined on the rock. His right hand, held high in front of his face which is turned toward his right, may have held a large bunch of grapes. Under his arm stands Cautes leaning against the rock and looking upward toward the emerging god. Cautopates standing at his left watches the god from afar. These positions are South Iranian (4 i 5). On the base the god is represented as saying: NAMA L(UCIUS) F(LAVIUS) HERMADION HOC MIHI LIBENS D(ONUM) D(EDIT); "Lucius Flavius Hermadion by name gave this to me of his own free will as a gift".

3.2. In the Walbrook Mithraeum in London a small statuary group (822) was found, showing Dionysus reaching up toward a vine; on the left Silenus is mounted on a donkey; above is a tree trunk against which the leg of a rampant goat rested. To the right is a satyr and still farther is a Maenad carrying a wine cup and a leopard is at her feet. On the base is inscribed: HOMINIBUS BAGISBITAM; "You convey (*vagis*) life (*vitam*) to men".

3.3. These pictures take into account that Mercury invented the lyre and thus produced the magic music that accompanies song, the latter being a function of a *šansa-sangha* priest. Even the Māthra Spenta was made more effective by loud chanting (cf Vend. 11 passim). The cock associates Mercury with the dawn, his special time of day, which was the period of chanted prayers (*hāvan*) as also of Mithra (6 h 10). The tortoise and lyre suggest the music of the chant (cf *821*). It was said that the voice of the cock strikes down the deceivers (Vend. 18.33) and that for the dawn the raven eagerly waits (Yt 14.19 s). The ram shows that *Mercurius Sanctus* brings strength and prosperity, for Hermes was also a god of fertility in pastoral cults. The wallet resting on the head of the goat points to material wealth, which was also a gift of the Celtic god Cernunnos, a form of Mercury-Wotan[36]. Even more than prosperity, Mercury is the Messenger of Life itself, for he conveys the Dionysus child who is the Giver of Life to men. The rock from which the Mithra-Dionysus child is born is the world egg (cf 8 a 3.2) in which are the moisture-stuff and heat-energy of the world. This is also the world mountain covered by a sky mantle on which Mercury-Mithra-Sol sits enthroned as a *Deus invictus*. The knife on the rock or otherwise in the hand of the god coming to birth indicates creation by separation from the unbounded, separation and limitation of the unlimited being the beginning of creation[37]. This is indicated not only by the dagger but also by the two half spheres on the base of the Mercury monument of Dieburg. The fire and breath of life are represented by the torch and arrow. Swift moving air was the bearer of moisture and heat and also of the sovereign voice. With bow and arrow Mithra the Archer produced the *Aqua vitae* from the cloud rocks of the sky (7 c 1) [38].

4. The connection of Dionysus with a form of fire was very close. According to Aristotle[39] the Thracians of Krastonia had a very large temple of Dionysus in which a great flame of fire flashed forth at the time of an annual festival if the god intended to send a prosperous year; otherwise the fire did not appear. According to Plutarch (*Mor.*, 375A) Pindar referred to "Much-cheering Dionysus who may increase the capacity (*nomon*) in fruit trees and is a holy flame (*hagnon phengos*) of the fruit bearing season". A scholion on the *Iliad* (14.396) calls Dionysus an Ephor of Fire, a title which some gave to Mithra, "while others called him Helios, and others a special kind of power"[40]. Diodorus Siculus (1.11.3) quotes a line

36) *Am. Jour. Arch.*, 55 1951, 14ss, 27s, 36s.

37) Cf Greek *peiron* (=*keir-*, cut off), Lat. *paro*, Eng. *pare*, cut off.

38) Heracleitus (frag. 66, Jones), "The name of the bow (*bios*) is life (*biós*) but its work is death." According to Empedocles fire divides by strife or combines by affection (Plut., *Mor.*, 952C), just as Mithra may be a generative or destructive fire, depending on the viewpoint. Plutarch reflects a prejudiced view (*Mor.*, 935B) when he says, "Fire is certainly given honors among the Medes and Assyrians who from fear worship injurious instead of solemn things."

39) P 842A; Farnell, *Cults* V, p 99, 280.2.

40) Nonnus Mythographus, *Comm. in sancto lumine*, 17=Cumont, *Textes*, II, no 28.

from a Bacchic hymn which speaks of "Dionysus shining star-like, a fiery eye with its rays". In the *Bacchae* of Euripides the fire of Dionysus is frequently alluded to as a characterization of the god.

4.1. Dionysus was a god not only of the perennial ivy and of the grape but also of all juicy fruits, which was held in contrast to Demeter as a goddess of dry fruits[41]. The devout farmer left a tree stump surrounded with vines in his field and called it Dionysus[42]. In Mithraic art Dionysus interpretes the Indo-Iranian *soma* or *haoma* (M.P. *hōm*). The Vedic *soma* was closely connected with *agni* (fire) as well as with the juice of certain plants or other liquids. Both Agni and Soma were said to have come from the cloud-rock (R.V. 1.93.6) and were mountain dwelling and mountain grown (R.V. 3.48.2; 5.43.4; 9.46.1), just as the infant Dionysus was associated with the mythical Mount Nysa. Mātarišvan, the one "growing in the mother", was said to have brought Soma from heaven; he seems to have been fiery wind or windy lightning (R.V. 2.29.11; 1.79.1). Otherwise an eagle twirled Agni from the cloud-rock (R.V. 1.93.6). Agni is frequently called a bird, and once (R.V. 7.15.4) a sky-eagle (*divah syenah*), as were also the Maruts, the gods of lightning storms (R.V. 10.92.6). The eagle brought Soma from heaven in flight as swift as thought (R.V. 9.68.5; 77.2; 8.89.8). In Mithraic iconography the eagle is the bird of the sky dome (cf 3 h), and of lightning bolts (cf 288,2 328) as in the myths of Zeus. In the *Avesta* (Yt 12.17) the eagle (*šaena*) sits on the tree that stands in the midst of the Wide Kaša. This tree corresponds to the Sumarian tree of life in the midst of the Apsu or in the House of the Mountain of Heaven and Earth (5 j 4)

4.2. Haoma appears to have been of two kinds (cf Yas 10.10-12). The white Haoma came from the Oxhorn (*gaokerena*) tree which grew in the midst of the Wide Kaša and was surrounded by countless healing plants (Vend. 20.4), or it was prepared from the fat (*pīh*) of the slaughtered Hadayans bull (*G. Bund.* 226.4; cf 5 f 2). By drinking it man would become immortal at the *fraškart* (*G. Bund.* 42.12; 59.4). It would appear to have been this Haoma who, as a god, first lifted up *haoma* in a sky-container inlaid with stars (Yt 10.89 s).

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41) Eur., *Bacchae*, 275-283.

42) Farnell, *Cults* V, p 119.

The other kind was golden yellow, a king of healing plants (*Bund.* 58.10). It was found on the summit of the Haraiti Bereza[43] glowing with vitality, lordly and golden eyed (Yt 8.37). As a priest of the immortal Spentas this Haoma was swift, had a loud voice and loud song which reached to the sky and passed over the seven regions of the world. The vaporous clouds followed the wind along the same paths that Haoma, the Increaser of the World, traversed (Yt 8.33). All other drinks were attended by Wrath (Yas 10.8; 17.5) but Haoma was attended by Aša and Ašiš Vanguhi herself, and the latter was far piercing with her rays and gave good Hvarenō to her followers (Yt 17.5 s). She was, as previously noted (6 g 4), Hvarenō in bodily form, or the Xvarr of Heavenly Aša.

5. The first preparer of *haoma* was said to be Vīvanghvant, the Flashing (Yas 9.4-12), who prepared it for the world and this resulted in his becoming the father of Yima, the "sun-like one of men who made herds and people free from dying, plants and waters free from drought". Vīvnaghvant, as pointed out above (5 f 2.4), was the equivalent of Tvaštar and Takhma Urupa the sky-fashioners, and the Shining Yima was the star studded *āsmān*. From him came increase, health and prosperity, the very powers of Hvarenō (cf 6 d 1). The second to produce *haoma* was Athwya called Abtin, a descendant of Takhma, in the *Šāhnāmeh*, to whom Thraētaona was born (the famous Feridun) who destroyed the Serpent Dahāka (or Zohak). The third was Thrita who was rewarded with two sons, Urvākhšaya called a Ratu who established Aša, and Keresāspa, a youth of Manly Force (i.e., an Ahu) who overcame Gandarewa, son of Ahura (Yt 5.38; 19.41), in the depths of the Wide Kaša when he was eager to destroy the good principle by causing all the shores of the sea to boil over. Gandarewa, the Vedic Gandharva, and perhaps also the Greek Centaur, seems to have been the primeval fire-in-the-waters and a keeper, or perhaps withholder, of *soma*. The fourth to prepare *haoma* was Pourusaspa, who was rewarded by the birth of Zarathustra. It would appear that the preparing of *haoma* imparted the vitality to beget mighty offspring.

5.1. The succession of the sons of *haoma*-producers may be compared with the succession of *hvarenō*-possessors (6 f 3) as follows:

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[43] Cf J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p 39s.

HAOMA-offspring	HVARENŌ-possessors
Yima, son of Vivanghvant, Increaser of Earth and Life.	Yima, the Shining Sky.
	Mithra, Mediating Fire.
Thraētaona, son of Athwya, Destroyer of Drought-serpent	Thraētaona, Producer of water and plants.
Urvākhšaya, Ratu of Aša,	
Keresāspa, Ahu of Aša, sons of Thrita.	Keresāspa, Establisher of productive and victorious fires.
Zarathustra, son of Pourusaspa, Establisher of Daēna (Religion).	

Thrita was the Vedic Trita Āptya, the Watery Third. Thraētaona (=Feridun) appears to be but a variant of Thrita, the Third being the watery element above the shining sky and the dark earth. He was said to have been the first of healers whose medicine was the knife with which he brought the waters from the Wide Kaša and healing plants from the Oxhorn tree (Vend. 20 1-2). Both the creative knife and healing branch appear with the Mithraic Deus genitor (12 a 6). As a slayer of the drought-serpent, Thraētaona corresponds to Hušravah-Hušeng in the cosmic myths previously discussed (5 f 2), who was the third Kavi from Kavāta, the cosmic mountain. Like Hušravah he released the waters from the water withholder of fiery heat. His offspring, the brothers Urvākhšaya and Keresāspa, were the Ratu and Ahu of the world of fire and water which is the Ras established and ruled by Aša. They correspond to Takhma Urupa, son of Hušravah, who was a world fashioner and orderer (5 f 2.4). The greatest difference in the two successions is the omission of Mithra and the addition of Zarathustra in the Haoma sequence. It may be that the Haoma sequence is Zoroastrian and the Hvarenō is more Mithraic and Indo-Iranian.

5.2. While *haoma* rites were prominent in later Zoroastrianism, it has been argued that Zarathustra himself rejected the drink according to the *Gathas* (cf Yas 48.10). It appears more likely that he rejected only the slaughter of cattle in connection with the rite[44],

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44) Zaehner, *Teachings of the Magi*, p 127s; Molé, op cit (pt 4, n 11), p 229s. According to Strabo (11.13.11) the northern mountaineers of Media "squeeze out a wine from certain roots". It should be emphasized that one form of the

whereas in Mithraism the slaughter of the bull and the eating of its flesh were closely conjoined with the sacred drink (6 i 2, 3.1; 9 b 12). In this connection it should be recalled that one form of the drink was derived from the Hadayans bull rather than from plants. Although Zarathustra seems to have been the reformer of a cattle-owning society, his attitude was that of the farmer with respect to the sacred drink. He attributed the sin of slaughtering cattle to Yima who gave to people "the flesh of the ox to eat to satisfy men". Consequently evil men "destroy the life of the ox with shouts of joy", probably in festive rites. The false Kavi says, "The ox shall be slain that it may kindle *duraoša* to help us". Yas 32.8, 12, 14). *Duraoša,* "averter of death", was the essence of *haoma,* from which came the *fravahr* of Zarathustra (*Sel. Zāts.* 4.14.16). Perhaps the more common view, expressed in the same *Yasna* (v. 10), was that of the deceiver who declared, "The ox and sun are the worst thing to behold with the eyes", which may be figurative language for a bull sacrifice with *haoma* as solar energy. According to Porphyrius some Persians called the sun a bull (2 b 7). The worst thing may also be the most holy or dangerous to look at (6 h 2.2).

5.3. The fiery quality of both *hvarenō* and *haoma* was similar; the latter came from the cloud rocks and was brought by an eagle, the former from the Wind and was brought by the raven. *Haoma* was a vital juice in the fat of an ox or in a plant, and *hvarenō* was a vital breath in the body or in the sky. One was the substance and the other was the heat, and the former gives birth to the latter. In the account of the apostles at Pentacost (*Acts* 2.1-6) it is said that the whole house where they were assembled was filled with an *ēchos* of a powerful *pnoē* (=invisible and vocal *hvarenō*) and divided tongues of a sort of fire were visible and rested on each of them (=*kavaēm hvarenō*) and they were filled with a holy *pneuma* (=*gētēh xvarr*) and began to speak in foreign tongues (=*vāxš*

cult of Dionysus in Greece was connected with the bull or other animals, whereas the other form which was especially associated with Iacchos was based upon grain culture and ritual. These represent two distinct cultural traditions, one going back to the nomad and his cattle culture and the other to the land tiller. See further n 26, pt 4.

nērōk). But some said that they were filled with *gleukos*, new wine (=*haoma*).

5.4. The star-studded vessel (*hāvana*) in which Haoma first prepared the golden liquid was the twin bowl of heaven and earth, often connected with the production of *soma* (R.V. 6.8.3; 50.3; 10.44.8). This bowl which was divided and held apart by props was the sky-egg which in anthropoid form became the Shining Yima who was sawed in two to form twins (6 f 3). Yima was the first offspring of the Flashing preparer of *haoma* and the first therefore to possess *hvarenō* which became visible in the heavenly lights.

From the shining sky therefore, called the lofty Hara and the mansion of Mithra, came the golden *haoma* that gave victory. As a god this Hōm was made an assistant of Pleasing Sovereignty, along with Mihr, Xvar, and the Āsmān itself (*G. Bund.* 3.14). On the other hand, the white *haoma* of immortality came from wind and moisture, or otherwise from the cosmic ox or tree in the midst of the world sea (5 f 9.2). Of this the first drinker was Vayu, but the greatest drinker of the victory-giving *haoma-soma* was the lightning god Indra, or Indra-Vayu. By drinking *soma* Indra expanded and forced apart sky and earth [45].

5.5. A parallel conception of the double nature of Dionysus as the vital sap of life is found in the myths of his twofold birth, once in fiery flames from a mortal mother Semele (=Earth) and again from the immortal Cloud-gatherer. The bearer of the divine offspring from the mother's womb to the thigh of the Father was Hermes-Mercury whose Mithraic statues elaborated his symbols of health, wealth and good fortune. At the Trapeza Mithrou, when the new born initiate drank the *hōm* or its equivalent from the bull's horn with Mithra-Pater, he wore the solar crown, a symbol of the *hvarenō* and *kšathrō* which Mithra gave, for these were his Ahu and Ratu powers (cf 6 b 2).

6. It must be noted that Mercury was called both *Invictus*

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45) Kraemer, *Mythologies*, p 283; on the origin of *soma*, cf R.V. 6.35.7; Griswold, op cit (pt 5, n 25), p 215. It may be noted that Heracleitus thought the sky was a bowl which caused an eclipse by turning over, Plut., *Mor.*, p 890.

and *Sanctus* (6 h 3). Sanctus as an attribute denotes that the possessor is not only holy but is endowed with special powers manifested in good fortune or victory over evil and opposition. No gods were more varied in their manifestations of power, magic or otherwise, than Hermes and Dionysus, whether as infants or full fledged gods[46]. The *Sancti* of Mithraic inscriptions are connected with marked changes of fortune or vital experience.

6.1. On the Upper Moesian tauroctone (*2237**) dedicated by a certain Lucaius to the DEO SANCTO INVICTO, a lion is shown on the left side of the tauroctone beneath the radiate bust of Sol who holds up his right hand in a salute to the sky. On the right side of the relief the young or infant god is coming to birth out of the fire of an altar that is surrounded by the serpent; the infant holds both hands up in a sky salute. Above the tauroctone seven trees and blazing altars alternate (cf 11 e). The emphasis here is upon a series of fiery rebirths or reincarnations in a physical body symbolized by the lion (4 g 3.1). In a scene on the left border of the Dura taurcotone the infant god not only emerges from flames but a flame arises from his head while he holds up a blazing torch in each hand (Fig. 25). This follows the *Deus genitor* who reclines on the world mountain with a tree branch near him (12 a 6). This god is often shown with the knife or *harpé* as the instrument of creation by separation (cf 8 a 5).

The idea that holiness is manifested in flames that do not consume is as old as the story of Moses and the blazing bush by which the god revealed his holiness and vitality (YHWH, Exod. 3). A flame about the head of the boy Ascanius accompained by thunder forecast his destiny to perpetuate the greatness of the Trojan race, just as the head of the infant Zarathustra glowed with a radiant and protecting *xvarr* (*Dēnk.* M. 7.3.4-7). Papak saw the head of his servant Sasan radiate as if the sun was shining from it (6 f) which was interpreted that his sons would become sovereigns of Persia and the world [47].

6.2. Holiness was a frequent attribute of Phoenician gods [48].

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[46] Cf Macrobius, *Sat.*, 1.18.9.

[47] Vergil, *Aeneid*, 2.680s; for Sasan, *Kārnāmik i Artaxšahr* 1; Zarathustra, *Sel. Zātspram* 5.1-3; King Servius Tullius, Livy 1.39.

[48] W. R. Smith, *Rel. of the Semites* 1956, p 140ss.

The Anatolian Jupiter Dolichenus was called *Sanctus* and his consort Juno Regina was called *Sancta*, as in the Aventine sanctuary in Rome[49]. Likewise the Palmyrene Sol and Malakbel (King Bel) were called holy and the solar Jupiter Heliopolitanus was called SANCTISSIMUS. These gods were shown with strongly radiate crowns. In Rome a soldier dedicated a bronze plaque to SOL SANCTISSIMUS (*562*).

6.3. A certain Marcus Modius Agatho in Rome, very likely an oriental, dedicated three Mithraic reliefs (*332-3*). The first shows a naked Jupiter with a scepter and thunderbolt standing on a rock on which his mantle lies. Before the rock stands a naked Cautes who holds a cock (?) in his outstretched left hand. Its dedication is to DOMINO SANCTO OPTIMO MAXIMO for health by the god's order. It would appear therefore that Agatho made this dedication to the Holy, Best and Greatest Ahu because he had received a divine message promising health, the special gift of holiness (cf *sangha*, Sankunnis, 6 h 2.2). The second relief shows a naked Sol-Heliodromus with radiate head and flying mantle driving a quadriga. This is dedicated to SANCTO DOMINO INVICTO MITHRAE. Here Sanctity, Lordship and Invincibility are the special powers of the Visible Hvarenō. The fragmentary third relief shows Luna driving a chariot drawn by horses. The surviving part of the inscription shows that this was dedicated "by permission" of the divinity. In these dedications the Holy Ahu in the likeness of Jupiter is the swift flying sky suggested by the eagle with spread wings. The god stands on the sky-garment covering the world-mountain, guiding the world with his thunderbolt and ruling it with his scepter. From this sky comes generative power in the dawn light suggested by Cautes and the cock. The Unconquered Ahu and Ratu, on the other hand, is Mithra who carries the sky-mantle forward on his shoulder (cf 5 f 1.3) and is ablaze with *verethraghnem* power manifest in the visible *hvarenō*. The Moon chariot may be taken as a manifestation of the *spenista* power of the sky for controlling physical growth. If the Sky god controls Genesis, Mithra controls its Movement and the Moon controls its Becoming. These are the three stages in the emergence of a perfect body (5 f 3).

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[49] Merlat, op cit (pt 3, n 4), p 198, n 5.

6.4. The Roman tauroctone with a long solar ray shining through a cypress tree (*366*) was dedicated by two members of the Leo grade to DEO SANCTO MITHRAE for the SACRATHIS (cf 5 e). The *sacrati* were the consecrated who would correspond to the Old Persian *artavan* and the Avestan *ašayaonam* and to the Christian *hagioi* in the letters of Paul. The "saints" were the souls that had been *justified* (=*artavan*) in Christ. For Paul justification was accomplished "by a power of God from a *pneuma* of holiness" (*Romans* 1.1 ss), which *pneuma* was obtained by *pistis* (faith). The god of the Holy Covenant (Fidius Sancus) in Mithraism was Mithra himself whose *mithrem* was confirmed by a *syndexios* rite (12 c 4).

7. The Holy god is also the one who Hears. In a chapel of the Dura Dolichenum (*70*) soldiers made a dedication to ZEUS HELIOS MITHRAS HAGIOS HYPSISTOS EPĒKOOS. Zeus Helios Mithras is the sky god with solar powers, who as such is both Highest and Holy. As Epēkoos, the god who hears, he corresponds to Sraoša-Sroš, the companion of Mithra invictus. Sraoša, like Cautopates and the Pater himself, represents the incarnate Word and activity of Mithra within the community of believers (6 b 1). In this connection we may notice a non-Mithraic inscription to HERAKLES THALLOPHOROS EUAKOUSTOS, which was translated into Latin as HERCULES PACIFERUS INVICTUS SANCTUS (Dessau, *ILS* 3436). The Unconquered Hercules as Peace-bringer must correspond to Herakles the Branch-bearer. A common epithet of Hercules was Invictus which need not be expressed with the Greek Herakles, since the "Glory of the Hero" was explicit in his name. The carrying of a branch by young Greek heroes in contests for leadership (Hēgetor) was prominent in the Hegetoria games in Argos and at the Karneia festival in Sparta. The victory of the *thallophoros* assured the city of peace and prosperity for the ensuing year [50]. In the inscriptions *sanctus* must correspond to *euakoustos*, one who is well-heard. As the Greek

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[50] Farnell, *Cults*, IV, pp 259ss. For various Theoi epekooi, see *Ath. Mitt.*, 37 1912, 1-68, figs 1-15.

youths ran with the branch they prayed for the city, presumably with words well-heard by the spectators or by the gods, especially Apollo. The ancient medicine man, like the Nara-šansa, chanted spells well-heard, as did the golden Haoma as a priest. The apostles filled with the Holy Pneuma at Pentacost began to speak with boldness so that many believers were won by their words. What they did and said was *sanctioned* by the Pneuma which God poured out on them (Acts 2.17ss).

7.1. The granting of good fortune by the god who hears is clearly implied in an inscription on a tauroctone from Lower Moesia (*2264*, cf *2261 2296*). This was dedicated by a sculptor named Aurelios Markos to AGATHA TYCHĒ HELIOS MITHRAS THEOS EPĒKOOS. Agatha Tychē corresponds to Ašiš Vanguhi who was the embodiment of Aša and Hvarenō (6 g 4), and Theos Epēkoos to Sraoša, both of these being close companions of Mithra the charioteer. A Greek inscription from the Baths of Caracalla (*463*) equates ANEIKĒTOS MITHRAS with ZEUS HELIOS MEGAS SARAPIS SŌTĒR PLOUTODOTĒS EPĒKOOS EUERGETES. This Mighty Zeus Helios Serapis Savior, Wealth-giver, Hearer and Benefactor would be the god of the dark world of night, for Serapis was equated with Hades and Ahriman (6 d). This is the world of *Invictus* Mithra, as will be shown below (6 h 10). In the world of darkness or materiality god hears prayers and grants his benefaction or sanction. An altar in the First Mithraeum of Heddernheim (*1092*) was dedicated to FORTUNA by a cavalryman in discharge of a vow. On the back of the altar was a Mithra taurophoros, probably to indicate a change (or *transitus*, cf *1494*) of fortune. The greatest change of all is in death. Either because he had been *in aeternum renatus* (cf *520*) or because he was the Pater sacrorum of the SUMMUS INVICTUS MITHRAS among other religious offices, Alfenius Ceionius Kamenius was called SANCTUS (*206 515*), as was the Pater in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*485*).

8. As for other gods, both Silvanus and Attis Mēnotyrannus were called SANCTUS (*276 515*). In Rome (*502*) Publius Aelius Tryfon, priest of SOL INVICTUS, was inspired by a vision to make a dedication to SANCTUS SILVANUS for the safe and unconquered Augusti. A mosaic from a Mithraeum in Ostia (*252*) shows a

Silvanus type of sky god. He stands against a blue background and his head is surrounded by a sky blue nimbus. In his right hand he holds a pruning knife and in his left the trunk of a tree with its branches still attached. To the left are two trees, one beside a walled precinct or rectangular altar out of which a blazing fire ascends, the other behind the fire. This is probably SILVANUS DENDROPHOROS (cf *283*), but whatever his name he is a sky god of vegetation and life, for the tree is the stuff of life [51], as emphasized in Zoroastrian cosmology [52].

The Creator of Immortality was Ameretāt, or Amurdāt, the Mēnōk of plants, whose assistants were the three Xvarr at the Bridge of Separation (6 b 1.3). In the Phoenician cosmology above (5 j 4) Aiōn, offspring of Wind, was said to be the first to discover food from trees, and trees were the first objects of worship for the obtaining of health and strength. The trees in the mosaic may therefore suggest different aspects of birth and life. The dog by a tree at the right may suggest Genesis, the tree with a fire the Motion of Genesis, the trees themselves the Becoming of Genesis, and the severed tree in the hand of the god the Transitions of life, the knife being the instrument of change and creation (7 c 4).

9. A group of inscriptions, mainly on altar bases dedicated to a DEUS NAVARSES, has a direct bearing upon Mithra as a Deus Invictus. The first to be noted is on a prismatic base found in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum in Rome (*501*). The prism and cone as forms of the *baetylos* will be discussed in connection with the Natura dei (8 a 3). The inscription reads, INVICTO D. NAVARZE TERENTIUS PRISCUS P.F. EUCHETA CURANTE ET SACRATIS D.D.C.B. "To the Invictus Deus Navarzes Terentius Priscus, son of Priscus, under the direction of Euchetas and the Saints, gave the gift aware of his vow (*boti*)". Here Mithra is not named, nor is he in another inscription on an altar from Rome (*380*) given by Atticus to INVICTO N. AD RITUS.

9.1. In every instance Navarzes, or Nabarzes (cf *boti* for *voti*), is called Invictus except in an inscription on a round pedestal found in the Mithraeum of Sarmizegetusa (*2028-9*). This reads,

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51) Cf *hylē*=Latin *silva*, tree, tree-stuff, matter (cf 11 e 3.1).

52) *Artāy Vīraf Nāmak* 13-14 esp.

NABARZE DEO PRO SAL. AMPLIATI AUG. N. DISP. ET SUA SUORUMQ. OMNIUM PROTAS VIKAR. EIUS. "To Navarzes Deus for the health of Amplias, bursar of our Emperor, and of all his household by Protas his agent". On the face of the pedestal above the inscription is a bull in full gambol or heat; to his left is a raven with a leaf in its bill, and to the right is a *bucranium*. The raven with a leaf in its bill was also portrayed on a tauroctone once in Rome (*617*), the raven being seated on Mithra's mantle. With this motive one may compare the eagle with a sprig of laurel in its bill and a wreath in its talons that flies toward the head of the Syrian Jupiter Genneas (6 d 2) [53]. The wreath is a symbol of both life and victory, and in the bird's bill it must be the symbol of a change to good fortune [54]. The emphasis of the pedestal appears to be upon the bull as the giver of vigorous life and health, for the *bucranium* opposite the raven may also symbolize the vitality of spring, identified with the *Taurus* month as on other monuments (2 d 1). The fullest manifestation of vital force was in the bull's horns, as in the *cornucopia*. So in the horns of the Verethraghna-Bull was the Hvarenō of Force and Victory (6 d 1). The so-called Horns of Consecration in Cretan art might better have been called the Horns of Power, unless one understands *consecration* to signify the acquisition or possession of a special degree of vital potency. The ancient meaning of holiness was wholeness of power that was potentially dangerous, like the visible *hvarenō* (6 g).

9.2. An altar in Aquincum (*1790*) was dedicated to INVICTO MYTHRAE NABARZE by Pontius Pontianus, a Tribune *laticlavius* of the Legio II Adjutrix. The name of the dedicant indicates that his origin was in Pontus, an area where Iranian culture and religion were strongly rooted. The names Protas, Amplias, Euchatas and the like are characteristic of Anatolian if not Phrygian names (cf Attas, Pappas, Midas). Moreover the open vowel in Mythras is probably Anatolian [55].

53) Seyrig and Starchy, op cit (n 22), pp 232-235, pl 11.

54) As in the story of Noah's ark. A magic leaf or herb that can restore life appears in the myths of ancient peoples and is a part of ancient medical lore, cf Sandars, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Penguin), p 113; *Apollodorus* in LCL, II, pp 363-370.

55) Cf Myttilene, Mittylene, Lydian Myrtilis, Hittite Mursillis, and the like.

9.3. An altar inscription from Tibiscum in Dacia (*2153*) records that Hermadio, *actor* of Turran Dil, discharged a vow to S(OLI) I(NVICTO) N(AVARZE) M(ITRAE) for the safety of P. Aelius Marsus. The dedication of an altar in Sarmizegetusa (*2146*) by the same or another Hermadio discharged a vow to SOLI INVICTO MITRAE ANICETO. The repetition of the word for victorious in Greek but transliterated with a Latin C for K and an I for EI indicate that the dedicant was not a Greek but more likely an Iranian or Anatolian, for Mitra is the form used in the *Vedas* and in certain dialects that were not strongly aspirated. It is the form appearing in a Phrygian inscription (6 i 4), and Turran Dil is a typical Phrygian name. The Lucius Flavius Hermadion who dedicated the Mithra-Dionysus birth monument in Rome (6 h 3.1) used the Iranian word NAMA in his inscription. The name Hermadion is theophoric for the "Hermes-god" who in Iranian literature was an *Invictus* god, as pointed out above. In the Tibiscum dedication Navarzes Mithra corresponds to Mitra Anikētos of the Sarmizegetusa inscription. If so, Navarzes was essentially an Invictus deus and therefore the equivalent of Artagnes-Verethraghna-Herakles. The name is of good Iranian form and may be related to the modern Persian word *nabard*, battle. In the Borcovicium Mithraeum there were dedications not only to MARTI ET VICTORIAE (*865*) but also to DEO SOLI INVICTO MYTRAE SAECULARI, in which Mytra is of Anatolian derivation. The description of Mithra as the *Deus Invictus Saecularis* points to his heroic and unconquered activity in the Gētēh world.

9.4. A final inscription to be noted in this group is found on an altar in Britain (*872*), which reads [56], D.S. INVICTO N. PESMCUS

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[56] On the basis of the original reading of the text by a "reporter of Camden", Birley restores the inscription as:

D. S.
INVICTO
Mith RaE Mar
CVS LICINIVs
RIPANVS
PRAEF. V.S.

See E. and J. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, p 38s, n 12. The main difference is in the restoration of the third line as: N. PESM

LICINI RIPANUS PRAEF. V.S. "To *Deus Sol Invictus Navarzes* the Pesmcus of Licinius, Ripanus the general manager, discharged his vow". The ending of *pesm-cus* should correspond to *-kos* in Greek and *-ic* in English, while *pesm* may correspond to Greek *poimēn*, Lithuanian *pemu* (from **pesman*), shepherd (cf Lat. *pasco*, *pastor*). If so, Ripanus was a superintendent of shepherds and general manager of Licinius. Here as in the first of the inscriptions cited above there is no mention of Mithra. It is possible that a few Mithraists saw in Mithra *Invictus* a similarity with a native hero god Navarzes whose locus may have been in the vicinity of the Ripaeus, or Riphaeus, mountains of the Sarmatians.

10. The chthonic significance of the term Invictus emerges from a study of three inscriptions found on altars in Rome (*517-519*). They were set up either by or under the direction of Marcus Aemilius Chrysanthus, a MAGISTER ANNI PRIMI, "the teacher of the first year". One was dedicated to DEO INVICTO MITHRAE, another to SOLI INVICTO, and the third to ORIENTI. It is noteworthy that the rising sun is not called Invictus like the other two divinities, nor is Mithra called the sun.

The rising sun marked one part of the Iranian day, which was divided into five parts, three from sunrise to sunset, and two for the two halves of the night. These are correlated in the following table [57].

NAME OF GĀH	GODS OF GĀH	RITUAL LORDS	PRIESTS
Hāvan (morning)	Mithra Rāman Hvāstra	Asyna Sāvanghi Vīsya (of the village)	Hāvanan (Presser of the *haoma*)
Rapithwina (mid-day) (9 a.m.-3 p.m.)	Ašavahišta Ātar of Ahura	Frādat. fšu Zantuma (of the district)	Ātare-vakhša (fire-kindler)

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instead of MITHRAE MAR, which gives Marcus Licinius instead of *pesmcus Licini*. Here very much depends upon the spacing of the once readable letters which have almost completely vanished. The removal of this inscription from the Navarzes group would not materially change my general discussion of Navarzes.

57) The data for the table may be found in the five *Gahs* and also in the first three *Yasna* (cf also *Bundahišn* 3.19ss). The different priestly functionaries under the Zaotar, who would more or less correspond to the Mithraic Pater patrum, are listed in *Vendīdāt* 5.57-58.

Uzayēirina (evening)	Ahura Napāt Apām Apa of Ahura God Burz	Frādat-vīra Dahvyuma (of the province)	Frabaretar, Abered, Asnatar (bringers of water, utensils)
Aiwisrūthrim (life advancer) (to midnight)	Fravaši Dāmōiš upamanō Verethraghna Varhrān	Frādat-vīspām-hugyaiti (advancer of happiness) Zarathustrōtema (of the kingdom)	Rathwiskar (sacrificer, master of rites)
Ušahina (to dawn)	Sraoša Rašnus Arštat	Beregya-nmānya (head of house)	Sraoša-varez (pontiff)

This correlation calls for several particular observations before a more general consideration. First, *hāvanan* from the root *hava-* (*sava, sū-*), to engender, arouse, set in motion, appears in Savitar, the Vedic name of the sun as an Impeller and also in words for offspring (cf Gk. *huios, hus,* son, pig). A derivative idea is that of oppressing with heat and therefore to squeeze out like perspiration or juice. From this root comes Sūrya and Sol or Helios, the Sun as a driving and oppressive force. Second, Rapithwin was a substitute for Zurvān, the god of Time, light and time being coeval with creation [58]. This was the period, according to Zoroastrians, when Mazda created the *mēnōk* of sacrifice and offered to mankind the acceptance or rejection of *gētēh* birth (*G. Bund.* 3.21). The Ātare-vakhša was actually the Orderer of Fire over which the Heavenly Aša was the Mēnōk. Third, in the twilight *gāh* the emphasis was on water, the *Bundahišn* God Burz being the Lofty Ahura of the Waters. The Frādat-vīra was the Advancer of Force (cf *viraj,* lightning or weapon of Indra) in the water, whereas Frādat-fšu was the Advancer of burning heat (cf *kši,* burn, cook). Fourth, the Aiwisrūthrim period was the victorious one (cf *aiwithūro,* Yt 10.5) assigned to the Fravaši as the beginning principle of life, to the Aggressiveness of Creation and to the god Victorious (cf 6 a 3; 4 g 2). This was the period of supreme conflict between Fire and Water, or Mēnōk and Gētēh creations. Finally, in the pre-dawn period Fire without a flame was saved by Srōš and impelled forward

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58) ZZ p 221.

to Rašn as Ātar, the fire of dawn and mid-day. This Gāh was the Bridge of the Separator (Činvat) between the two worlds of Materiality and Motion. This was the period when Sraoša as a *varez* or as the *parōdars* (the cock, Vend. 17.14) heralds the morning (cf 2 c 6; 6 h 3.3).

10.1. A general view of the correlation shows that Zoroastrian ideas have modified a non-Zoroastrian scheme. Not only has Ašavahišta, an Ameša Spenta, been substituted for Ātar, but far more important, the sequence has been started with dawn instead of with midnight. This is shown by the sequence of the Ritual Lords who are land rulers, the first and most humble being the lord of the estate (*nmānya*) and associated with the second half of the night. Next in order was the Lord of the Vīs (cf Lat. *villa*) which was probably a clan. The Zantuma was over a tribe or district. The first artificial or politically contrived unit was that of the Dahvyuma (from *dahv, dadhv,* create). The greatest domain of all was that of the Zarathustra, an equally artificial creation. In this order the series begins with the Ahu (Sraoša) and Ratu (Rašnus) gods of Order (Ārstāt) and with the Pater patrum or High Priest of the cult and culminates with the gods of Victory and with the Sacrificing priests who would correspond to the Mithraic Pater sacrorum or Sacerdos. It was said that Ahura (the *Zaotar*) as the Ahu and Srōš as the Raspi (or Rathwiskar) would usher in the *fraškart* (cf 5 f 1.4), and these were the performing priests of Middle Persian ritual.

10.2. *Oriens* therefore was not the Invictus deus, but rather the Impeller or Begetter, which is implicit in the root of the word (from *ar-*, *ra-*, arouse, rise, strive for) which is that of *aša*. The Deus Invictus Mithras was the god of the early night sky, or the night sun or sun of autumn which must be victorious over darkness and water. He is the Fire in the Gētēh world who sees with many eyes and hears with many ears and mediates between evening and morning, between death and life of both body and soul (5 h).

11. The last group of inscriptions to be considered in connection with the Deus invictus has to do with Cautopates. In the Königshofen Mithraeum Cautopates was shown standing in a small shrine (*1347*), in the pediment of which was a bust of Luna with tauric

horns on her head and a whip in her hand. This monument was dedicated "In honor of the divine house for DEO INVICTO MITHRAE". The inference is that Cautopates is Mithra Invictus in the world of lunar growth and decay. An inscription from Britain (*836*) was to DEO M. C. P. S. I., which would be to Deus Mithras Cautopates Sol Invictus. On a stone from the vicinity of Rome (*639*) one reads, DEO SOLI ENVICTO MITHRE CAUTOPATI. . . . . and below, D. S. E. M. FLAVIUS. . . . . .AN XIII. . . . CUM OMNE. . . . . . .POSUERUNT. The dedication was apparently connected with the representation of a Cautopates but the whole sanctuary was included (*cum omne spelaeo* ?) in the gift of Flavius and a fellow dedicant to Deus Sol Invictus Mithras.

11.1. In the First Mithraeum of Carnuntum (*1664*) there were two altars inscribed to DEO INVICTO MITHRAE C. . . . . One of these showed Cautopates on the left face and Cautes on the right (*1670*), the other showed on both sides a Phrygian cap on a dagger (*1672*). The sky-cap on dagger may signify the creation of the world (11 e 2). The C. . . . may stand for either Cautes or Cautopates, although Cautes is not called invictus in any other inscription to my knowledge. Two other altars in this Mithraeum were dedicated to DEO INVICTO (*1675 1677*), still another (*1676*) to DEO INVICTO MITHRAE by Adlectus, a slave, for the GEN(ITORI) LUM(INIS), and lastly there was one to the PETRAE GENETRICI (*1674*). The Genitor of Light was the *Deus Invictus* and not the rising sun; he was Varhrān who kindled the fire in the hearth. This victorious fire is preserved by Srōš, the Zoroastrian parallel of Cautopates.

11.2. In the Esquiline Mithraeum Primus, the Pater, dedicated to G.P. (i.e., Gautopates) not only the tauroctone relief (*350*) but also a *Natura dei* (*353*) and a relief of Sol (*354*) who holds in his left hand a cosmic globe behind which there is a whip, while with his right hand he makes an open palm salute to the sky. The whip suggests the impelling force of fire in the material world, which is the world of generation suggested by the god's Birth from a spherical rock. The three reliefs emphasize the functions of Cautopates as god of the material world and also of the holy rites. Sol *Invictus* Mithras was the generative and regenerative power in the material world, while Sol *Oriens* was its ruling and ordering power, the former being the *ahu* and the latter the *ratu* power of Mithra as expressed in Cautopates and Cautes respectively. Rulership and Order arose out of Generation or creativity, hence it was said of Ohrmazd that his sovereignty arose with his creativity [59], and the garment which he created was the star-studded sky (Yas 30.5). Likewise it was said of the Spihr that it bestows good things as also lordship; lordship-sovereignty (*pātuxšāyīh*) promotes a fated (*baxtarīh*) return like husbandmen tilling the earth (*G. Bund.* 26.2). Lordship-sovereignty (cf *šatrapat*, satrap) is the equivalent of Avestan

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59) *G. Bund.* 1.19: *čē-s 'has dām-dahišnīh xvatāyīh 'būt.* The idea that sovereignty is a derivative from creative or generative powers has an interesting illustration in the throne of Demeter and Despoina at Lykosura, Paus., 8.37. Demeter sits on the throne at the left holding a torch in her right hand and resting her left hand on Despoina. The latter holds a *kistē*, the basket containing the holy objects, on her lap with her right hand, while her left hand holds a scepter. At the left end of the throne near Demeter stands Artemis the huntress, clad in the skin of a deer and holding in her hands a lamp and two dragons; at her feet lies a dog. At the right end of the throne stands Anytos, a Titan, in military armor. He was supposed to have reared Despoina, whereas Artemis as well as Despoina was taken to be the daughter of Demeter. On the base of the throne were carved both the Kuretes and the Korybantes (cf n 98, pt 5). From the spectator's left to right, therefore, the progression is from generation, symbolized by the torch of the Mother as also by Artemis with her snakes, lamp, and dog, to rulership which is not only implicit in the name Despoina, but is also emphasized by her scepter and her guardian in military dress. The progression for the gods, however, is from their right to left, sovereignty being the offspring of the Mother. But rulership also holds the mysteries of life in her lap and receives the blessing of the Great Mother, left-handed as it may be!

Likewise at Dura the Ahu of life is at the spectator's left and the Ratu at the right (6b3-4). When the early Christians spoke of Christ, the annointed, being seated *ek dexiōn* of great power or of god (*Psalm* 110.1), as in the Gospels (cf Mark 14.62) and Acts (7.55s), or when they thought of him, as the radiance of god's glory and the imprint of his substance, being seated *en dexiā* of the Greatness in the highest heavens (*Hebrews* 1.3), it is not clear whether the right is from the worshipper's viewpoint or is actually to the right of the highest god. As manifest glory, word, and world ruler (*Rev.* 1.4-8) he should be at the left of the Highest. *Ek dexiōn* should signify the right hand things of god out of which the offspring is enthroned, rather than that the offspring holds the place of honor on the right hand of the father. On the other hand, it must be noted that usually at the Trapeza Mithrou the Heliodromus, sometimes with radiate crown, reclines to Mithra's right (9b6-7, 9-10), the most conspicuous exception being shown on the Trier plate (*988*).

ahum ratumča, or Hvarenō-Kšathrō. Hvarenō as Manly strength and Victory was *verethraghnem* or *invictus*.

11.3. In the Third Mithraeum of Poetovio the top fragment of a monument (*1581*) was found which the dedicant "elevated in the manner of the sun in honor of Cautes and Cautopates". Unfortunately the figured representation is missing. A niche over the right hand bench of the Mithraeum of the Baths of Caracalla (*457*) showed a fresco (*459*) figure of Mithra type holding a very large blue globe in his left hand; the right hand was extended over an altar or mound of rocks above which there was something green. This could be Cautes who was identified with the sky-globe in particular (cf 3 h) and who also occupied the right bench of the Mithraeum (3 i). Cautes should be the ascending solar fire that impels the world of generation, whereas Cautopates should be the embodiment of solar fire in materiality. It should be remembered that these twins, though opposite in function, were also complementary activities of Mithra himself (cf 5 h 1). In the same Mithraeum was a small *cippus* (*463*), cited above (6 h 7.1), that was inscribed to Zeus Helios, the Mighty Serapis, Savior, Giver of Wealth, Hearer and Benefactor. On the front of this same monument was a Greek inscription which reads, EIS ZEUS MITRAS HELIOS KOSMOKRATOR ANEIKĒTOS. Mithras was later erased and SARAPIS was written over it [60]. Here Mithra Serapis as the Sun and Kosmokrator in the lower material world is also the One Zeus, or the God who is one in the immaterial world of essential Being. In the phenomenal world the One becomes threefold, or the Many (n 6, pt 3), and it is in the world of multiplicity that the One in various manifestations or incarnations is the Deus Invictus (11 e 3.1).

Mithra tauroctonos as the younger god is the sign or manifestation of the First and Incomprehensible God (n 98, pt 5; cf 2 b 8), as the inscription on a tauroctone relief from Ostia (*310-311*) suggests, for it is called a SIGNUM INDEPREHENSIVILIS DEI. Mithra Mesotēs is the Second or younger Helios. C. Valerius Heracles, who dedicated the *signum* of the Incomprehensible God, also calls himself the Pater and Antistes of the DEI IUBENIS INCORRUPTI SOLIS INVICTI MITHRAE (*315*). The incorruptible and visible

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60) F. Cumont, *Les rels. orient.*, 4ed., p 79, fig 5.

Sun is the child (Pais=iuvenis) of the invisible Sky (5 f 1), which is an infinite One of Ahu and Ratu powers.

i. The distinction or relationship between Mithra and Sol is expressed in several inscriptions. In the Mithraeum of ancient Aquincum there were two dedications, one to DEO INVICTO MITHRAE (*1792*) and the other to SOLI SOCIO (*1793*). An inscription from Eisack in North Italy (*730*) was to DEO INVICTO MITHRAE ET SOLI SOCIO in memory of the dedicant's father. In Britain (*876*) the tribune of a cohort, together with his fellow saints (*consacraneis*), discharged a vow for the safety and unharmed condition of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus by erecting a building at his own expense and dedicating it to DEO INVICTO SOLI SOCIO. With these we may compare an inscription from Interamna in North Italy (*672*) which reads, SOLI INVICTO COMITI AUG N.; "To Sol *Invictus*, Companion of our Emperor". In these inscriptions the sun is clearly distinct from Augustus or the Invictus Mithra, although an associate.

1. Although the common associate of Mithra in the mysteries was the sun, due to the penetration of solar cults from Syria into the West, the Avestan associate of Mithra of the many eyes and ears was Verethraghna, the Victorious, who accompanied him in his world circuits and crushed all resistance (cf Yt 10.70). This divinity was represented by the Graeco-oriental Herakles, who is shown on an altar in the Mithraeum of Kumanovo (*2207*). This was dedicated to DEO INVICTO for the safety of the Emperors (A.D. 211) and to commemorate the restoration of the sanctuary ruined by age. It showed on one side Herakles slaying the Nemean Lion and on the other his large club, the ancient weapon of Mithra-Verethraghna (cf 6 a 3). Herakles was an inadequate Graeco-Roman interpretation of the Persian Artagnes or Avestan Verethraghna. The Scythian Ares-Artagnes, as we have seen (4 g 7), was a dagger god whose embodiment was not only in the dagger blade but also in the world mountain represented by the mound of brush wood. The Tyrian Herakles-Melkarth (cf MLK, king) was represented in a star covered garment (*astrochiton*) [61], thus indicating a connection

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61) Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 40.367ss; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, p 893s; cf *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, 164 1963, 156s.

with the powers of the starry sky. In Mithraic iconography he is the Deus genitor of dagger and sky mountain (12 a 6; esp *1247**).

1.1. The dedication on the great altar of Carnuntum (*1697*) was to the D.S.I.M. FAUTORI IMPERII SUI JOVII ET HERCULII RELIGIOSIMI AUGUSTI ET CAESARES SACRARIUM RESTITUERUNT. On the left side of the altar was Cautes with three ears of wheat in his lowered left hand, and on the right side was Cautopates. Diocletian and his associate rulers saw in the Invictus Mithra the Favorer of their imperium whose twofold aspects were Jupiter and Hercules. Here the Fautor imperii would be the equivalent of the Savior, Wealth-giver, Hearer and Benefactor of the Roman inscriptions (6 h 7.1). These were the powers of an Ahu and Ratu, or a Jupiter and Herakles.

2. The name of the god Verethraghna emphasizes his power to "destroy opposition", or to a slay (*ghna*) the foe, and has a parallel in Mithrakana. *Kana* is a variant of *ghan* (Ved, *han*, O.P. *jan*), but Mithrakana seems to refer to a "Mithra-slaughter" rather than to a "Mithra-slayer", and to have been connected with horses rather than with cattle. The Mihr month in Armenia was called Mehrkan, and the sixteenth of this month was called Mihrgan in various parts of Islamic Iran [62]. Mithrakana rites were apparently observed in Persia of the Achaemenids, for Strabo says (11.14.9) that the satrap of Armenia sent twenty thousand foals to the Persian King for its celebration. It is not explicitly said that these were sacrificed, but since no other purpose is stated that would be the inference, especially since *kan-* or *gan-* means to kill.

2.1. According to Pausanias (3.20.4) the Persians sacrificed horses to Helios. By Persians he may mean the ruling Parthians of his own time, and by Helios he may mean Mithra, for by the first century after Christ the Persians called the sun Mithra. Pausanias goes on to say that a group of Laconians also sacrificed horses to Helios on the highest peak of Taygetus, called Taleton (=Helios) [63]. In the plain below this peak, he says, there was a shrine of Messapian Zeus. This is of interest because the Messapians were connected with both Illyria and South Italy where sacrifice

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62) Will, op cit (pt 4, n 28), p 157.

63) Talos is a form of Helios, cf Schachermeyer, op cit (n 13), p 132, n 42.

of horses took place. The Sallentians of Calabria burned a living horse to a god called Menzana,[64] and the Illyrians sacrificed horses to a god corresponding to Saturn-Neptune by sending a quadriga into the sea; a similar rite was performed by the Rhodians. When Tigranes was making a struggle for the throne of Parthia he sacrificed a horse to the River Euphrates (Tacitus, *Ann.*, 6.37).

The god of the waters to whom these horses were sacrificed would seem to be akin not only to Hippios Poseidon but also to the "Swift-horsed Ahura Apām Napāt, who seized the expanding Hvarenō, or solar fire, in the Kaša, the world sea. Not only did Tyndareus, father of the Dioscuri, make the suitors of the egg-born Helen swear by the entrails of a sacrificed horse, but in the Spartan shrine of the Dioscuri youths sacrificed to the God of War, who would be an Ares-Verethraghna (Paus., 20. 2 and 9). These Twins were inseparably connected both with horses and with lightning storms at sea, and were *anaktes* (Rulers) like Poseidon (5 h 3.2).

2.2. Close neighbors of the Illyrians were the Veneti or Heneti who raised the famous Enetian horses. They sacrificed a white horse to Diomedes (Strabo, 5.1.9), the mythical Thracian whose man-eating and fire-breathing horses had to be captured by Herakles. The Veneti came from the eastern world where horse culture was emphasized (Strabo, 4.4.1; 5.1.4). In Parthia the Nisaean horses were famous, and white ones were sacrificed to the King, a rite which continued down to the time of the Great Khan [65]. The Massagetae, located to the north of the Parthians, worshipped Helios as their only god, to whom, according to Herodotus (1.212, 216), they sacrificed horses. In these sacrifices they "divided among themselves the swiftest of all creatures for the swiftest of all gods". The dividing of the horse was a communion rite by which the swiftness of the horse (cf 6 c) could be acquired by eating its parts, probably while still warm with life.

2.3. The slaughter of horses in great numbers was the perrogative of kings and heroes and not of an ordinary cult group. So in the *Avesta* the Shining Yima offered on the summit of Hukairya

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64) Ibid p 94s, 132s.

65) B. P. Lozinski, *The Original Homeland of the Parthians*, New Haven, 1959, pp 41-48.

(= Hara Bereza) a hundred male horses in order to obtain abundance of increase for the earth, an objective granted by Dravāspa ("who keeps horses") or by Ardvi Sūra Anāhita, goddess of pure waters whose chariot was drawn by white horses (Yt 5.25; 11.13; 9.8; 15.15). Similar sacrifices were made by Thraētaona in the Square Varena, by Hušravah behind the salt lake Kaēkasta, and by Kavi Vīstāspa behind the River Dāitya, each for victory over a powerful foe, or *div* of drought (Yt 9.13, 21, 29). These heroes, involved in the creation of the world order, were offspring of Haoma and possessors of Hvarenō (cf 6 h 5).

In ancient Rome at the close of the war season an October-horse was sacrificed in the Campus Martius, and was followed by a contest for kingship between opposing youth groups. The victory was obtained by carrying away the severed head of the horse [66]. It has already been observed that the Scythians sacrificed horses to the dagger-god Ares (4 g 7). According to Strabo (3.3.7) the Lusitanian mountaineers sacrificed to Ares not only horses and prisoners but also a ram. The primary purpose of these sacrifices was to insure Victory and Leadership.

3. There is evidence that Mithrakana rites were celebrated in Phrygia. According to inscriptions from Amorium (*22*) certain mystae of the tribe of Zeus had honored a young woman by the name of Kyrilla, who had died untimely, with a *herōon* at which they and their relatives and dependants assembled for worship each year on the "customary Mithrakana days". This apparently led to the damage of a vineyard through which the worshippers came for the ceremonies. Hence, Antipatros Secundus, also called Gaius, the father of Kyrilla, purchased the vineyard and gave it to the mystae to be used in any way they wished so long as the grapes were used in the honoring of his daughter. The text says that the mystae "were pleased that they could use an approach from their homes when each year on the customary days for the *Mithrakanois* they PROSTA[PH]IAZ[ONTES]". This was emended by Louis Robert to *prosphagiazontes*, which would make it certain that the mystae "cut the throat" of victims for the Mithrakana.

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66) W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp 241-250; F. Altheim, *Roman Religion*, p 147; G. Dumézil, *Rituels indo-européens à Rome*, p 76.

Against this emendation, however, is not only a readable -*sta*- but also the fact that the inscription has to do with the difficulties caused by the misuse of an adjacent vineyard, through which there was a short-cut (*prosodon*), and not with the specific rites performed on the Mithrakana days. *Prostaphiazontes* would have to do with the carrying of bunches of grapes for the rites of the *herōon*. In using the approach through the vineyard the mystae were causing damage if not making unwarranted use of the grapes from the owner's viewpoint. Consequently the vineyard was purchased by the child's father, a man of social standing, as inferred from his partly Romanized name, so that the grapes might be used in the grave cult. The form *prostaphiazo* does not appear elsewhere, but in the leadership contests of Apollo Karneios the contesting youths ran a *staphylodromos* race, with which one may compare the *eiresione* contests in the Theseus games in Athens.

The time of the Mithrakana coincided with the grape harvest, for the Mithra month was the seventh from the spring equinox (2 d 3). According to the Persian Albiruni [67], "The Persian theologians. . . . . . .consider Mihrjan as a sign of the resurrection and of the end of the world, because at Mihrjan that which grows reaches its perfection and has no more material for further growth, and because animals cease from sexual intercourse". The celebration of heroine rites on the Mithrakana days was quite likely because these Mithrakana rites were primarily hero rites whose proper time was that of the autumn or unconquered sun.

3.1. The use of grapes is also connected with Mithra's slaughter of the bull. The large Heddernheim relief (*1083**) shows on its reverse side Mithra and Sol standing behind the prostrate bull while Mithra directs Sol to lay a bunch of grapes on the bull's back. While engaged in this ceremony Sol, or the initiate in the regalia of Sol (cf 9 a 16), is clad in solar mantle and holds the solar whip. The crown of sovereignty still surrounds a Phrygian cap which rests on the haft of an upright sword standing in the background between the two communicants. On the Rückingen relief (*1137**) the crown rests on the haft of a long sword standing in the right background. The whip indicates that the communicant acquires the impelling

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67) Cumont, *MMM* I, p 188, n 6, from Sachau, p 208, 1.39.

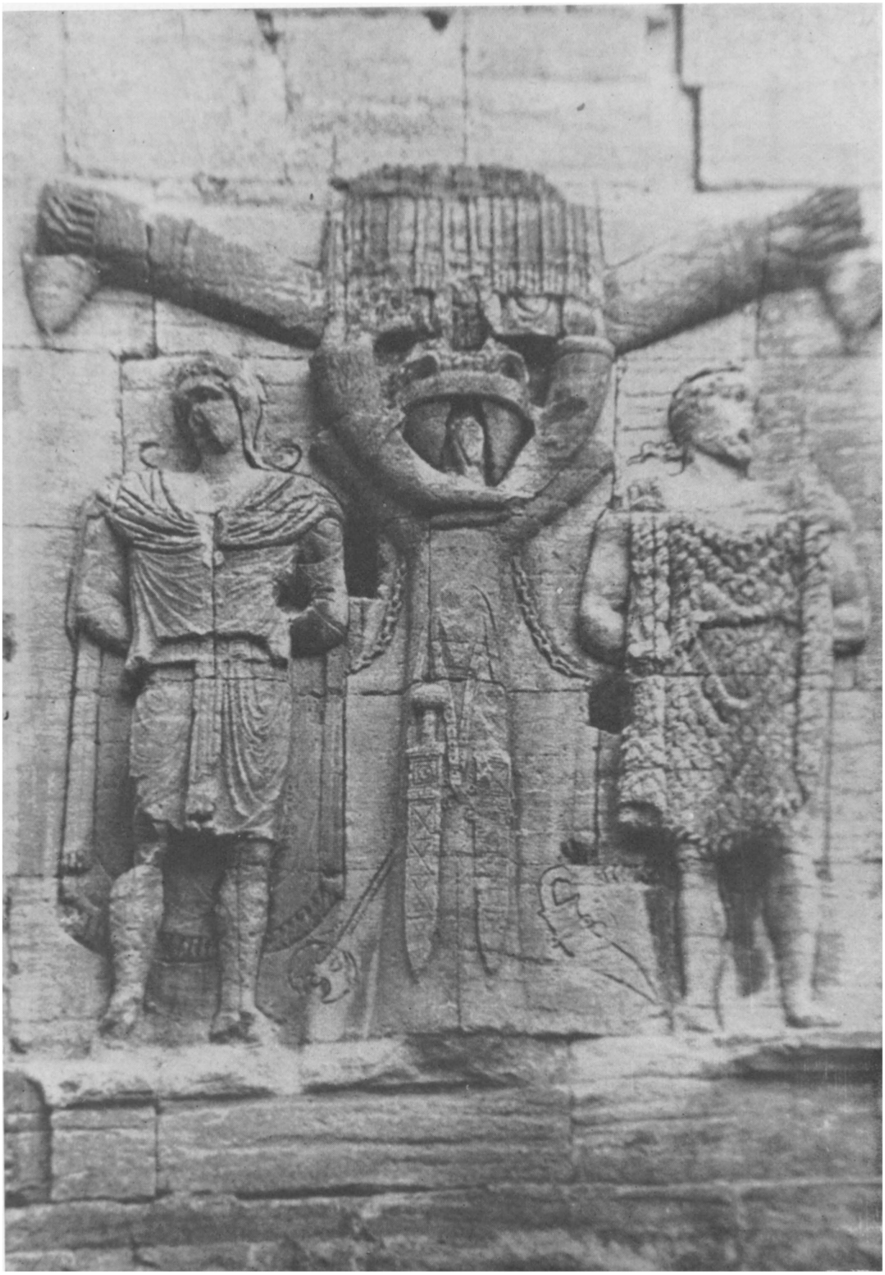

Fig. 14. Carpentras. Relief on Roman Gate (6 j).

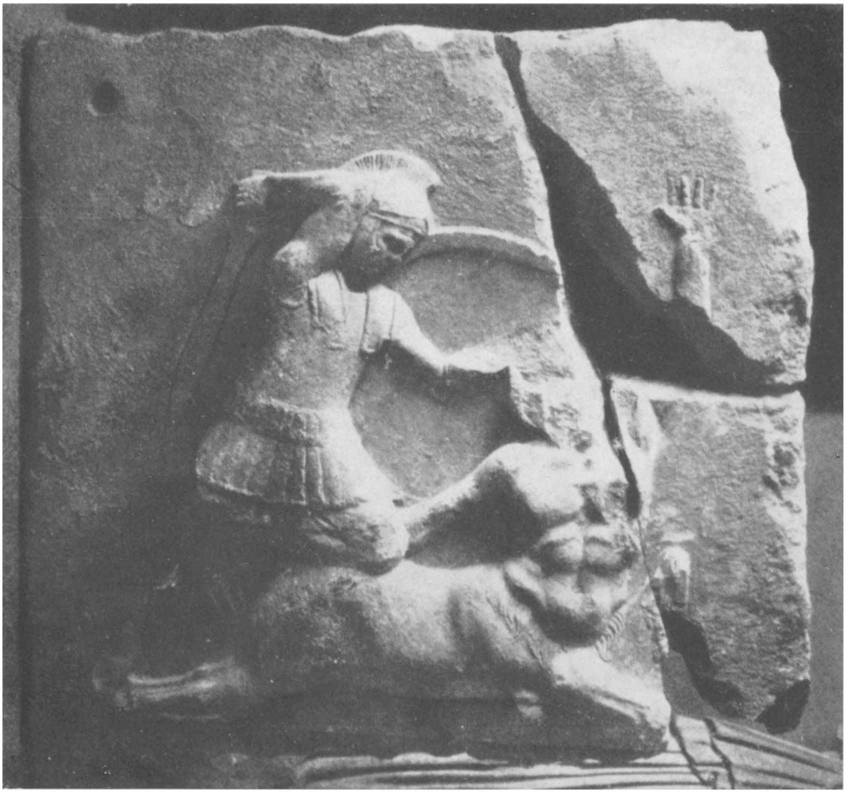

Fig. 15. Heroon of Belevi. Lapith killing Centaur (Pt 7, n 1).

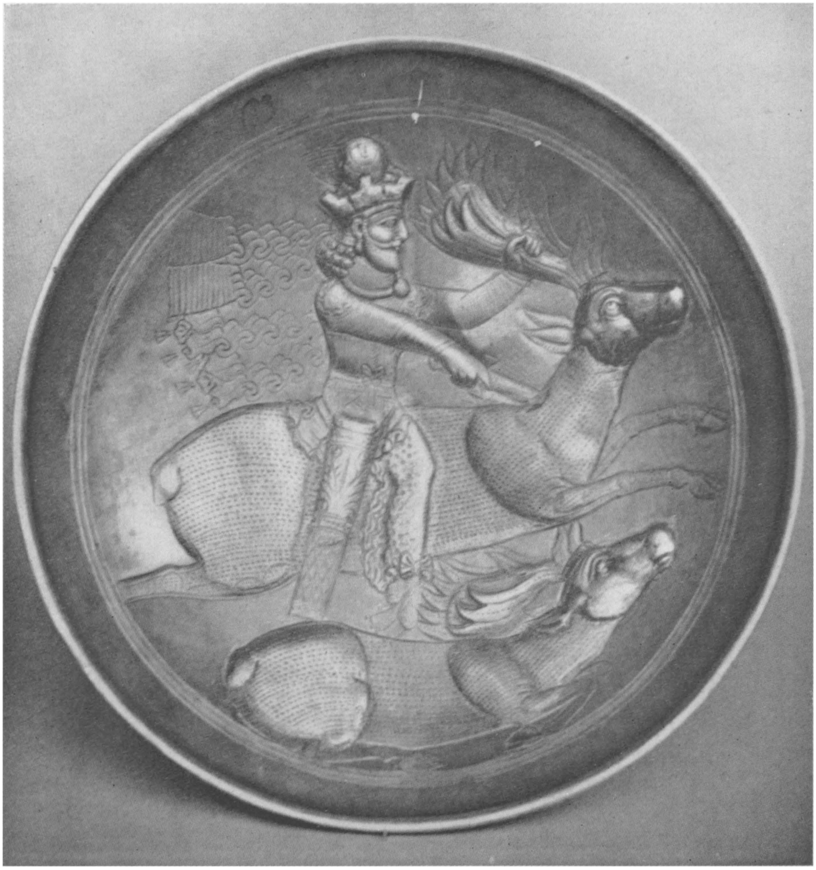

Fig. 16. Shapor II killing a Stag (Pt 7, n 3).

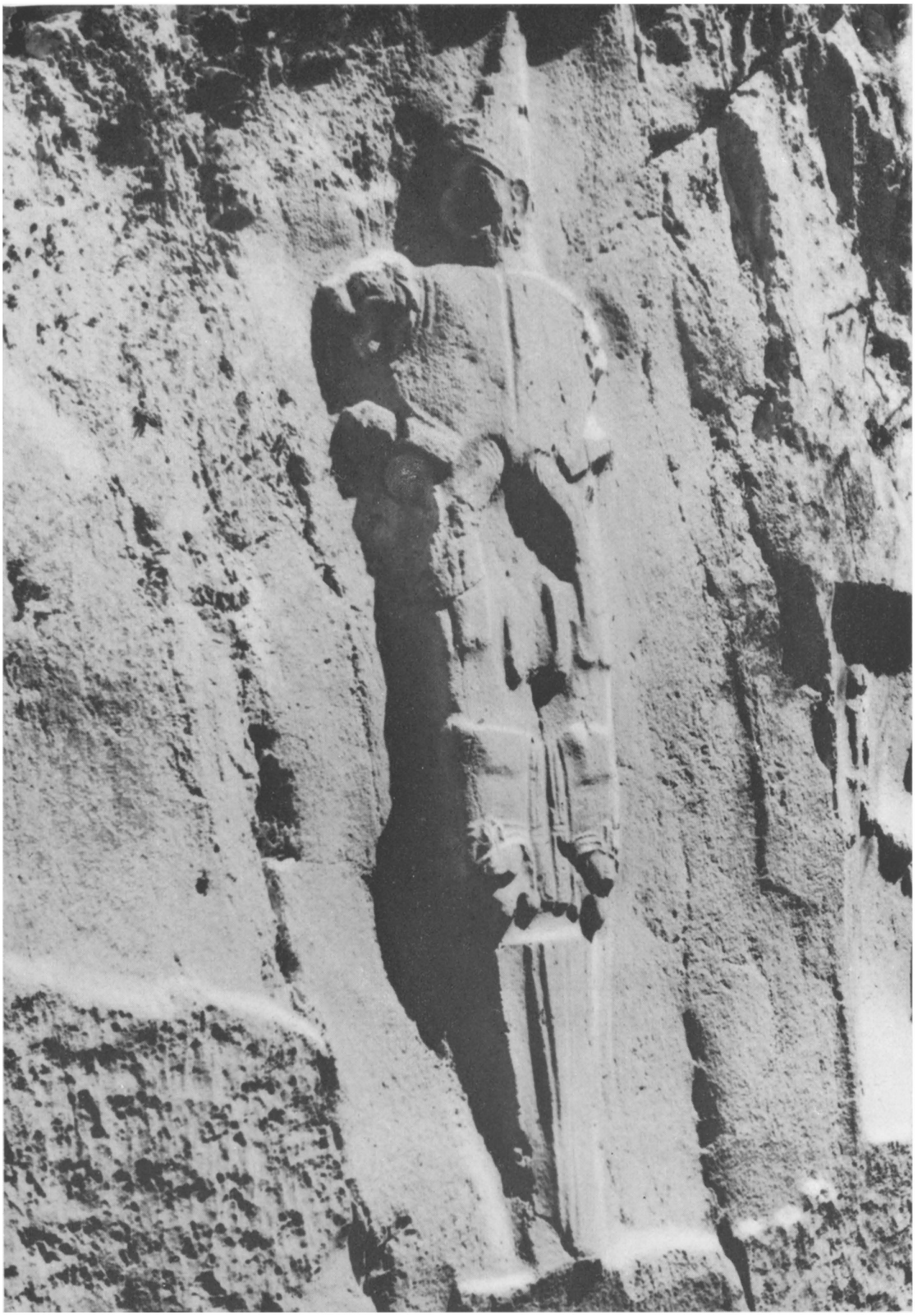

Fig. 17. Yasilikaya. Lion- and Dagger-God (5 f 8).

power of the sun before he acquires its sovereign power. The placing of the grapes on the back of the bull is of great importance since the whole composition of the picture is centered upon this action. The grape may be considered as the embodiment of "sky-fire", a significance which is used by Porphyrius (*De antro*, 13-14) when he insists that urns of fired clay were more suitable to Dionysus and the "gift of the grape" than stone bowls, because the grape is ripened by "uranian fire". Stone amphoras, by contrast, were suitable to water nymphs who preside over souls going into birth and embodied activity.

The Amorium inscriptions have to do with the use of grapes at a *herōon*[68]. These were apparently used in mystery rites by the members

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[68] An epigram from the tomb of a girl by the name of Isidora, found at Hermoupolis, the necropolis of Touna where the tomb of Petosiris was found, cf *Rev. Arch.*, 14 1939, p 81s; P. Graindor, in *Bull. Inst. fr. d'arch. orientale*, 32 1932, 97-119, pls 1-6, is translated by Graindor in French. In English it runs as follows: "In the future, I (the father ?) shall bring no more sacrifices, O my daughter, while weeping, because I know that you have become a goddess. I celebrate with libations and prayers, Isidora, the Nymph whom the Nymphs have snatched away. Hail to you, O my daughter, Nymph is your name, and the Seasons pour for you the libations of Isis each year: Winter white milk and olive oil, and it wreathes you with the narcissus as a tender flower. Spring sends you the natural product of the bee, and rose buds, a flower friendly to the skin (*xrōti philon*), and Summer, a cup of new wine and a wreath of grape clusters, clusters from which it has stripped the branches. There they are for you: these sacrifices are all offered to you each year. Your ritual is an ordinance from Immortals (*tethmos ap' athanatois*). And that is why, O my daughter, I shall bring you no more sacrifices with weeping."

It must be observed that summer and autumn are not separated as two seasons, so that the grape clusters made into a crown should belong to the autumn, whereas the new wine comes from the harvest of the previous autumn. In Athens the tasting of the new wine was the second day's ceremony of the Anthesteria festival in the spring. In the heroine rites above it marked the beginning of the summer-autumn season. The deification of the New Nymph may be considered in connection with the New Nymphos in the Mithraic mysteries (9 a 12). In Zoroastrianism, and perhaps also in Mithraism, deification of the true believer was implicit in the doctrine that every believer was a savior=*sōšyans* (7 f 3; 9 a 4.1).

Lastly it must be observed that in the calendar of festivities for each day of the month, on the day of the Creator as Mithra (Dadhv-pat-Mihr) one was to wash his head and trim his hair and nails, as also on the day of Dadhv-pat-Ātur (Fire), but in addition he was to pick grapes and press them. On the Mihr day itself he was to ask justice before Mihr, if wronged, whereas on the day of Rām, the erotic wind and companion of Mithra (5 j 1.1), one of the heroine's tribe. It is possible that these were not merely hero rites for ordinary benefactions but perhaps also for a promise of future life. If so, they would be particularly appropriate at the Mithrakana if in the latter there was a "sign of the resurrection". The use of grapes in such rites would also be appropriate, because in the grape was the God who "conveys life to men" (6 h 3.2).

4. A Phrygian bilingual text[69] mentions a Mithraphata. It runs as follows:

> e. . . . . . . .iōnioumenos
> nioisios nadratos
> eitou Mitraphata
> ke Mas Temroga-
> ios ke Pountas
> Bas ke Enstarn [a
> doumō ke oiouō-
> ban addaketor ou-
> an.

Then follows the Greek text which says, "I, the Pater Asklepios, have set up the memorial to the aforementioned gods and to this village". The words *eitou,* "let it be", and *adaket,* "he does" or "makes", appear in curse formulae[70]. If *addaketor* is a passive of *adaket,* then the inscription seems to say, "Let the (memorial as described) be for the Mitraphata. It has been made for Mas Temrogaios, Pountas Bas, the Enstarna community (*doumō*) and for this village (*ouan*)". Since Asklepios calls himself a Pater, he could have been a Father in the Mithraic mysteries. If so, the mention of a Mitraphata is of importance. The ending *-phata* could be the Phrygian cognate of Greek *sphazo,* Attic *sphatto,* "slay by cutting the throat", which is the way Mithra slays the bull.

was to enjoy his wife as well as to seek justice from the judges in order to be acquitted and victorious. It appears, therefore, that Mithra was closely associated with grapes or *haoma* (cf 5 h 5.1s) as well as with *aša,* or the *mithrem* (5c4; 7f4), and with the generative Wind (Rāma Hvastra).

[69] S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran,* p 5; *Ath. Mitt.,* 23, 362; *JHS,* 31 1911, 186s. See now Otto Haas, *Die phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler,* Sofia, 1966, p 97s, cf p 68, for revised text and translation (*Phata* = M.P. *Xvatāy,* for Ahura).

[70] Ramsay, op cit (n 32), p 52, no 34.

However, the dedication of a memorial for a Mithra-slaughter, even by a Pater of the Mithraic mysteries, would not in itself prove that horses were killed in the mystery rites as ordinarily observed. In the iconography of the mysteries the slaughter of a bull for the observance of the holy communion is indicated, as at Dura (Fig. 25), whereas that of horses is not, nor to my knowledge have the bones of horses been found among the bone deposits in the Mithraea. Exceptions which may have escaped my attention would scarcely be sufficient to show that Mithra of the mysteries was also an hippoctonos god.

5. The mounting of a god on horseback indicates that the god is victorious, or that victory is impending. The entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on the back of a colt was taken to be the sign of his triumph and coming kingship. This has nothing to do with the sacrificing of horses as in the solar cult of the Massagetae. The mounting of a horse was a later version of mounting a chariot, which Mithra does in the culture of the *Mihr Yašt* and also on the tauroctone reliefs (9 c 1). So also did ancient kings and heroes. Even a victor at the Olympic games was hailed as King Herakles and was drawn into his home town on a quadriga like a conquering Zeus-Jupiter or Roman Imperator.

In Mithraic iconography Mithra rides the bull as well as the horse. Generally in Southeast Europe the bull and rider make a static symbol (8 c 2), whereas in the Rhineland the riding is a furious contest between the bull and the rider, and is a prelude to the capture and slaughter of the bull (7 d 1). The slaying of the bull is far more ancient in ideology than that of riding the bull, horse or chariot, for the god of the mysteries was an ancient cattle thief or bull slayer rather than a god of horses (cf 6 a 4). The iconography of the bull-riding was apparently inspired by the introduction of the horseman motive.

5.1. A god standing on the back of a bull or other animal is of a distinctly different origin and significance than that of a god riding on the animal's back. Such motives were especially ancient in the religious imagery of Western Asia. In such an iconography the god is very probably an anthropomorphic evolution from the animal form. Jupiter Dolichenus with his sky-axe in hand, for example, may be the anthropoid successor of the Bull of Heaven as the generator and sovereign of the world, a conception which is emphasized by the world globe in the hand of Mithra who stands like Jupiter Dolichenus on the back of the bull (*334*). This is a symbol of sovereignty (Kšathrō) more than of Manly Force and Victory (Hvarenō). Sovereignty is a product of Hvarenō and both are gifts of Mithra (Yt 10.16). Consequently the Heliodromus initiate receives the Kšathrō crown of Mithra *sub gladio*, or as the achievement of the sword, after first having been invested with the Hvarenō power of the uranian robe and solar whip (9 a 13, 16).

j. An Indo-European conception of Sovereignty, or Imperium, that is founded on productive and victorious powers is to be seen in a Gallic "trophy" of Carpentras[71]. The monument is in the form of an arched gateway to the ancient town. On one of the outer walls of the gateway a complex symbol of Imperium romanum is shown in high relief. The overall impression is that of a generally human figure to which two prisoners are chained, a German on one side and an Armenian on the other. The lower part of the figure is in the form of a tall slender trunk, like that of an archaic Greek female statue. Two sheathed swords are suspended on the front of this trunk, the top of which branches out in two stump-like arms which form an open U. The chest of the figure rests within these supports. It is outlined by two large cornucopias, having their small ends downward, which rest within and against the supporting arms of the U so as to form a still larger U above the lower arms. Resting across the top of the cornucopias is a structure that suggests the battlements of a round fortified castle. Projecting far outward from each side of this castle are huge arms which extend over the heads of the prisoners and end in many-fingered hands. Each hand

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71) H. Schoppa, *L'art romain dans les Gauls et Germanie et dans les isles britanniques*, pls 12 (= Fig. 14) and 13; E. Espérandieu, *Rec. gén.*, I, p 178ss, no 243; Marcel Pobé and Jean Roubier, *The Art of Roman Gaul*, pl 104.

In connection with the symbolism of this monument it may be noted that according to the *Dēnkart* (M p 231.13) the productivity of the world takes place by virtue of the government of the world, but the government of the world is dependent upon the productivity of the world, and both come from a primeval source like the productivity of Vaikart and the sovereignty of Hōšeng.

holds suspended upside down a half-egg shaped Dioscurus cap. The U-shaped space enclosed by the two cornucopias and the castle-like structure above is occupied by what looks like a winged crown resting over the top half of an egg that is divided vertically. I am unable to define the object shown between the two halves of the egg, though its general shape is that of a standing figure. Originally above the castle walls which suggest the chest and shoulders of a man there must have been something that would resemble the neck and head of a human being; this space is now empty.

The overall conception of this figure is not unlike that of the central figure on the Luristan silver relief (Fig. 8) of a thousand years before (5 f 8). There however the emphasis was upon productivity; here it is upon sovereignty. The Armenian from the orient and the German from the occident are both chained to Empire but by bonds well in the background; each looks away toward his homeland while his weapon falls toward the ground near the supporting trunk on which swords are hung up like offerings to Empire. The crown and egg are bound by a large ring on each side to the cornucopias that frame them. The outstretched arms not only protect the captive peoples of the world, suggested by the two prisoners of remote peoples, but at the same time uphold the two halves of the world suggested by the cosmic caps held by the many fingered hands. All of this rests on the horns of plenty which enclose cosmic order and sovereignty to which plenty is bound with rings. Abundance of prosperity in turn rests upon the trunk of Empire.

The iconography here is scarcely classical; it is inspired by an Indo-European ideology of the Cosmic Man which long before found varying expressions in the Vedic Yama, Purusa, or Manu, the Iranian Yima or Gaya Maretan, or the Norse Ymir. A similar conception is found in the Mesopotamian God of the World Mountain (Fig. 9).

1. The Indo-European outlook differed from that of classical Greece in one most important respect: its emphasis was dynamic rather than morphic. The dynamistic view emphasizes powers of various kinds which may be manifested in many different bodies and forms, while the morphic tends to limit a power to the character-

istic form or body in which it is most commonly manifested. This leads to a morphic conception of divinity not only in animal and human form but in a particular type of animal or human.

Bodily and personal traits of classical Greek gods tend to become as individualized as old friends and neighbors, whereas in Indo-Iranian religion the dynamistic divinities scarcely ever take on individual forms or strong bodily characteristics other than those of speech and movement, which are in reality impersonal and universal characteristics of divinity. This dynamistic conception of divinity makes various kinds of manifestation or incarnation as natural as the breathing of divine air or the drinking of divine water by all kinds of creatures. In this type of thought gods of Fire and Water, or of Victory and Fortune, can be quite naturally conceived, for the dynamic quality is more real than any human or other morphic characteristic.

2. In such an environment one is prepared to find the magos, shaman or other divinely inspired teacher whose life experiences defy the ordinary laws of a morphic world. Such were Zalmoxis of the Getae, Aristeas of Proconnesus, or the mythical Orpheus. Likewise Zarathustra converses intimately, and yet impersonally, with Ahura Mazda himself. The relationship between god and prophet is dynamistic rather than anthropomorphic, so much so that there is no sharp division between the human and the divine. Likewise in the mysteries of Mithra, the great god of all-pervading Fire is portrayed in many different functions and manifestations. Even in the iconography of the Trapeza Mithrou, for example, it is far from clear whether the communicants are Mithra and Sol or the Pater and an initiate clothed in the regalia of the sun (cf 9 b 11).

In a dynamistic rather than a morphic view of god the divine power may be supramundane, or a *mēnōk* activity, in one aspect, but in another, and perhaps simultaneously, a *gētēh*, or materialistically immanent, activity. The invisible Hvarenō of a *summus deus* may also manifest its existence as the Kšathrō power of a *deus invictus*.

PART SEVEN

MITHRA TAUROCTONOS

Mithra mounted on the bull's back with dagger in hand to slay it is quite different from a Dolichenus standing on the bull's back with a double axe in hand, for the Mithra motive is related to that of a hero or Greek Nike slaying an animal [1]. This has a nearer parallel in a god standing with one foot on an animal's head or a mounted Sassanian king crushing an enemy under the feet of his horse. These are inspired by the idea of victory over a foe. The eastern version of the Mithra bull-slaying is portrayed as the culmination of an heroic contest between the god and the bull, a contest such as Theseus might have had with the Marathonian bull or Herakles with the Centaur, or a mythical Keresāspa with the Ganderewa of the waters [2]. In the latter instance the purpose of the conflict was to stop the over-flooding of the World Sea.

I have already indicated the increasing emphasis upon this contest in the different subtypes of tauroctone (*Typology*, III). In the A and B subtypes there is no contest, the whole emphasis being upon a ritual death of the bull or upon Mithra as a priestly sacrificer (cf *11 12 230 2171* 2245 2001*). In the D and E subtypes, by contrast, the bull and Mithra are not only engaged in a contest of strength (cf *37* 88*) but in the E subtype Mithra would be carried away by the bull if it were not for his dagger which he plunges into the bull's neck in a fatal stab while the bull gallops at full speed (cf *71 607 1275*). In a similar fashion a Sassanian king rides astride a stag while he plunges a dagger into its throat [3]. Instead of a radiate cap like that of Mithra (pt 6) he wears a royal crown in which the cosmic globe rests (cf 5 b 2; 6 f; Fig. 16).

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[1] F. Saxl, *Mithras*, ch. 1; E. Will, op cit (pt 6, n 62), pp 170ss.

[2] G. Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*, p 35, connects the Gandharva with the Centaur as a linguistic cognate. The equine Centaur-Gandharva may have been the evil counterpart (6 h 4.2) of the "swift-horsed" Napāt Apām (5 f 1), the Asura of life (5 h 3.3), who had to be subdued by Herakles-Keresāspa. The Lapith killing the Centaur is stylistically similar to the AB tauroctone. See Fig. 15 (= *JAOI*, 29 1934-5, Beibl., 125s, fig 48).

[3] O. M. Dalton, *Treasures of the Oxus*, no 206, pl 26.

While a Deus Invictus mounted on horseback would appeal especially to initiates who were themselves *equites* in the Roman auxiliary forces, the Mithraic mysteries were centered primarily in a cult of Mithra tauroctonos. A Mithra who showed himself to be Invictus in a life and death struggle with the bull however would appeal to the ordinary soldier of the legions. The emphasis upon Mithra as a Deus Invictus may have been intensified by the the increase in military membership, an emphasis that is marked when soldiers of the Syrian legions rebuilt the Dura Mithraeum. The Mithra of the Palmyrene archers had been simply the "God" or the "God Mithra", and not Mithra Sol Invictus (cf 6 a).

a. The Demiurge and Despot of Genesis. In the tauroctonos ride on the back of the bull, according to the passage cited from Porphyrius (4 f), the bull is a Demiurge and Despot of Genesis. A despot should be essentially an Ahu of life-force, and a demiurge a Ratu of creativity and ordering. The bull as moisture was essentially generative and Mithra as fire was essentially ordering.

1. According to a passage on Persian religion in Hippolytus (*Ref. om. haer.*, 4.43) heat and *pneuma* were considered to be the celestial (*mēnōk*) elements, moisture and cold the terrestrial (*gētēh*). Of the former dry and hot fire was considered to be masculine, while warm and moist *pneuma* was taken to be feminine; of the latter water was taken to be masculine and the cold earth feminine. The most divine of these was *pneuma*. The latter would be the substance of the Avestan Hvarenō. We have already found (1 e) that the male element of fire was represented as a Cattle Thief, while the female element, which must be the warm and moist *pneuma*, was represented as a triform snake goddess, the snake being pneumatic (2 b 8).

2. The ancient Bull of Heaven, perhaps of bi-sexual powers, was apparently conceived to be the source of moisture having generative powers[4]. This bull survives in the Luna-Aphrodite

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[4] In Greek *oūros* (Lat. *ūrus*) was a wild bull, while the *bous ouros* was like the Latin *bos primigenius* (*Anthol. gr.*, 6.332), the primeval bull of life, which would correspond to the oriental Bull of Heaven. His life giving water

bull which Mithra steals from the sky temple or cave and rides over the celestial ocean. Its triform powers are indicated by the triple stocks of wheat that grow from its tail or wound (*593*), or by the triple headed snake that licks its blood (Fig. 3). The reason why the Bull or Pneuma is the most divine element is that as the demiurgic stuff of the world it produced the male fire itself. In like manner Ahura Napāt Apām was both the Grandson of the Waters and Lord of the female Waters (cf 6 f 1).

3. As sovereign power is produced by the generative, so the

(*oúron*, urine, *orós*, semen, vital liquid) was carried in the stormy wind (*oúros*, *Il.*, 14.19=*boreas*, the north wind that generates, 5 f 7.2). *Ouros* is also the fair wind that comes from the lofty sky (*ouranos*, from *horos*+*anō*, the boundary above, according to Aristotle, *Mu.*, 400A7), which is a mountain (*oureos*, *orevos*, *oros*, *orongkos* from *ore-*, lofty, and *ongk-*, mass, peak, angle) that encloses and guards the world (*oūron*, *oūros*, *orvós*, *horos*, boundary or limit, and *oūros*, watcher, guard=Avestan *haurvaiti*, *haraiti*, watches). The Homeric Olympos from which the gods watch the affairs of men was in part the Ouranian mountain which corresponds to the Avestan Hara berezaiti or bereza, the lofty-high, a heavenly Elborz. These are also akin to the Varena or Vara, the heavenly enclosure of Yima, the cosmic man (5c, f6), which in turn is related to Varuna, god of the enclosing sky, particularly as a source of water (5 h 3).

In all these derivitives there is a basic Indo-European root *'var* (*svar-*, *hvar-*, *var-*) denoting something lofty, visible and overseeing or ruling, which appears in Vedic-Avestan *svar-hvar* (cf 6 g 3) and also in Avestan *hara*, *bere*zaiti, *var*ena, high, high enclosure, in Phrygian *oura-*, *orou*, lofty (cf Ramsay, op cit, pt 6, n 32, p 32), in Greek *oure-*, *orve-*, *ore-* (*ōre-*), lofty, overlooking, enclosing. It is very probable that *olu-* in Olympos is a variant or *orve-* and survives in *lopha*, husk, shell, high swelling of earth, and *lophos*, a *lof*ty thing like the crest of a hill or helmet. Similarly *Hara bereza* became *Harburz*, Alburz, Elborz. The suffix *-mpos* (from *-mbos*) should be related to Greek *ambos*, a mud-wall or enclosure of earth (Hesch.), *ambōn*, crest of a hill, rim of a cup (*amb*, around, and *umbo*, boss of a shield, in Latin) and *omphalos* (Lat. *umbilicus*), a small hump, navel, key stone of a vault (Arist., *Mu.*, 399B30). Olympos, therefore, is the *lofty mound*, or *high enclosure*, and dwelling of the Cloud-gatherer and Lord of Life, Zān and Zeus Pater, whose bull-form in the myth of Europa has a counter part in the Canaanite Bull-god King and Father El of the sky mountain and sky-waters.

The royal aspect of the bull in Phoenician tradition has been noted in connection with Astarte Megistē (n 12, pt 4). Likewise in Iranian tradition the Mountain-bull Gōpatšah (5 f 1.5) was both Ahu and Ratu, or Lord and King, the royalty being derived from the lordship. Zeus the cloud-gatherer and lord of life was also a ruler by virtue of his visible lightningbolt. The two wings on the head of the Phoenician Kronos (5 h 1.2) were for rulership and life, the equivalent of physical perceptivity.

Deus Invictus is the Deus *genitor rupe natus* (cf *2007*). This is the mystery of the twin powers of the original instrument (*abzār*) or stuff (*apsu*) of creation. Which are gods, the elements from which the powers arise or the powers which control the elements? This was the joint in the pagan's doctrinal armor which the Christian theologian vigorously attacked[5]. Gathic religion would be particularly open to such an attack since it made no clear distinction between the divinity of the elements and the Ahura of the elemental world; its elemental dynamism had scarcely been lifted out of primitive magic in spite of all that may be said about the ethical teachings of Zarathustra. To what extent the Mithraism of the mysteries had moved away from a similar elemental dynamism would be a matter for close scrutiny. A dedication to a Petra genetrix indicates that it had not wholly escaped, but for that matter neither have so-called modern religions that hold certain objects or icons to be *res sanctae per se.*

b. The Theft of the Bull. The Invictus emphasis is reflected not only in the tauroctones of D and E subtype but also in the pictorial drama that precedes the actual slaying of the bull. In the Dura frescoes of the Third Period the first three scenes at the lower right (Fig. 25) show in the small panels first the Archer, second Mithra riding on the bull, and third Mithra taurophoros. On the Dieburg relief, as previously described (6 c 2), the Archer is the mounted horseman in the central panel, while above is Mithra bouklopos and to the right are Mithra riding the bull and Mithra taurophoros. On numerous reliefs of Southeast Europe the Archer produces water from the cloud rocks which form the bull's stall (10 b 1). The Archer, the Bull of Heaven, and the Cattle Thief are closely connected (10 b 2-3).

1. From a passage in Porphyrius (*De antro,* 18) we learn that the cattle theft by Mithra had to do with Genesis. This very important passage runs as follows:

> Springs and streams are suitable to water nymphs and still more to nymphs that are souls, which likewise the ancients used to call bees as

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[5] By Paul, *Romans* 1.24; Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos,* 55P; cf Aristotle, *Metaphysics,* 1091A30ss (quoted in n 8, pt 4).

> workers of sweetness. For this reason Sophocles said of souls not inappropriately.
>
> "A swarm of dead buzz and come up."
>
> The ancients also used to call the priestesses of Demeter, a chthonic goddess, mystic bees and Kore bee-like and the Moon a bee as a protectress of Genesis. But otherwise Selene is a bull and Taurus is the exaltation of Selene, and bees are cattle-generated (*bougenes*). But also souls going into Genesis are cattle-generated and the one secretly hearing Genesis is a *bouklopos* god. Actually they have made honey a symbol of death because they also used to sacrifice libations of honey to the chthonians. But they made gall a symbol of life, surely intimating that because of sweetness the life of the soul dies but is brought back to life through bitterness. They used to sacrifice gall to the gods for this reason or because death is free from toil but life here is burdened and bitter.

The passage has been cited at length to show that the author is combining two different sources in his discussion of the birth and death of the soul in relation to honey. Into this discussion he injects a passage on the bull which he may have found in Euboulor or Pallas, his sources on Mithraism. The passage was suggested by the statement that bees are cattle-generated (as in the Greek myth of Aristeus). The conception of the moon as a bull is akin to the Avestan conception of the seed of the bull becoming manifest or illuminated (*gaočihr*) in the moon (cf 4 g 6). That a lunar Venus had her exaltation or house in Taurus was a part of oriental astrology (4 g 6).

2. The more specific statements that souls going into birth are *bougenes* and that the Cattle thief is one secretly hearing *genesis* are parts of Mithraic ideology. Both parts of this statement are of utmost significance. The assertion that souls going into birth are cattle-generated differs from Zorastrian ideology which derived man from Gayōmard, the archetypal man, and his seed from the sun and not from Gōšurvan or the Moon (4 g 2). Mithra's slaughter of the bull therefore was for the generation or regeneration of man and not of other forms of life only. The further assertion that the Cattle thief secretly *hears* Genesis clearly relates the Thief to souls going into *gētēh* birth. Various emendations have been suggested for *akouōn*, hearing, including my own (*kuōn*, *Typology*, III 6). I now see in *akouōn* a contemporary idiom used not only by Porphyrius but also by his sources which has the meaning of "accepting" or

"obeying" [6]. In the passage under discussion therefore we should read, "The one accepting genesis is a Cattle-stealing god". In the *Gospels*, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear", actually means, "He that can hear, let him accept". The accepting or granting is against natural inclination. So the natural power of fire as a male element is not generative but ruling. The generative function belongs to warm moisture, the warmth in the moisture being female fire, which is pneumatic.

3. One of the most widespread of Indo-European myths was that of the Cattle thief who concealed cattle in caves or stole them therefrom. Versions of this myth appear in connection with Indra-Vrtrahan, Herakles and Geryon, Hercules and Cacus, and even Hermes and the cattle of Helios-Apollo (cf 1 e). Its clearest Iranian survival is in Mithra bouklopos as portrayed on the Dieburg relief (6 c 2). This theft is the beginning of Genesis, for the theft of cloud-cattle from the Water-withholder in the rocky caves of sunset made it possible for them to appear once more with the red dawn and thus produce fertilizing rains.

c. The Archer. On the top register of a relief from Apulum (*1958**) the bull is shown in a moon boat and is placed at high elevation in the middle of the total register. At the right end of the boat is the sky-stall in very small scale (cf *1935 1972**). To the left of the Moon-boat is a tree behind which the thief secretly approaches. Still farther to the left is the Archer seated on a high throne shooting toward the bull in the boat. Behind him stands the winged Vayu or Apām Napāt (10 b 2). I call attention to two important items here; first, the sky bull occupies the same position at the top center of the reliefs that is occupied on other reliefs and frescoes by the Deus aeternus or other cosmic gods (11 a 1ss). Second, the Archer's shooting has to do with the release of water from the sky in which is the Aqua vitae (10 c).

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6) In an earlier passage Porphyrius quotes a certain Kronius as asking, "For who would believe that goddesses weave purple garments in dark caves on stone web-beams and that these are invisible, ***hearing*** (=granting) that garments of the gods are woven and dyed purple?" In a later passage he says, "With reference to nectar, if it must be ***heard*** (=*accepted*) instead of honey, we shall examine it more accurately in others" (sections 3 and 16). In both instances ***hearing*** or ***hear*** is an idiom for concession or acceptance of a statement or fact.

1. While the arrow may have varying significance in varying contexts, in the present context it has to do with the production of generative moisture from the sky, or the bringing down of sky-potency into the world of Genesis. Tištrya, bringer of sky waters to the earth, was the Swift Archer who shot his swift arrow from the Mountain of sovereignty (Khšaotha) to the Mountain Hvanvant in the midst of the Wide Kaša (Yt 8.37). Likewise the Mithraic Archer sits on a high mountain as he shoots toward another cliff of rocks near the Bull of Heaven. On the Poetovio altar (*1496**) the bow on which the crow is perched rests across the top of the sky-cap (2 c 3). This combination corresponds to the eagle with the thunderbolts in its talons which is perched on the world ball, as shown on the Heddernheim monument (3 h). On the Trier base (cf 2 b 2) an arrow darts downward from the sky and near it is a water bowl, which suggests lightning and rain, the sky forces of fertility. Arrow and dagger appear on the rock from which Mithra-Dionysus is born (6 h 3.1) Finally it is to be observed that on the right face of the large altar in the Third Mithraeum of Poetovio (*1584**) the Archer is shown producing water for the suppliants, while on the left face a bow, a quiver of arrows and a dagger pointed downward are shown.

2. The significance of the arrow may be conveyed in part by the Indo-European root of the word, meaning to set in motion, seek for, and desire, which appears in Sanscrit *išu*, arrow, from *iš-*, send for, which is the causative of *iš-*, desire, and is related to *iš* and *iša*, strength, vigor. In Greek, *ios*, arrow, is related to *imeros*, desire, and *iotes*, will. In modern Persian the word *tir* means not only an arrow but also power and strength.

3. It must be recalled that Eros-Cupid was given not only pneumatic wings as the essence of the soul and will but also the bow and arrows of desire, the arrows being charged with magic force as potent as a *virus* [7]. In the Phoenician cosmology discussed previously (5 j 2) Eros-Pothos was the first combining force which

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7) Cf Greek *is*, Latin *vis*, force and *vello*, *vis*=English *wish*; Greek *ios*=*vios* and Latin *virus*, poison, mysterious force. When Eros infected himself with the virus of his own arrow, he fell in love with *Psychē*, the soul, the first principle of life.

caused a *syncrasis* in creation, for the Pneuma fell in love with its own principles and this self-love was the moving force of Genesis.

The winged arrow represents an invisible pneumatic force at one time manifest in the wind, at another in the flash of lightning or even in the falling rain. The ancient zodiacal sign which marked the beginning of the rainy season was that of a Scorpion-man armed with bow and arrow. This ancient conception survived in the sign *Sagittarius* as well as *Scorpio*. From *Sagittarius* the sun passes to *Capricornus*, the Water-goat. The Archer was therefore the bringer of water and fertility to the barren earth. The arrows which the Mounted Mithra shoots into the wild animals of the Dura fresco seem to be of vitalizing energy rather than of death, and some of the animals apparently possess lunar powers (6 c 3). In Mithraic cosmology the Deus Sagittarius is presented as a Despotes of Genesis (10 b-c). Likewise Artemis the Archer was not merely the Despoina of animals but was also a goddess of child birth.

4. We observe again that the gods Ašur and Ahura Mazda, as divinities of the winged sky sphere, were armed with a drawn bow and arrow (5 b 1), as was also Ishtar the Babylonian divinity of Genesis and the Venus star. While the arrow represents the far-darting power of Hekate and Artemis, of Apollo and Herakles, and of the Mounted Mithra or his torchbearers (3 f 1.2), the typical weapon of Mithra tauroctonos is the dagger, even though he is shown with a quiver (*546*). Both arrow and dagger are brought together with the Deus saxigenus as Mithra-Dionysus. If the arrow represents pneumatic energy (cf *pleuma=pneuma*, and Lat *pluma*, feather) as a generative or combining force, the dagger represents the dividing power of fire. The dagger on the face of the cliff from which the god is born suggests the separation of the element of fire from the world mass (8 a 4-5). The separation of the elements and their combination into finite bodies were two stages in the evolution of living beings (5 f 3), The ancient sky god Marduk divided the formless Tiamat into sky and earth and sea with a blade of some kind.

4.1. A god of the Hittites, as protrayed in an inner chamber of the rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya, was a remarkable dagger-god (Fig. 17). His head was crowned with the conical sky-hat of the

Hittites, his torso was composed of interwoven lions, and his lower part was a huge dagger blade pointed downward into the rocks [8]. This could be the divinity of Genesis in the world mountain who combines the ruling power of the sky, the vital force of the lion, and the creative power of the finite world (cf 8 d).

4.2. According to Avestan tradition (Vend. 2.10) the cosmic man Yima three times increased the size of the world by moving southward toward the sun and piercing the earth with a blade or arrow and impressing it with a ring. The piercing of the earth with some kind of an instrument while moving toward the hot sun would seem to have been for the purpose of inflating it with heated *pneuma* to make it expand, and the impressing of the ring would be for the purpose of giving it a spherical shape. The three times correspond to the three stages of world evolution which we have found in Iranian cosmology. While the dagger therefore represents the division of the infinite into finite parts, the arrow represents their recombining into finite bodies. The difference between the arrow and the snake as shown on the Trier base (2 b 2) should be the difference between the *mēnōk pneuma* of the pneumatic arrow and the *gētēh pneuma* of the pneumatic snake. As self-moving force the quiver is associated with Luna on the Nersae relief (*650**) and with Cautes and the sky-axe in the Sidon Mithraeum (*83**). These are the divinities or causations of Genesis and Growth.

5. The grouping of motives on the reliefs of Southeast Europe and elsewhere indicates that the Deus sagittarius is closely connected with the Bull in the Templum caeleste or Scapha lunata (10 a-b). This grouping is based upon the belief that the freeing of the rain-bull and the motions of wind, storm and lighting are closely connected. The freeing of the bull is the act of the Cattle thief. The passage of storm clouds over the earth is portrayed by the bull sailing in a boat, for which is sometimes substituted the riding of the bull by Mithra or his conflict with the running bull (cf 10 d 2; 12 c 2). His liberation of the bull and his contest with it are shown on the second register of the Rückingen relief (*1137**) together with the busts of the four winds or seasons. These motives are preceded

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[8] Cf G. Contenau, *Manuel d'arch. orientale*, p 971, fig 672; S. Lloyd, *Early Anatolia*, pl 13b.

by the Pothos motive (10 c 2) at the beginning of the register and by the Archer motive on the first register above. Mithra's riding of the bull is shown next to the Scapha lunata on two reliefs (*1974* *2000*) and the latter is combined with the tauroctonos action on one relief (*2244**). The bull in a boat should represent the release of the generative powers of the sky bull, which powers are in the warm vapors and clouds that pass over the sky before the falling of the rain. A seminal liquid of this sort was taken to be a primary stuff of creation (5 f 3.3). It was the element that attracted souls into birth. It was said that the bright strong elements in the seed of of the bull, when illuminated in the moon-sphere, produced the forms of a male and female from which in turn all animals came (*Bund.* 4.10). In Mithraism, as we have seen (7 b 2), man also was bull-generated.

6. The attraction of souls to the waters that come from the cloud-cliffs which are pierced by the Archer's arrow is clearly portrayed in the Posis and Pothos motives (10 c 1-2). The belief that souls were attracted to fresh water is set forth at length by Porphyrius, of which the following (*De antro*, 10) is of particular interest:

> We call nymphs *naiades* and particularly the powers presiding over the waters, but they also commonly called all souls descending into birth *naiades*. For they believed that souls settle down to water that is divinely inspired, as Noumenios says, "The prophet has spoken of a Pneuma of god being brought in on the surface of the water, and the Egyptians for this reason do not stand any of their *daemones* on anything firm, but all, even the sun, on a boat." For to be brief, it must be known to all whomsoever that souls flying to moisture are souls going into birth (cf. also 6 g 2.1; 5 f 6).

7. Because the Archer is not only the moving force of the primeval wind, the Infinite Vāy, but also the producer of the generative rains from the pierced clouds, he is reduplicated on several of the tauroctone reliefs (cf *1301* *1283**). In the process of primal creation the released energy of the storms had to be subdued and brought into order by the power of fire which was the ordering principle of the cosmos. This conflict of the elements of fire and water is portrayed by Mithra's struggle with the galloping bull (cf 12 c 1), a conflict which was terminated by his subduing it and transporting it into the world cave. The slaughter of the Bull-soul, or Gōšurvan,

in the cave was its embodiment in all forms of life (cf 5 f 9.3), for living bodies are the watery caves of souls.

d. The conflict of the elements. Mithra's ride on the bull's back is best shown in a panel of the Dura fresco (Fig. 25), which immediately follows the Archer. Somewhat like the mythical Europa, Mithra is carried on the back of a white bull over the surface of a spherical ocean. His right hand is held upward in a magic gesture, while his left hand, resting between the bull's horns, holds a red sphere. A larger sphere is shown on the shoulder of the bull below Mithra's left arm. In this passage over the celestial ocean the cosmic bull, whose potency is in the moon, conveys the god of fire whose potency is in the sun. In accord with Iranian ideas the sun holds the highest position of sovereignty, represented by the bull's head and horns where also rides the Hvarenō of the Force and Victory of Verethraghna (cf 6 d 1). The moon holds the second position, that of physical strength, on the shoulders of the bull. Likewise the moon is shown on the chest of the lion (*31*). The emphasis is not only on the swift motion of the lunar bull but also on the passage of the solar Mithra over the watery world. On a lower Moesian relief (*2310*) the passage of the bull in the boat and the ride of Mithra on the bull over the waters are shown on the bottom register in the place of the Ascent of the Cosmic chariot (cf 9 c 1).

1. The swiftness and violence of Mithra's ride is very much emphasized in a small panel on the right side of the Neuenheim relief (*1283**). In the third panel Mithra is shown face down on the back of the galloping bull to which he clings by clasping his arms about the bull's neck. On the Rückingen, Dieburg and Osterburken reliefs (*1137* 1247* 1292**) the contest with the bull is only slightly less violent, whereas generally in Southeast Europe Mithra is seated on the bull in the manner of a victor (8 c 2; 12 c 1).

e. The passage of the god. The motive most frequently following that of Mithra riding the bull is that of the Taurophoros (8 b). On two reliefs this is the only other motive combined with the tauroctone scene itself (*435* 2246*). On the Roman relief (*435**), which is of South Iranian affinity (4 j), the entrance to the rocky cave in which the bull is about to be transported is directly behind Cautes at the left. In the Dura fresco the cave is shown in the panel following Mithra's ride on the bull (Fig. 25). In both of these last two representations the god with the bull on his back pauses expectantly at the entrance while Mithra tauroctonos slays the bull. In the Roman picture a snake writhes on the ground beneath the head of the bull, a motive which appears in an upper frieze of the large Heddernheim relief also (*1083,3**). The writhing snake suggests a transition of the pneumatic soul. In the First Mithraeum of Poetovio a statue of Mithra taurophoros (*1494*) and an altar in front of it (*1496**) were dedicated to the TRANSITU and to the TRANSITU DEI (cf 8 b 2).

1. It now becomes quite clear that the passage of the bull into the cave and Mithra's slaughter of the bull in a cave were simultaneous actions. On the Dieburg and Rückingen reliefs the passage of the bull is followed by a threefold incarnation of the soul as symbolized by a tree with three heads, which correspond to the three stocks of wheat growing out of the dying bull's tail and to the three trees with heads on the relief of Poetovio (Fig. 1; cf 11 e 3). On the Rückingen relief (*1137**) the *Transitus dei* and the *Arbor genetrix* are shown in the third register to the left of the cosmic quadriga and a large raven, while to the right of these the conflict between male and female or between the generative elements is portrayed by Mars grasping the hair of a fleeing Venus. The world of generation in which Eros-Pothos is a moving force is put into order by the invisible Word of the Raven (5 f 6) and is governed by the cosmic charioteer (cf 5 h 6).

f. The establishment of *aša* and *mithrem*. The conflict of Mithra and the Bull of Heaven portrays a conflict between order (*aša*) and disorder (*adikaion=druj*), which appears in Zoroastrian cosmology as the conflict between Ahriman, once a creative god of fire like Mithra, and Gōšurvan, the cosmic bull (cf 5 h 2.2). In the Phoenician cosmology the fury of this conflict was presented as a holocaust of fire and the raging of storms which were the prelude to the emergence of creatures male and female (5 j 2.3). Similar contests between the elements were described in the continuing circuit of the cosmic chariot imagined by the Magi (5 h 6). The cosmic conflict has an Avestan parallel in the myth of the hero king Takhma Urupa, Fashioner of All-forms, who, endowed with Hvarenō as a gift from the Wind Vayu (5 f 2.4; 6 f), rode Angra Mainyu in the form of a horse around the world for an epochal period.

1. In the moral dualism of the Zoroastrian the triumph of Aša was the equivalent of the triumph of Fire over the other elements, for Aša was the Mēnōk of fire and the Highest Aša (Artavahišt) was the motion of fire in all of its forms and especially in its highest form (cf 6 h). The Median Daiukku, said to be the son of Khšathrita (sovereignty) or of Fravarta-Phraotes (Primary Order), imposed order (*dikē*) on disorder (*adikon*) and lawlessness (*anomia*) as a *tyrannos* or *basileus*, according to Herodotus (cf 5 c 3). Mithra, perhaps in the likeness of Cautes, the kindling fire of generation, is shown both as a cattle thief attacking the tauric temple (*966 1952*) and as a rider of the bull after its liberation and capture (cf *2186*). These actions represent the beginning and completion of *mēnōk* generation (cf Pt. 10; 12a).

2. The establishment of Aša is shown in the fourth and lowest register of the Rückingen relief (*1137**). This consists of the Ahu (Saturn-Kronos) handing a thunderbolt to the Ratu (Jupiter, cf 12 a 4), of Sol with his sphere imparting energy to Luna with her sphere, of Mercury with his wallet lifted high approaching Luna as the giver of increase, of the *Junctio dextrarum* of Mithra and Sol-Heliodromus (12 c 4) and of the Trapeza taurika (9 b 3).

3. The passage of the bull into the world cave was a passage from Mēnōk to Gētēh dahišn, for material creativity was the result of immaterial and self-moving creativity whose origin was in the heaven of Mēnōk fire. The beginning of the Gētēh order was simultaneous with the manifestation of Sovereignty (cf 6 h 11.2, note 59). This sovereignty (*šahr*) visibly manifested in the emergence of the First Body (5 f 1) will continue to govern the world until the Final Body is perfected (*tan i pasēn*), an achievement made possible by the generation of good souls who multiply the Fortune of the World-Saviors, for regenerated souls provide the seed, progress and completion of the perfected state of being (cf 5 f 5; 6 g 1).

4. The Avestan Aša by which souls (*fravaši*) were made just (*ašavan=dikaioi*) was the equivalent of the solemn compact with Mithra in the mysteries. This contractual friendship (*mithrem*)

was prefigured in the cosmic agreement between the Ahu and Ratu and is renewed with each initiate by a joining of hands (12 c 4) and by a sharing of food and drink in solemn communion (12 c 6).

g. On the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) and on the Heddernheim relief (*1083, A5**) the initiation of a candidate, in which he is invested with the *imperium* of the sun, follows the passage of the bull into the cave. Initiation is normally followed either by a Trapeza Mithrou (9 b) or by an Apotheosis (9 c), or by both. On the Barberini fresco (*390**) and on the reliefs of Mauls (*1400**) and Virunum (*1430**) the ascent of the quadriga follows Initiation but precedes the Communion or its equivalent (*1430**), whereas on the reliefs of Southeast Europe (cf *2244**) the ascent of the quadriga over the celestial ocean follows Communion as on the Dieburg relief (*1247**). These motives and their sequences will be taken up in detail later (9 b-c).

1. The different endings of the mystery rites raise a fundamental problem in Mithraic ideology. In our later detailed analysis of the Initiation rites (9 a 7-8) we shall find that they involve at least three distinct phases, a death, a rebirth, and the *mithrem* friendship. The problem is the precise nature of the death and rebirth. Is the death a *mēnōk* one, that is, a death of the soul by a birth into a *gētēh* body, or is it a *gētēh* death, that is, a death of the physical body and rebirth of the soul (cf 5 h)?

The Capua and Barberini tauroctones (*181* 390**) which are strongly Iranian in inspiration (cf 4 j 1) show the bull silvery white, which is the symbolic color of the moon that makes the bull manifest (*gaočihr*). According to the *Bundahišn* (1.49) the Only-Created-Bull in Ērānvēz, that is in the middle of the earth on the bank of the Good River Daitē, "was white and light like the Moon". This would be the *mēnōk* bull, or Gōšurvan, that Mithra slays to produce the incarnation of all life. On the Barberini fresco the slaughter takes place under the *Deus aeternus* who stands on the blue sky globe of *genesis* and fate and is flanked by the signs of the zodiac. The bull of the Dura reliefs was originally white, but in the later periods was colored orange red (*37* 40**), a traditional color to indicate physical vitality. The reddish bull is the *gētēh* body that must die to liberate the *mēnōk* soul. The end of the mystery is a friendship with Mithra in a higher Mēnōk world, rather than in the present regenerated Gētēh world. There appears to have been a reversal in eschatology between the earlier and later periods of Mithraism.

2. In later Zoroastrianism the *fraškart,* or completion of Religion, looked toward a Garōdmān of endless light beyond a Bridge of Separation and final judgment rather than toward the reclamation of this present material world from all evil. Likewise in early Christianity the idea of a Kingdom of God established by a Savior in this world gave way to the idea of a Heavenly Kingdom of pure souls in a celestial world above. This change in eschatology can be perceived even in the New Testament itself. The philosophy of Plato, whatever its ultimate origins, which laid emphasis upon the eternal being of immaterial forms came to full flower in Neoplatonism and reached deep into the orient as well as into the western world. The Zoroastrianism of the Sassanian period did not escape its influence, as a comparison of the eschatology of Middle Persian documents with the materialistic emphasis of the *Gathas* and later *Avesta* would show. Under the influence of such a philosophy Pythagorean and Mithraic ideas of a transmigration of souls (cf 2 b 7) could easily be developed into the idea of the immortality of the immaterial soul in an immaterial Elysium or Mēnōk world. This change in eschatology affected the development of the seven grades of initiation, as previously pointed out (4 g 3.1).

3. According to the older materialistic view man's soul, like that of the cosmic bull, went through a series of incarnations, which was a cyclic passage from confinement in one body to reconfinement in a new material body until at last the soul achieved its perfect body. This differed from the later Orphic view which anticipated an ultimate escape from the wheel of birth into an Elysium of heavenly light. The old Iranian view anticipated an ultimate material world in which, after the final elimination of evil and change, *aša* or *mithrem* would be reestablished as at the beginning. The slaughter of the Bull of Heaven was to make it finite and incarnate in the bodies of all living things. The soul of man would descend from the bull through the moon gate into a

body that was nourished by the bull, for the bull provided the energy and stuff of life that come down from heaven. The stuff is indicated by the wheat that issues from the body of the slain bull and the energy by the blood that the dog and snake drink, or by the bowl of liquid beneath its body (cf 8 d). At the Trapeza Mithrou the regenerated souls acknowledged their dependence upon the incarnate bull of heaven by representing the communion table in the form of the slain bull (cf 9 b 3 and 6). Moreover the communicants regularly received the sacred drink from a *rhyton* which was a bull's horn (*397 483 641* 798 988 1896*). According to this ideology the communion was the culmination of the mystery of life which began with the liberation of the soul from a defective body in order to be re-incarnated in a more perfect body and ultimately in a body which would become a part of the Final World Order. The ritual death, ascent and descent of the soul of the initiate in a new incarnation are the theme of the frescoes shown on the faces of the side benches in the Capua Mithraeum (9 a 7).

4. The more modern view, or "Platonic" view, of the end of life provided the ideology of the reliefs of Southeast Europe and sometimes elsewhere (cf 7 g) since the culmination of the mystery was not the communion but the *quadriga* ascent. In these pictures, it may be observed, the communion table is no longer the back of the bull but a normal table set before a couch (cf *1958**) or a normal couch only is shown (cf *2244**). The outcome of this development was to show a regular banquet table with several communicants present (cf *390* 782 1301 1430**). On the reliefs of Lower Moesian type (III) the emphasis of the lower register was upon the quadriga ascent and especially upon the friendship of Mithra with the charioteer (cf *1958* 2244* 2272* 2291*). In some instances the Trapeza Mithrou is omitted from the series of scenes (*2245 2272* 2334**) so that rebirth or initiation is followed directly by the ascent, the rebirth being indicated by the *Natura dei* or by the *Transitus dei*, or by both. Here descent into the world cave and initiation seem to culminate in an exit and ascent from the cave. In one instance the communion table is located above between the Scapha Lunata and Taurophoros (*2292*) and in another is placed above with the Moon and the Scapha lunata (*2272**). With

this one may compare the presence of Luna at the communion (*641**). This association may suggest that the communion takes place in the higher world of the lunar sphere rather than in this lower material world and would be the first step in the development of the planetary ladder of seven grades to the world of purest fire. In speaking of the world cave Porphyrius the Neoplatonist says that the "Persians" initiate a candidate by mystagoguing a descent of the soul into the depths and its exodus again (Part I, init.). This is in keeping with the Neoplatonist view that the end of life is an escape from this cave of the body and of the world to a pure world of immaterial forms existing in radiant light.

5. It need not be assumed that Mithraism ever became wholly Neoplatonic in its world view. A life in some planetary sphere above was not a complete escape from materiality since the planets belonged to the totality of the material world. The essential difference in the later eschatology was the belief that the final state of existence was to be reached not on this earth below but in a new realm above, and perhaps also in an ever more remote future. Moreover, the final defeat of evil would require a final intervention of a Savior. Such an intervention is represented by the Mounted Mithra. On the Osterburken relief (*1292**), as already observed, the riding forth of the Horseman follows the motives of Initiation and the *mithrem* compact but precedes the Trapeza Mithrou, which communion may be either in this world or in a higher one. On the Nersae relief (*650**) Mithra mounted on the Bull of Heaven follows the *mithrem* rite and concludes the series, if one reads the series counter clockwise (cf 4 b 2). At Dura Mithra *ephippos* was only slightly subordinated to Mithra *tauroctonos*, and elsewhere he is balanced with the Trapeza Mithrou (cf *1137**). On the Dieburg relief he is seen on the obverse, while his reception of redemptive powers is shown on the reverse (6 c 2; 5 h 7). In the final action as world conqueror, or *Deus invictus*, he either destroys in all living things the lunar nature itself, leaving only the solar principle, or he stimulates the lunar principle to its maximum vitality, as perhaps at Dura. The former action accords with the later eschatology but does violence to the older Zoroastrian view which looked to a

final harmony of the elements, as in the Magi's conception of the perfect chariot and charioteer of the cosmos (5 h 6).

6. The conflict of material and immaterial being is reflected in the verses painted on the lower layer of plaster in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*485*), if one may rely upon the readings thus far deciphered (see 2 c 2, op cit pp 187-240). One verse was found near the Trapeza Mithrou painting belonging to the later period, which reads:

Et nos servasti eternali sanguine fuso.
And us thou hast saved by shed blood eternal.

The only shed blood that could be called eternal would be that of the cosmic bull, which shedding of blood would be either for the generation of physical life or the regeneration of the soul. The verse as it stands, however, does not make it certain whether the initiates are saved for this world or from this world to a higher one. Two other verses run as follows:

Accipe thuricremos pater accipe sancte leones
Per quos thuradamus per quos consumimur ipsi.
Accept the burning incense, Pater, accept, Holy One, the lions
Through whom we give incense, through whom we ourselves are consumed.

Strictly speaking *thuricremos*, burning with incense, is an adjective modifying *leones*. Moreover, *thuradamus* is clearly a verb used in parallel with *consumimur* and should have a more or less parallel significance. Being consumed by lions is religious imagery of ritual meaning similar to Paul's insistence that Christians must be crucified with Christ into his death[9]. In the Mithraea representations of a lion with a bull or bull's head between its paws (8 d 4.1) is a pictorial presentation of the ideology of these verses: the bull crushed or slain by the lion prefigures the initiate slain by a ritual death and consumed by the *leones* just as the bull is

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9) In *The Gospel according to Thomas* 7: "Jesus says: 'Blessed is the lion which a man eats so that the lion becomes a man. But cursed is the man whom a lion eats so that the man becomes a lion.' " Cf J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, p 356. This verse sounds very much like a polemic directed against the Lion of Mithra.

slain and its flesh consumed by the initiates (9 b 12). According to Tertullian (*Adv. Marcionem,* 1.3), "The lions of Mithra philosophize, about sacraments of a dry and burning nature. (cf 9 a 14).

But the real significance of *thuradamus* in its context is still a problem, for "we give incense" is one thing, but to give incense "through lions burning with incense" and acceptable to the Holy Pater is quite another. The fragrance of incense in religion is generally produced by burning on a *thumiaterion* or any altar flame. Does giving incense *per leones* or *per thuricremos leones* mean that the burning away of mortal nature radiates a fragrance before the celestial Pater as well as the mortal one, just as in the so-called Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (231ss) the goddess breathed a fragrance upon the prince Demophoon whose mortal nature she was burning away in the fire of the hearth? Gods and things divine are fragrant as compared with mortal things, and what could be more holy than the burning lion (cf note 12) in an otherworldly view of Mithraic initiation? *Thuradamus* in its full context has, I believe, a cult meaning that suggests the offering up of one's bodily nature as a sweet incense. If in the view of some the *mēnōk* nature of the bull must be sacrificed in order to generate the physical world, then in the view of others conversely the *gētēh* nature must be sacrificed in order to gain the *mēnōk* world. In an Orphic-Pythagorean-Neoplatonic view the *gētēh* nature was contrary to the nature of the lion, and apparently in this form of Mithraism it must be consumed by the lion just as the burning heat of summer in the Leo month consumes the vegetation of the spring month of Taurus, or as fire consumes water and all of the other elements in the cycles of time. Likewise Christians had to give up the nature of the First Adam in order to acquire that of the Second Adam, their Savior.

The emphasis in this verse as I have construed it and probably in the former verse also is upon the mortification of the flesh in order that the soul may be reborn or escape from the cave of the body. Whether the ideology of the later period of the Mithraeum when Iranian influence appears to have been very strong was in agreement with that of the earlier period to which these verses belong cannot be determined. Differences in Mithraic eschatology may have corresponded to differences in membership, that is, the extent to which the membership was Greek or oriental, Hellenistic or Iranian, and not only to later developments. The appearance of the Mithraic Horseman points to the expectation of a second and final coming of Mithra to complete the work initiated by his slaughter of the bull, but again it is not clear whether the final epiphany was to restore this world order or to institute an order in another higher world of fiery essence if not of immateriality.

h. Iranian thought unaffected by Greek tended to cling to the idea that a good material world was the best of all worlds. This is reflected in a passage of Plutarch [10] in which he says that

> Zoroaster divides existing things into three parts and over the first part he puts Oromazes—and this is the one called Father by the *logia*—and over the last part he puts Arimanes, and Mithrēs over the middle; the latter in turn is called Second Mind by the Logia. Oromazes himself being threefold was put over Helios who in fact is called Lord in the Persian tongue. But clearly Mithras, the one after Oromazes, is twofold. . . . . . . Around the King of All are all things, and for his sake are all, but a second is around second things and a third around third things. The three parts into which Zoroaster and Plato divided existing things are first the everlasting (*aionion-asar*), second the temporal and eternal (*enchronon* and *aidion-gētēh* and *mēnōk*), and third the mortal (*thnētēn-mart*, or *zīndakān*).

The difficulty in this statement is that a Platonist would make the highest god the One instead of threefold or the Many, which has to do with the phenomenal world (cf 11 c), whereas here Arimanes is the One and Oromazes the Many.

The Logia on which the statement about the Persian gods is based was known to Porphyrius, for Cyril (*Against Julian*, 1. p. 34C) [11] writes:

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10) In J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* II, p 253. O 109.

11) A. Nauck, *Porphyrii Philosophi Platonici opuscula selecta*, p 14s. A similar *logion* appears in the Second Epistle of Plato, probably Pseudo-Plato (312E): "Around the King of All are all and for his sake are all, and He is a Cause of everything beautiful; but about a Second are secondaries, and about a Third are tertiaries. Therefore the human *psychē* struggles about itself to learn the quality of what it is by looking into its own connates of which it possesses nothing adequately. But about the King and the things I mentioned there is no such quality; consequently the soul asks, 'Of what

> Again Porphyrius himself in reference to Plato: Therefore hinting in mysteries about these things he says, "Around the King are all things and for his sake are all things, and that one is a causation (*aition*) of all things beautiful, but a second is around second things and a third around third; for of all things existing around the Three there are gods, but in the first place certainly around the King of All, and secondly around the god from him, and thirdly around the god from the latter."

Hence it appears that in this line of thinking each god comes from the more primary god back to the First. Each moreover is taken to be immanent in the things of his order. From another passage by the same author (Idem 1, p. 32C-D) it is clear that Porphyrius interprets Plato's First Causation to be Nous, which is not only immaterial Form but also the source of substance (*kath' heaton hyphestōta* and *pasa ousia tōn ontōn*) that exists before time itself as a self-begetter (*autopatōr*) of a self-begotten. "Just as the god that is first and always one would generate from himself all things, so also Nous alone is an eternal and a timeless source of substance (*hypostas*); and time itself is the things in time, continuing in an identity with its own eternal *hypostasis*". As for quality then am I ?" This is the question, or rather the anguish engendered about this in the *psychē*, that is the cause of all evils; unless something is lifted out of the *psychē*, it may never hit upon the truth."

The thing that must be separated from the *psychē* is the *nous* which alone can know the truth when totally freed from body, as set forth in Plato's *Phaedo*. The conception of the King of All in these *logia* is inspired by the speculative concept of the Great King of Persia as presented by the author of the *De mundo* (cf n 21, pt 5). The Great King in his royal palace is a *despotes* and *theos* who nevertheless is but a poor likeness of the power established in the sky as the cause of all motion and law. In his discussion of the meaning of Isis and Osiris Plutarch makes it emphatically clear (*Mor.*, 369A-371A) that he prefers a dualistic or pluralistic causation, such as he finds in the dogmas of Zoroaster or of Plato in the *Laws* (396Dss), to a monistic causation. The tendency toward a monistic causation appears in the *nous* and *logos* of Xenophanes, Anaxagoras and Plato of the *Republic*, and particularly in the spermatic *logos* and *aithēr* of the Stoics. The emphasis upon the monad, dyad and triad in the various versions of the *logion* suggests a Pythagorean origin or inspiration, for, "The Pythagoreans say the whole cosmos and all therein are included in the triad, for end, middle, and beginning contain the sum of all, and these are the triad" (Arist., *De caelo*, 268A11s). Here the emphasis is upon the end rather than upon the beginning, just as the Zoroastrian threefold god, who in the end is perfectly embodied in the material cosmos and whose lordship is manifest in the sun, holds the place of honor as King of All. "God is an *archē*, and every first principle multiplies by generativity out of itself" (cf n 17, pt 6).

the evolution of the First Mind as an Hypostasis, we learn from another passage in the same author (Idem 8, p. 271A) that

> Porphyrius writes in book four of his *History of a Philosopher*: In connection with the three *hypostases* Plato said that the substance (*ousia*) of the divine preceded; there is a highest god and good, but after him also the Demiurge is second, and the Psychē of the cosmos third, for with reference to the soul the divinity (*theotēs* or divine nature) preceded (11 e 3.1).

1. In my previous analyses I have tried to show that the Deus Arimanius, like Cautes, was the Mēnōk, or self-motion, of heat or fire as a substance (*ousia*), whereas Ahura Mazda, like Cautopates, was the embodied heat and fire in the material world of multiplicity. But the material substance of the latter is also the Lord and Father (*pat*) of the former. Mithra tauroctonos or invictus, as Second Nous or Logos, is the Intermediate that combines the One and the Many by friendship or a sacred contract. In Platonic thought the First Principle tended to be a self-moving and intelligible Being (*ousia*) of immaterial Mind and Form, whereas in Iranian thought, as in Stoic, the First Principle tended to be a self-moving and intelligent substance that was immanent in the material world as a cosmic soul. Such an immanent god tends to be the Many instead of a One, and hence threefold as in Zoroastrian dogma and in the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Transitions from Platonic to Stoic thought or from Greek to Iranian thought compounded confusions in the Mithraic mysteries or dogmas, as also in Zoroastrianism and Christianity. The god that is One in being (*ousia*) becomes twofold in activity (*logos*) and threefold when clothed in materiality or flesh (*sōma*). But the *logos* was in the beginning and was god; yet the *logos* becomes flesh (cf 12 b), like the Stoic *logos spermatikos* (n 10, pt 4), but without corruption, passion or mutability![12]

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12) The Herculean efforts of the Emperor Julian to harmonize Aristotelian and Platonic thought with Neoplatonic and probably also Mithraic world views can be traced in his hymns *To King Helios* and *To the Mother of the Gods*. The result is a threefold world having a threefold god that is both male and female, the male being Nous or Eidēs (or *idea*), the Good or First Mover, or otherwise gods like Kronos, Hades-Hyperion, Serapis, or an Invisible Helios, whereas the female is Psyche or Substance, or goddesses like the Mater Deorum, Aphrodite, or the Moon. The highest world is the *noētos kosmos* of the One Mind and Goodness, which is also a "twofold perfection of *nous* and *psychē* in a unity of oneness" (139B). The Nous is also the Self-

motion of Aristotle's Fifth Substance, or Aithēr, whereas Psyche is more or less the ethereal substance itself. In his satire on *The Caesars* Julian identifies with Kronos the highest region of light that is radiant like the couch of Kronos, which "was of ebony, gleaming and concealing within its blackness a radiance so great and divine that no one was able to look at it." Looking at the black ebony would hurt the eyes as much as looking directly at the solar disk (307B-D). He identifies the substance of this region with the Mother of the Gods who is co-eternal with Kronos and is his consort (166A). From the highest god and the mother came the visible King Helios or Mighty Zeus, who is also Apollo and Mithras (155B), their visibility being in contrast to the invisible Helios-Kronos. The Second Helios is the radiant light in sun, planets and stars, whose substance is his consort and Mother of the Gods. Thus she is consort not only of the visible and invisible Helios, but she is also mother and consort of the Third Helios, who is a mutable Attis (n 98, pt 5) or Dionysus, these being Form or Mind embodied in matter and hence Father of mankind (151D-152D).

Attis as the Third Helios descends into the sublunar world of the cave of the Nymph, which is the world of continuous generation and decay (167D), even though his mother would like to keep him in the higher world of pure materiality. "Myth says that when Attis passed beyond this limit (the Milky Way) and came to the lowest region, he descended into a cave and wedded the Nymph. But the Nymph is to be understood as the moisture of matter, and here it does not mean matter itself but the last immaterial cause which subsists before matter (165D)." Apparently his father also opposed the marriage, for "when the unlimited must come to an end and cease, Korybas, the Great Helios, who shares the throne with the Mother and co-creates with her and co-provides all things and does nothing apart from her, persuades Leo to become an informer. Who is Leo? Surely we hear he is of ether, and hence of the hot and fiery as a presubsisting cause that has a care to make war on the Nymph and to regard with jealous anger her fellowship with the youth (167B-C)." If the cave-Nymph is the lowest causation in generation, then the cave itself is the lowest materiality, and yet it is the Nymph and not the world cave that must be the daughter of the Mother and consort of Helios-Attis.

In this complicated and confused triad which Julian tries to construct not only out of Plato's intelligible Form and Aristotle's kinetic Substance, but also out of the oracles of religion (162C) as well as ancient mythologies, two infinities emerge, that of the One which he defines as Mind and Psyche, and that of the Many which is the changing world of Generation and Decay. Only the Intermediate, as an even number between the One and the Three, is finite. He tries to connect this Mesotēs with King Helios or daylight at the equinox when the sun touches the equatorial circle (168C-D). This is the only clearly finite limit, which moreover marks the beginning of Generation and Decay, whereas the poles, apparently, indicate infinities, for the poles are connected with a material Oceanus (148A). Like the Mother of the Gods Oceanus is "ruler of two-fold substance", that of gods and men, for "there is nothing of all existence which is not born of the substance of Oceanus." Hence he must be the substance of Kronos, King Helios and Attis, which are expressions of the threefold Helios.

The Intermediate is also the Logos, which in the Third Helios becomes mutable and witless. The mutable Helios Attis, according to Julian (*To the Mother*, 168B), rules the lions, along with their exarche Leo, who, by sharing among themselves an essence fiery with inner heat, are, first of all, causes of fire but also because of the inner heat they are causes of both energy and motion, and of health for others. This Attis is the Logos who actually has a sky-cap covered with stars (165B) which in the place of a tiara encircles the sky from which he is impelled (168C) to the lower world of generation. There in generativity he becomes witless (*aphrōn*), but by means of his castration he becomes wise again. This castration, which terminates the infinity of generativity, takes place just after the spring equinox (167C, 168D). The Hilaria which follows is for the joy of escape from the infinity and tumult of generation (169D). After the equinox the rays of Helios, because of their stronger light both visible and invisible, draw the *psychai* of the blessed upward (172A-D). "It is shown that by nature there is something uplifting in the rays of the god by reason of the energy both visible and invisible by which souls very full of perceptivities have been raised upward in company with the most visible and especially sunlike perceptivity" (cf 4g3). Beholding the sunlight with our eyes, as Plato said (in the allegory of the cave ?), is a guide to wisdom. "But if I should touch upon the secrets of initiation which the Chaldean celebrated like a Bacchos around the Seven-rayed God, elevating souls through Him, I would speak of things unknown, and especially unknown, to the common crowd, but common knowledge to performers of the rites who are blessed" (172 C-D).

The god with seven rays is prominent on some of the tauroctones, especially of subtype C (cf *368*, *435** *546* *670*). One long ray, when there are exactly seven (cf *172* *181** *395=397*), should represent the sun among the seven planets. Otherwise one long ray may represent visible light amid invisible, for the rays surrounding the head of the sky god should be invisible (cf 5 h 6).

Thus the threefold world of Julian consists of an eternal and infinite twofold monad in the highest heavens, a phenomenal and infinite triad in the sublunar world of changing bodies, and a finite and visible dyad which both divides and unites the infinities with its sovereign energy and substance. How the separated soul engendered in matter may hope for an ascent from the cave of the nymph to the noetic world of invisible light without losing separateness and individuality is not clear, but perhaps the hope of the ordinary initiate was to tarry for long cycles of time in the intermediate world of the finite light of Helios, King of All (cf n. 3, pt. 9). At least some Mithraea were oriented toward the equinox (4d2) and some candidates were initiated into the various mysteries of Mithra at the spring equinox (cf 2c2, op cit, p 122). Initiation at the vernal equinox or summer solstice in a Neoplatonic milieu could emphasize rebirth to otherworldliness, while initiation at the autumn equinox or winter solstice could emphasize a new physical incarnation. But in an older world-view all of these meanings would be reversed (see n 4, pt 10).

PART EIGHT

SYMBOLS IN THE FIELD OF THE SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN RELIEFS

The reliefs of Southeast Europe are of type II, found particularly in Thrace, of type III, found particularly in Lower Moesia, of type IV found especially in Dacia, and of type V found primarily in Dalmatia and the Pannonias. It may be emphasized (cf *Typology*, II 2-5) that the reliefs of Thrace in their simplest form are composed in a single field, the field being that of a stele with a rounded top. In extreme contrast the reliefs of type III are rectangular and are divided into three horizontal registers of which the middle register, where the tauroctone action is portrayed, is equal in height to that of the top and bottom registers combined. This type of composition was derived, not from classical Greek art, but rather from the orient. Composition in two or more conjoined friezes may be found in the relief sculpture of ancient Sumer, of the Hittites of northern Mesopotamia, in the sculptures of Persepolis, in later Sassanian rock reliefs, and in the pictorial art of ancient Egypt. Traces of such composition can also be found in early Ionic art of Asia Minor and appears in certain Etruscan monuments. This type of narrative picture in multiple registers was, I believe, inspired by the desire to turn paintings into sculptured monuments, as in Egypt. The composition of the lower Moesian monuments has affinity with the Graeco-Persian monuments of Dascylium and the early Ionic reliefs as developed on the Heroon of Trysa. Type IV composition as found in Dacia in particular is a combination of types II and III in which the form of II is preserved but the narrative method of type III is superimposed. Type V in its simplest form is a single field composition, but the field is a circle or disk. This is gradually modified by contact with the other types so that the circular tauroctone field is used as the middle register of type IV, or it becomes a central feature of type I (*810 1472*). Otherwise the circular field is surrounded with a concentric circular frieze containing the signs of the zodiac (*1870*) or even the subject matter of the top and bottom registers of types III and IV (*1815 1861** cf *1415 2187 2246* with *1128* 2202*).

a. *Natura dei* (*apogenesis*). The Birth of the god is one of the very common symbols found on the reliefs of Southeast Europe, far more regularly than on the monuments of type I where in fact it is relatively infrequent. Moreover on a few reliefs the Natura dei was presented within the tauroctone field as the only addition to the normal tauroctone group of Mithra and the torchbearers. This addition is conspicuous, for example, on the relatively simple type II reliefs from Thrace (*2332 2339*) and Upper Moesia (*2243 2191*), or on a simple type V relief from Dacia (*2187*). All of these are of subtype AB. The Birth motive appears to be closely knit to the A subtype, whose artistic origin appears to have been in western Asia Minor (*Typology*, III 1-2). The *Natura dei* is represented in several distinct ways, of which the first to be discussed is characteristic of the AB subtype tauroctone.

1. *Deus saxigenus* (*Theos ek petras*). In this representation the head and torso of a naked male youth or infant emerges from a rough rock formation with arms upraised (cf *2191 2214 2243 2332*). In one instance the rock appears to have a crescent shape (*1958**). The god usually holds a dagger in his right hand and a torch in his left, as also on the large Heddernheim monument (cf 3 h). Sometimes a second torch is substituted for the dagger (cf Fig. 25) or a sphere for the torch (*1283**). On the Trier monument (*985**) the infant holds the world globe in his left hand and thrusts upward against the edge of the zodiac circle with his raised right hand (cf 6 d 3). This gesture may indicate the separating of the two halves of the cosmic egg by the emerging god of fire. The first six signs around the edge of the hemisphere may also suggest the upper, or summer, half of the sphere (cf 4 f 1). The torch held by the emerging figure suggests the birth of the god of fire or the fiery birth of the cosmos in which there was a separation of the elements as suggested by the dagger (cf 5 f 3).

The fiery nature of the birth is shown on the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) by the god holding a torch in both hands and a flame of fire issuing from the crown of his head. On two tauroctones of Southeast

Europe (*2237 2267*), the god, or cosmic man, is shown rising from a flaming altar, and on one of these (*2237**) the torso is encircled by a serpent. This serpent is the cosmic *agathos daimōn* of fiery form whose breath was the primeval *pneuma* (2 b 8). According to Saint Augustine [1] "The myths of the nations also relate that Mithra and Erichthonius were generated from the heat of passion alone either in a rock or in the earth".

1.1. When shown the Deus saxigenus is regularly placed on the *right side* of the tauroctone toward the top near the bust of the moon or season on reliefs of type II (*1084 2052 2182 2243 2332 2339*) and III (*1958* 1972* 2244* 2292*). On two reliefs of type II (*2026 2245*) the symbol is shown in the middle of the bottom register. On one (*2245*) the symbol is grouped with Mithra taurophoros in a small cave. In another cave to the left is an Initiation and in a third cave to the right is the ascent of the cosmic chariot. The *Taurophoros* and the *Deus saxigenus* are very likely two aspects of a *Transitus dei*, or passage between two worlds. Above the *Deus saxigenus* symbol is the head of a dog, suggesting physical generation, or regeneration (2 a 4), and above the *Taurophorus* is the head of a lion, suggesting a full embodiment of the fiery soul (4 g 3.1; 7 g 6). The sequence of ideas represented on this lower register is from Initiation into a new life by religious rites, to the embodiment of the fiery soul in its transitions or cyclic passages and its final ascent to a higher existence, which however is still within the world-cave, for the Apotheosis motive (9 c), like the other two scenes on the register, is enclosed within a cave. On the Aquae relief (*2026*)

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1) *Adv. Jovinianum*, 1.7 (Migne 23, p 219). According to Epiphanius, *Adv. haeres.*, 1.7.8 = Diels, *Doxogr. gr.*, p 589, Epicurus, in his atomic theory of the cyclic becoming and disintegrating of things, expressed the view that, "There was from the beginning in general a natural law of the egg (*dikēn ōou*), but the *pneuma* like a serpent (*drakontoeidos*) squeezed the *physis* around the egg like a wreath or like a girdle .... Thus existing things were divided into two hemispheres and at last the atoms were separated, for the light and thinner things of all nature were carried upward, that is, fire, ether and the thinner parts of the *pneuma*, but the heaviest and dirty sort of things were inclined downward, that is, earth, whatever is dry and the moist substance of waters, but the whole of them were moved from and through each other in the rotation of the poles and stars, as everything still goes forth from the serpentine *pneuma*."

the Deus saxigenus is flanked by the torchbearers in the South Iranian positions (4 i 5). At the left end of the register is a Saturnus type of divinity, bearded, veiled and seated on a rocky mass. His right hand is raised above his head and in his lowered left hand is an object which may be a dagger. This is the god of the world-mountain who is closely associated with the Birth of Mithra (8 a 5). At the right end of the register a lion is moving toward the right. Here the sequence is from the god of the world of generation through the birth of the cosmic man to the complete embodiment of life in the world of genesis, symbolized by the lion (4 g 3.1). With this one may compare the lower frieze on a relief from Dacia (*2180*) which shows a running lion at the left and a "rampant" snake at the right; these face each other. Thus is portrayed the full activity of body (lion) and soul (snake) either when they come together in harmony or as opposed principles. In this tauroctone picture both torchbearers are Cautes, the genius of *genesis*. It may also be noted that on the relief showing the *Deus saxigenus* emerging from a fiery altar encircled by a serpent (*2237**) the left border shows a lion beneath the bust of Sol, and the relief as a whole is dedicated by Lucaius to the Deus sanctus (6 h 6.1).

1.2. The Deus saxigenus either continues to hold its place at the top right side of the tauroctone field on reliefs of type IV (*2037 2171* 2214*) and V (*1128* 1472 2214 2338**) or it is moved up into the right end of the top register (IV-*1920* 1974 1975* 2000*; V-*1475 2202*). On reliefs of type VII (Fig. 25) and VIII (*390* 966 1283* 1292* 1400* 1430,** cf *1247**) the Natura dei, hitherto primarily located near Cautes or the Moon or Winter symbol, is transferred to a side panel on the *left side* of the tauroctone where it is shown as one in a series of symbols having to do with the evolution of the world order (12 a-b 1). The Birth of the cosmic First Body was a prototype of the birth of man whose soul was believed to descend into a watery body through the moon gate in the wintery north (4 g 4). On the AB tauroctones of Southeast Europe the sun and moon symbols appear to be replaced by busts of the seasons, as previously pointed out (5 i 5).

1.3. The Deus saxigenus is the main theme of a relief on a round top stele of Thracian type (II) found in Vetren near Bazardjik, Bulgaria (*2331*A*) [2]. The emerging god is flanked above by the sun (l.) and moon (r.), now missing, and below by the torch bearers. At Cautes feet is a large bowl and to the left of it and beneath the Petra genetrix a crouching boar. The significance of water in connection with the *Natura dei* will be discussed below (8 a 4). The wild boar, a manifestation of Verethraghna (cf 6 a 3), represents the embodiment of virility and conquering force and is a substitute for the lion that accompanies Mithra invictus (6 d 1).

1.4. Two of the separate *Natura dei* monuments, that of Borcovicium in Britain (*860*) and of Modena in Italy (*695**), show very clearly that the birth of the god was simultaneous with the division of the cosmic egg, the fiery nature of which is not only emphasized by the torch and lightning bolt held by the god but also by the tongues of fire issuing from the two halves of the egg which enclosed the god. That the god who is born is the cosmic man or winged sphere is clearly shown on the Modena relief by his wide spread wings and also by the rays of light issuing from his head. These rays are solar, for the horns of a crescent moon issue from his shoulders as the seat of physical power (5 f 1.3; 7d). The solar rays are the visible Hvarenō, or innate power of sovereignty symbolized by his thunderbolt and scepter. That the god represents the birth of visible fire in the ordered cosmos is emphasized by the egg-like circle of the zodiac enclosing the egg-born god which in turn is framed within the four winds at the corners of the relief (5 i 6.2). The hot and visible *pneuma* of life had its origin in the invisible wind and air (6 g 1). Here the primary stuff of the cosmos is wind or moist air, whereas in the more typical *Deus saxigenus* imagery the primary stuff is stone, brimstone, or some substance capable of generating internal heat when mixed with moisture (5 j 7.1). This idea is in line with one of the conceptions of Mōt as being some kind of mud, or of Humbaba as being the mountainous world mass, or of a Phrygian Agdistis whose essence was that of a rock (*agdos*) [3].

2. *Petra genetrix.* Several of the separate monuments of the Natura dei emphasize the Generative rock itself rather than the

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2) *Archeologia*, 3.1 1961, p 50s, with fig. (= *2331*A*).

3) Barnett, op cit (pt 5, n 64), p 144.

birth of fire from the rock, or the god from the rock. The two conceptions are so closely connected that the difference is a matter of emphasis. In the old Mithraeum of Deutsch Altenburg one altar (*1674*) was dedicated to the PETRAE GENETRICI (6 h 11) and another (*1676*) to D.I.M. by Adlectus a slave for the GEN. LUM. The GEN. may be either *geniturae* or *genitori*. The former would keep the emphasis on the rock as generative, whereas *genitor* would emphasize the divinity of fire as being a begetter of light. A monument from Aequinoctium in Pannonia (*1651*), dedicated to P.G.D., shows the two torchbearers seated on either side of a rock mass from which the god emerges; this rock should be the PETRA GENETRIX DEI of the inscription. There were dedications to the Generative Rock in the First Mithraeum of Poetovio (*1490*), in a Mithraeum of Aquincum (*1743*), and in Salona (*1874*). In the Poetovio Mithraeum, behind the altar dedicated to the Petra genetrix, stood the monument itself dedicated to the NATURAE DEI (*1492*). This showed the god naked from his hips upward emerging from a tall mass of rocks about which a huge snake was coiled. A statue base from Tridentum in North Italy (*733*) was dedicated to the GEN(ETRICI) PRO GE(NITURA) DEI. Here again the emphasis falls heavily upon the Mother that gives birth to the god, although here it is not wholly certain that the mother is a rock mass since the statue is missing. An altar in the Merida Mithraeum in Spain (*793*) was dedicated as an ARAM GENESIS (sic) INVICTI MITHRAE. The use of the Greek word *genesis* (for *geneseōs*) instead of the Latin word *genitura* or *natura* should be noted. The birth is that of a Victorious Mithra, presumably not the Mithra of the rising sun but of the invisible fire in the material world that cannot be extinguished (6 h 10).

It may be observed that the monuments inscribed to the Petra genetrix come mainly from the Pannonias, one having come from North Italy and one from Dalmatia. The Merida Mithraeum was founded by members of the Pannonian legion, the VII Gemina. It appears therefore that the God from the rock was emphasized in Southeast Europe where the AB subtype tauroctone was the most typical one, whereas the Mother Rock itself was emphasized in Middle Europe where there was a strong penetration of iconography and ideology from Asia Minor (cf *Typology*, IV 2-3, and passim).

3. *Baetylion*. The *baetylos* was a *lithos empsychos* or "house of god" (=*bethel*), as pointed out in connection with Phoenician cosmology (6 d 3.2). Several forms of the Baetylion have been found in the Mithraea.

3.1. Triangle and Prism. A triangular plaque found in the Third Mithraeum of Heddernheim (*1120*) had in its upper corner a small crescent moon with horns turned upward. A similar plaque, whose lower left corner is missing, from Chesterholm in Britain [4], showed in the upper corner a disk without rays and just below it a crescent moon with a four rayed star within its horns. In the lower right corner was a disk divided into four quarters, while in the center of the plaque was a cock. These triangles would appear to be symbols of generative fire both visible and invisible. The cock, a herald of morning (cf 2 c 5), suggests the appearance of visible light, whereas the disk without rays and the moon crescent with the star suggest the invisible sun of night and the new or invisible moon (5 a 2). The quartered globe is the canopy of heaven, as shown on other monuments including the *Natura dei* monument of Heddernheim (3 h). A triangle having a star within a crescent moon appears on a stele dedicated to Saturnus Balcaranensis at Carthage [5]. The Saturnus of Carthage was a god of the sky corresponding to the Phoenician Baalsamen or Baal Hamon. In Greek speculation the sharp angle was taken to be the shape of *aithēr* or fire particles (cf Plato, *Tim.*, 56). Lastly I note a triangular plaque showing a squat figure with a radiate crown which was inscribed around its edges: SIMULACRUM RESTITUTUM DEO SOLI INVICTO SACRATIS SPELEUS PATETAP............ [6] The mention of the cave and Sol Invictus connects this dedication with Mithra as a solar power.

In the Second Mithraeum of Poetovio a prismatic base supported a statue of the Natura dei which the dedicant calls the NASCEN-

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4) A Schütze, *Mithras-Mysterien und Urchristentum*, fig 12. This is taken to be Gnostic rather than Mithraic; E. and J. Harris, *Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, p 94, cf 50.

5) M. Moore, *Carthage*, p 23.

6) *Not. Scavi*, 1933, p 479.

(T)EM DEUM and sets up to discharge a vow to D.S.I.M. (*1530*). In the Mithraeum of Spoletium (*673*) just to the left of the main altar and dedicated to SOLI INVICTI MITHRAE was a conical stone pierced by a hole for a lamp at two thirds of its height, and in front of this cone was a prismatic post whose top was nearly level with the hole in the cone, suggesting that the top of the prism was illuminated from a light in the interior of the cone (cf note 7). In the Museo di Roma Mithraeum (*434*) a triangular base with a terracotta tube in its center was placed at the left before the cult niche. A prismatic base from an unknown location in Rome(*501*) was the one dedicated to INVICTO D(EO) NAVARZE, previously discussed (6 h 9). Still another prismatic shaft supporting a round base (*369*) was inscribed: D(EO) ARIMANIO AGRESTIUS V(IR) C(LARISSIMUS) DEFENSOR MAGISTER ET PATER PATRUM VOTI C(OMPOS) D(EDIT). This dedication to the god Arimanius by a man of the highest rank and a Defender, Teacher and Pater patrum of the mysteries is of interest because Angra Mainyu was, as I have tried to show hitherto (5 h 2.1), the motion of invisible fire which generated the visible world. The fiery motion of *genesis* was suggested by the prismatic or triangular form. The Ostia Mithraeum (*229*) in which the tauroctone statue made by the Athenian Kriton was found (*230*) had a triangular base in front of the tauroctone and a cone on the end of each bench nearest to the tauroctone.

3.2. Cone and Egg. Besides the cone shaped stones already mentioned above, it should be observed that the Natura dei statues in the San Clemente Mithraeum (*344*) and in the Deutsch Altenburg Mithraeum of Carnuntum (*1668*) had high conical or egg shaped bases. There are other good examples (*1687 1949 1994 2184*). The Natura dei monument from the First Mithraeum of Heddernheim (*1088**) shows the mass in front of the new born god worked out in the form of a rocky egg standing on its end. Notice has already been taken of the fiery cosmic egg being divided by the emerging god on the monuments of Borcovicium and Modena (8 a 1.4). A statue of Mercury with the infant Dionysus at Dieburg appears to have shown a divided sphere on its base (cf 6 h 3). Balls and globes were found in the Mithraea of Dieburg (*1268*) and Durnomagus (*1016*). Seven balls are shown on the larger Dura relief (*40**) beneath the foreleg of the bull. These may have been representations of the seven planetary worlds, or a larger number could represent the stars of the zodiac. A globe held in the hand by a god indicates with fair certainty that the holder is a *kosmokrator*. Such a ball is held by Mithra *Invictus* or Sol *Invictus* (6 c 5, d 2), or is placed between Sol and the Raven to indicate sovereign power (cf *2018, 4*). The Deus aeternus as god of material creativity stands on a large globe that is quartered or is painted blue in imitation of the world of fate (11 b 4). The fiery nature of the cosmic birth of the god is indicated in the Procolitia Mithraeum (*847*) by illuminating the pierced rays about his head with a lamp. This monument was dedicated to DEO INVICTO MITRAE (cf 6 h 9.3). In other instances the god wears the typical Mithraic sky cap (cf *2184*), one form of which, though not Mithraic, was a half globe or egg. On a Heddernheim monument (*1111*) the emerging god rests his right hand on the top of his head, like the god on the Aquae monument (8 a 1.1). In Iranian cosmology the sky was the head of the cosmic man (5 j 7).

The cone and egg were ways of representing the fiery cosmos or First Body (5 f 1) in which were the elements of the material and visible world of generation (5 f 3) [7]. The cone would correspond to the ancient mountain of heaven and earth which was surrounded

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7) The elaborate use of symbols in contemporary religious iconography is vividly illustrated in a passage from Porphyrius (Euseb., *P.E.*, 3.7.4) which runs as follows: "Wherefore everything white belongs to the sky gods, a sphere and everything spherical to the cosmos, to sun and moon, and also to Fortune and Hope, but a circle and things circular belong to epochal time (*aiōn*), to the motion of the sky and to the zones and circles therein, but segments of circles to the phases of the moon; pyramids and obelisks belong to the essence of fire and therefore to the Olympian gods, just as a cone in turn is for the sun and a cylinder for earth, a phallus and the triangular shape, because of the private part of the female, belong to seed and *genesis*."

The Pythagoreans thought the elements were spherical but that the highest fire alone was conical (Plut., *Epit.*, 1.14.2), which was the view of the Stoic Cleanthes also (Stob., *Ecl.*, 1.15.6). The latter also thought the stars were cone-shaped (Euseb., *P.E.*, 15.31.2), probably because vision was believed by the Stoics to be a cone extending from the eye to the object (Diog. Laert., 7.157). The Stoics also thought the cosmos was spherical, but other philosophers took it to be cone-shaped and still others egg-shaped (Plut., *Epit.*, 2.2.1).

by heavenly light, by the pneumatic serpent or radiant lights, whereas the egg would represent the cosmos that was created by internal heat or solar Hvarenō. In visible form the latter force becomes blazing fire or a halo and in audible form a rushing wind (cf 6 d 3; 6 h 5.3)

4. That the rocky mass from which the god was born was also thought to be derived from water is indicated by the statue from Florence (*666*) where the head of a Water god is shown at the foot of the rock mass. This god would be the equivalent of Kaša, the Iranian world sea that surrounded the world mountain or tree (5 f 9.2). Other Natura dei monuments show that they were used in connection with a supply of running water (*1669 2170*). The combination of heat and moisture not only formed the rock but also generated the seed of life, or seed of seeds, which was heat and dampness (5 f 3). This generative force is indicated on a German monument (*1240*) by surrounding the emerging god with a wreath of blossoms where his body joins the rock; at Carnuntum (*1687*) the new born god not only stands on a cone shaped base of rocks but is also shown against an overhanging tree.

The god who is born is almost always shown completely naked except for the Mithraic sky cap. On the Procolitia monument his body is lightly veiled (*847*). A monument from Gaul (*897*) shows the naked divinity stepping forth from a rocky cliff from which he is still withdrawing his left leg while he gazes upward. The naked form suggests the elemental purity of the new born. The dagger blade which the new born thrusts into the rock (*1248*) suggests the first stage of generation which was conceived to be a separating of the elements (5 f 3), of which the moving force was heat that is visible in the fiery torch.

5. On several tauroctones as well as on separate monuments of Middle Europe the Petra genetrix and the Deus saxigenus are combined to form an elaborate symbol. This is shown in a side panel on the top left side of the reliefs of Nersae (*650, 2-3**) and Virunum (*1430, 2-3**). It also appears in separate but conjoined panels on the Dura (Fig. 25) and Barberini (*390, 1-2**) frescoes and on the reliefs of Mauls (*1400, 2-3**), Dieburg (*1247, 2-3**) and Osterburken (*1292, 2, 4f**). On the former the progression is from

the top left downward, or counter clockwise (4 b), whereas on the Dieburg and Osterburken reliefs it is from the bottom left upward, or clockwise. In the Virunum representation the emerging god is flanked by Cautes on the left and Cautopates on the right, which are the South Iranian positions (4 i 5). They grasp the divinity by the arms as he comes forth. Above on the top of the cliff reclines a bearded god with naked torso but draped legs. He extends a dagger downward against the face of the cliff toward the Phrygian cap of the god coming to birth. A similar divinity holds a knife as he sits or reclines on the rocks in the Barberini, Dieburg, Osterburken and Neuenheim (*1283, 8**) representations. On the Nersae relief the knife held by the mountain god has a hook on the main blade that is characteristic of the ancient pruning knife, or *harpé*. The twins flanking the new born god do not have torches but hold their hands before their mouth either to shield the god from their own breath or in a gesture of reverence. On the Aquae relief, as noted above (8 a 1.1), the torchbearers are present in the South Iranian positions. On a relief fragment from Besigheim (*1301, 5*) only one of the twins is shown and he is leading a ram instead of a lion, the ram being the Celtic equivalent of the Syrian lion as a symbol of virile strength, or full life embodiment. On the Dura fresco the bearded and fully draped god reclines on the top of a mountain that is portrayed in the typical Mesopotamian manner, and a branch of foliage indicates the source of Genesis in the world (Fig. 25).

5.1. The separate monument of Poetovio (*1593**), dedicated to D(EO) S(OLI) I(NVICTO) M(ITHRAE), not only shows the twins assisting at the birth of the god, but also the God of the Mountain who reclines at the summit and is being crowned with a wreath by a winged Victory, a parallel already noted on the reverse of the Dieburg relief (5 h 7) where the Sky god is being crowned by the divinity of Spring. The wreath was, of course, a symbol not only of victory but also of life itself, for in it resided both ***ahu-xvarr*** and ***ratu-šahr*** powers, which also are the powers of the divine Twins (6 b 2).

5.2. The wreath and an arbor of palm branches are emphasized on an altar (*839*) in the Mithraeum of Vindobala (Rudchester). Within a circular wreath is the word DEO in very large letters, and below the wreath in a *tabula ansata* is inscribed L. SENTIUS CASTUS LEG. VI P. P. Both wreath and *tabula* are within the arbor formed by two palm branches. Above on the face of the altar a Deus saxigenus is portrayed, and below on the base a Deus invictus. The latter shows the Deus and the bull walking *toward the left* while the god controls the bull by grasping and twisting his horns. On the right side of this altar a sky-cap is shown at the top and three daggers pointed downward at the bottom. On the left face a bull's head is shown at the top. If the sky-cap represents the beginning of *genesis*, the bucranium represents the beginning of *apogenesis*, and thus correspond to the torchbearers flanking the Deus saxigenus. The motion is from right to left as suggested by the Deus invictus motive, or from left to right with reference to the god. The three daggers suggest successive incarnations in the three worlds of moon, sun and sky (cf 11e). Three eggs or globes were shown at the top of an altar (*846*) in the Procolitia Mithraeum [8].

6. The different types of the Natura dei monument have been found more or less *in situ* in the following Mithraea: Procolitia in Britain (*847*), Heddernheim I (*1088**) and II (*1111*), Dieburg (*1248*), Poetovio I (*1489*), II (*1530*) and III (*1593**), Carnuntum I (*1669*) and III (*1687*), and Aquincum (*1756*). They were located either on the left of the tauroctone niche or on the left side of the Mithraeum, and therefore can be associated with Cautopates who held the left side of the Mithraeum as the genius of incarnate life (4 f 2). In this connection it should be recalled that Cautopates was the INVICTUS aspect of Mithra (6 h 11) and the *Natura dei* monuments were generally dedicated to the INVICTUS god. The birth of the cosmic god was the culmination of a victory of pneumatic heat over moisture in the depths of material darkness where the Victorious god (Varhrān) kindles the fires (6 h 10). The association of the *Deus saxigenus* with Cautes and the Moon on the AB tauroctones will be discussed below (8 e). Here it may be noted that in a Prozor Mithraeum (*1852*) the *Deus saxigenus* was shown in relief at the left of the tauroctone relief.

b. *Transitus dei* (*Genesis*). On an AB tauroctone of type V from

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[8] E. and J. Harris, op cit p 21s; the Vindobala altar, p 26s, pls 6 and 7, showing all four sides.

Kadin-Most in Upper Moesia (*2246*) Mithra carrying the bull on his back is the only addition to the normal tauroctone group, and on the Lanuvium cup of subtype D (*207*) Mithra taurophoros balances Mithra tauroctonos. I have previously pointed out (7 b and e) two different uses of the Taurophorus motive on the Dieburg and Neuenheim reliefs. In one of these motives the live bull is being stolen from its stall and in the other a mature bull is being carried into the cave. Unless both motives appear on the same relief they are not clearly distinguishable. However I shall call the motive that emphasizes the theft of the bull the *Theos bouklopos* and the other the *Transitus*, whereas either motive may be called the *Taurophorus*. A third motive I shall call the *Psychopompos*. All three are representations of a Transitus dei.

1. *Theos bouklopos*. This motive is shown within the tauroctone field or register on a considerable number of Southeast European reliefs. It is placed at the top left, and therefore opposite the *Deus saxigenus* motive (8 a 1). The best examples appear on the following tauroctones: Type III (*1958* 1972* 2036 2244**), IV (*1920* 1935 2018 2315 2338**) and V (*2246*). On a relief from Siscia of type V (*1472*), having a circular zodiac around the tauroctone, the Bouklopos motive appears outside of the zodiac at the left, while the *Deus saxigenus* is in a corresponding position at the right. The *Theos bouklopos* appears in a similar position on the Heddernheim relief of type V (*1128**), whereas in the opposite position is a *Capricornus*, a sign of the rainy season, and above him a goat. Below the *Deus saxigenus* on the Siscia relief is the God of the Mountain, which we have found often combined with the Natura dei, and below the *Theos bouklopos* on both the Siscia and Heddernheim reliefs is the *Deus invictus*, to be discussed in the next section (8 c). The *Deus invictus*, that is, Mithra riding the bull, regularly follows the *Transitus dei* on the reliefs listed above in types III, IV and V. On a few reliefs these two symbols are moved up into the top register at the left end (*1974 2000 2171* 2297*), just as the *Deus saxigenus* is also moved up into the right end of the register (*1920* 1974 2000*). The use and significance of the *Theos bouklopos* motive on the reliefs of the Rhineland in particular have already been discussed (6 c 2.3; 7 c 5) and should be recalled to mind in the present context.

2. *Transitus* (*or Taurophoros*). An excellent monument of Mithra transporting the bull on his back was found *in situ* in the First Mithraeum of Poetovio (*1494*); it was inscribed TRANSITU by the restorer of the Mithraeum and was located in the middle of the left bench. An altar in front of it was dedicated to INVICTO MITHRAE ET TRANSITU DEI (*1496**). On the left side of this altar was shown a cock poised on a tortoise, which would represent morning light above watery darkness. On the right side from top to bottom were a raven, bow, Phrygian cap and a dagger pointed downward (cf 2 c 3 and 5), which would represent the creative voice and energy of the sky which caused the creation of separate things. Other separate monuments of the *Transitus dei* motive were found in the Mithraea of Sidon (*77*), Heddernheim I (*1091*), Stockstadt I (*1168*) and Dieburg (*1250*).

The Transitus symbol appears in a series of small scenes on the *right side* of the tauroctone on the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) and Quadraro relief (*321**) of type VII and on reliefs of type VIII (*966 1283* 1359 1400**). On the Barberini fresco it is the last symbol at the bottom left (*390*, Left 5*). On the Konjici relief (*1896*) the lower side panels flanking the tauroctone have a *Theos bouklopos* on one side and the Transitus on the other, but they are indistinguishable. In my previous discussion of the Transitus (7 e) it was noted that a snake sometimes appears beneath the head of the bull, and that the *Transitus* was simultaneous with the slaughter of the bull.

3. *Theos psychopompos*. The *Bouklopos* and *Transitus* motives were the Mithraic manner of showing a Passage of the divine soul or of the god from one state of existence to another (5 h 1), that is, from *mēnōk* to *gētēh* being or the reverse. This conception is also shown in Mithraic iconography by a more classical motive. On the left hand wall of the Capua Mithraeum, about midway along the bench, was a relief plaque (*186*) portraying Psyche the soul with large butterfly wings being guided by Eros with wings and carrying a torch. Here the journey is into the darkness of another world (cf 9 a 8). The relief occupies the same relative position as the Transitus monument in the First Poetovio Mithraeum (cf 9 a 8). On the Virunum relief (*1430, 7**), in a lower right panel where one

would expect to find the *Transitus* motive one finds instead two figures, one with a torch (Psyche) and another with a bow (Eros).

In an Ostia Mithraeum (*239*) the gods of the days of the week, or of the planets, were shown along the face of the benches (Fig. 19). Mercury was placed near the middle of the left hand bench (*241, 2*). as also in the Mithraeum of Spoleto (*677, 2*). Mercury-Hermes was not only a Cattle-thief but also the Guide of Souls from one world to the other. His statues in the various Mithraea have already received attention (6 h 3). In at least three, Aquincum, Stockstadt II and Dieburg they appear to have been located in the vestibule, which would be appropriate to a Psychopomp. The Dionysus child whom he guides and protects was the Bringer of Life to Men (6 h 3.2).

c. *Deus invictus* (Genesis). Mithra mounted on the bull is shown in two different ways, especially in the Rhineland. In one motive his effort to capture the running bull and ride on its back is emphasized, in the other he is a victor mounted on the back of a rather static bull. This is typical of the reliefs of Southeast Europe.

1. Mithra's effort to ride the bull has already been discussed, especially with reference to the tauroctones of Middle Europe and the Rhineland (7 c 5; 7 d). The riding of a galloping bull, as shown on the Dura fresco (Fig. 25), generally precedes the *Transitus dei* on these Tauroctones, whereas in Southeast Europe the order is reversed.

2. The rather static symbol of the *Deus invictus* in Southeast Europe is regularly shown at the lower *left side* of the tauroctone field on reliefs of type III (*1972* 2034*) and IV (*1920* 1935 2018 2062 2315 2320 2338**). It is placed in a small panel on the left or lower left side of reliefs of type III (*2046 2159*) and V (*1128* 1472 2044 2202 2241*). On one relief of type V (*2241*) from Upper Moesia this motive alone is presented outside the circular wreath and at the lower left corner of the relief, while in the corresponding right corner the Apotheosis (9 c) is shown. On a fragmentary relief from Thrace (*2331*) the *Deus invictus* appears to the right and a Telete rite to the left. On two reliefs (*2171* 2226*) the *Deus invictus* is shown to the left of the *Transitus dei* in the top register, and on one relief (*2244**) at the top left of the tauroctone field.

3. On a monument base found in Apulum (*1985*) Cautes is shown riding the bull above stocks of growing wheat. It is clear that Cautes has to do with Genesis (4 f 2), but here he also appears as a Deus invictus rather than Cautopates (cf 6 h 11). On the other hand, the bull is in rapid motion as shown by the flying robe and therefore this is the effort that precedes the victory. On some of the reliefs the robe of the rider is shown streaming backward (*2018 2026 2159 2226*), while on others it is not (*1128* 1935 1972* 2241 2244**). On the Heddernheim relief (*1128**) where it is not, the symbol is balanced with that of a ram on the right side of the tauroctone, the ram like the lion being a symbol of vital power (cf 8 a 5).

4. The sketch of a mosaic pavement found in the Baths of Caracalla [9], where there was also a Mithraeum (*457*), shows a male figure riding a galloping bull while he holds in his right hand an object that looks like a dagger with its blade turned upward. This is held between the bull's horns, much the same as Mithra holds the solar globe in the *Deus invictus* scene at Dura (Fig. 25). A register above the bull and rider is divided into two panels; in each stands a naked figure holding a basket of fruits or flowers in one hand and a club or torch in the other. Another register above this one was divided into three panels of which the middle one was occupied by a bust of the sun and the two corner ones by busts of the seasons. In the Caracalla Mithraeum there was a tendency to equate Mithra with the fertility and underworld god Serapis (cf 6 h 7.1 and 11.3). The imagery of the bull rider as presented in the sketch is quite similar to that given by Porphyrius when he speaks of Mithra carrying the dagger of Ares and riding the bull of Aphrodite as a Demiurge of Genesis (4 f).

d. *Principia vitae* (Apogenesis). The lion and amphora or water bowl, either separately or in combination, are shown on numerous reliefs, especially in Southeast Europe. In combination the lion appears in a vertical position with its head downward above the bowl.

1. This symbol of the lion descending into a bowl regularly appears on the *right side* of the tauroctone below the Natura dei

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9) R. Lanciani, "Disegni di antichita nella biblioteca di S. Maria di Eton," *Bull. comm. arch. comunale di Roma*, 1894, p 181, pl 9 (= Fig. 18).

symbol, either within the tauroctone field itself or in a separate panel, especially on reliefs of type III (*1958* 2034 2036 2038 2291 2292*). There is at least one example of type IV (*1935*) and perhaps also of type I (*2066*).

2. On numerous tauroctones of Germany and Middle Europe, especially of DE subtype, the combination of a bowl with a snake on the left and a lion on the right is placed under the belly of the bull that is being slain. These tauroctones are of type I (*1014 1118*), VI (*1149 1206 1306*), and VIII (*966 1083* 1137* 1292**) and the conflate bronze relief of Brigetio (*1727**). On the Neuenheim relief (*1283**) the symbol is placed beneath the feet of Cautes at the right. The placing of this combination of elemental symbols under the belly of the bull corresponds to the position of the earth goddess Tellus with a basket of fruits on a DE subtype relief from Rome (*598*). In other instances a reclining Oceanus was placed beneath the tauroctone group (cf *337 478*).

3. The alternative motives of Tellus and Oceanus suggest that the bowl, snake and lion represent the principles of life, and more specifically the elemental principles of physical life and birth. Of these the snake is the fiery *pneuma*, an equivalent of *jān*, breath soul, which was one of the five part of man and the source of understanding (4 g 2). It was believed that the breath-soul was attracted to water because of its longing for bodily existence (7 c 6). The complete embodiment of the soul in the *tan*, or body, is represented by the lion (4 g 3.1), which, like the snake, was said to be a physical principle of fire. In a fragmentary magic text [10] it was said, "Hail, snake, hail, full grown lion, physical principles (*archai*) of fire, and hail, white water. . . . ." The lion plunging downward toward the bowl of water was therefore a symbol of the descent of the soul into a physical body (4 i 1), the soul itself as a fiery moving principle being represented by the pneumatic snake (2 b 8).

4. The snake and lion have already been discussed as companions of Mithra ephippos (6 d 1; 6 e), who was in particular Mithra invictus. It remains to observe that the lion is also shown emerging

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10) Referred to in 2 b 9.1.

from behind the bull near the left hand torchbearer, who is generally Cautopates (cf *1415 1422 1458 2063 2244* 2332*). On the unique Mannheim relief (*1275*; cf 5 g 5) the lion appears to be running toward the left between the bull and the torchbearer at the left who holds the bull's tail while Mithra slays the galloping animal. On a relief from the Sarmizegetusa Mithraeum (*2084*) a lion with its paw on a ram's head is shown against a tree to the left of the bull that Mithra is slaying. On another tauroctone monument from the same Mithraeum (*2063*), where the lion stands between Cautopates and the bull, the *Transitus dei* is shown to the left of Cautopates, while to the right of Cautes is the *Natura dei* and below this a standing youth. The youth therefore takes the place of the lion and bowl motive on other similar tauroctones. It must be recalled that a youth of fifteen years of age was the Iranian ideal of perfect physical being (2 c 5; 5 f 9.3), and is therefore the equivalent of the lion as a perfect physical embodiment of the fiery soul. On this same relief Cautopates, the genius of physical life, holds the bull's tail above the head of the lion. The bull's tail otherwise is frequently shown branching out into wheat stocks as a manifestation of generative powers (3 f 1). In a small panel on the right side of the Sarrebourg relief (*966, C3*) a lion is standing on the ground before a cypress tree, and a similar motive is shown on a monument of one of the torchbearers from the Merida Mithraeum (*775*). On a number of the tauroctone reliefs the lion is placed in the lower register in close connection with a *Telete* rite (*1084 1128* 1475 2167 2332*), and once with the *Natura dei* (*2026*; cf 8 a 1).

4.1. Separate statues of a crouching lion were found in the Mithraea of Heddernheim I (*1093*) and II (*1112*), Königshofen (*1336*) and Carnuntum I (*1667*). These show the lion crushing a bull's head or boar's head (*1336*) beneath its front paws. Statues of a lion holding or crushing between its fore paws a bull were found near the entrance of the First Mithraeum of Stockstadt (*1190*) and the Third Mithraeum of Carnuntum (*1690*). One of the relief sculptures set up by Antiochus of Commagene (*31*) was that of a lion, taken to be the kings's horoscope. Across the chest of the lion was a large crescent moon having the star within it (cf 5 a 2), and on its body were many other stars as well as others in the field of the relief. Above the

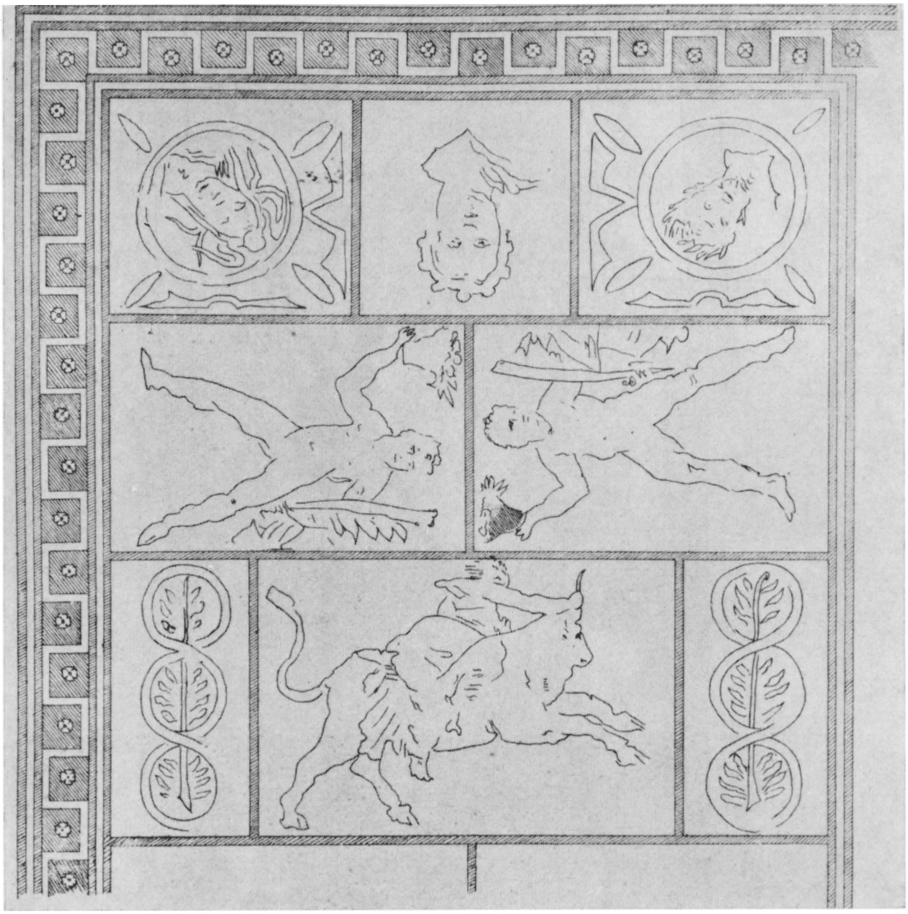

Fig. 18. Baths of Caracalla, mosaic design (8 c 4).

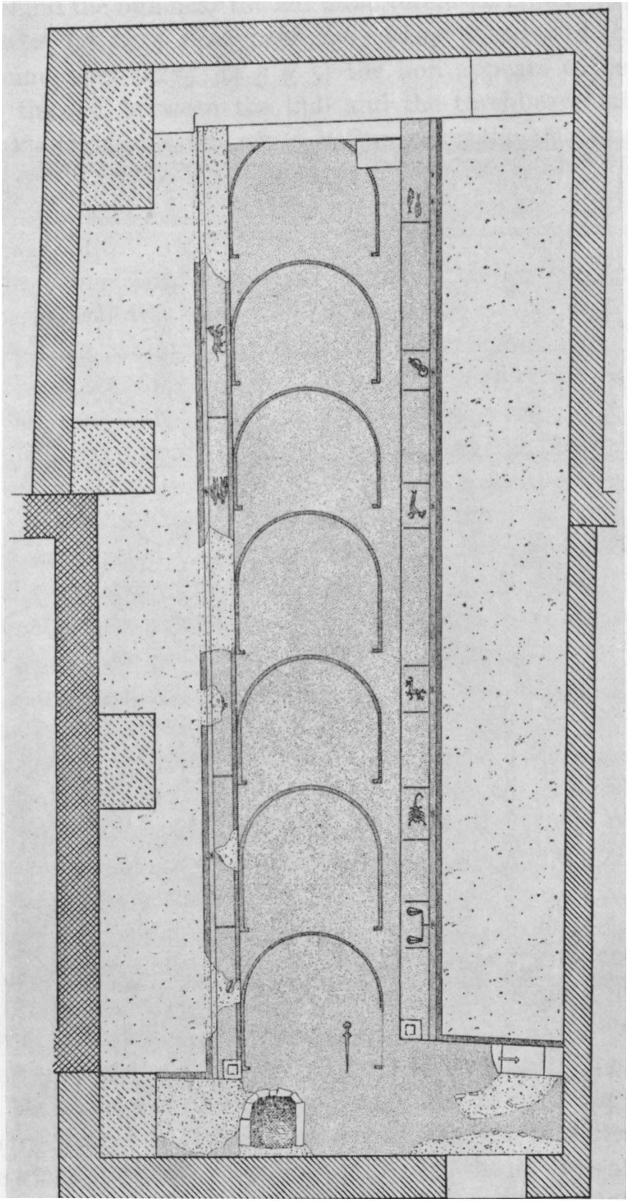

Fig. 19. Ostia. Mithraeum of Seven Spheres (239).

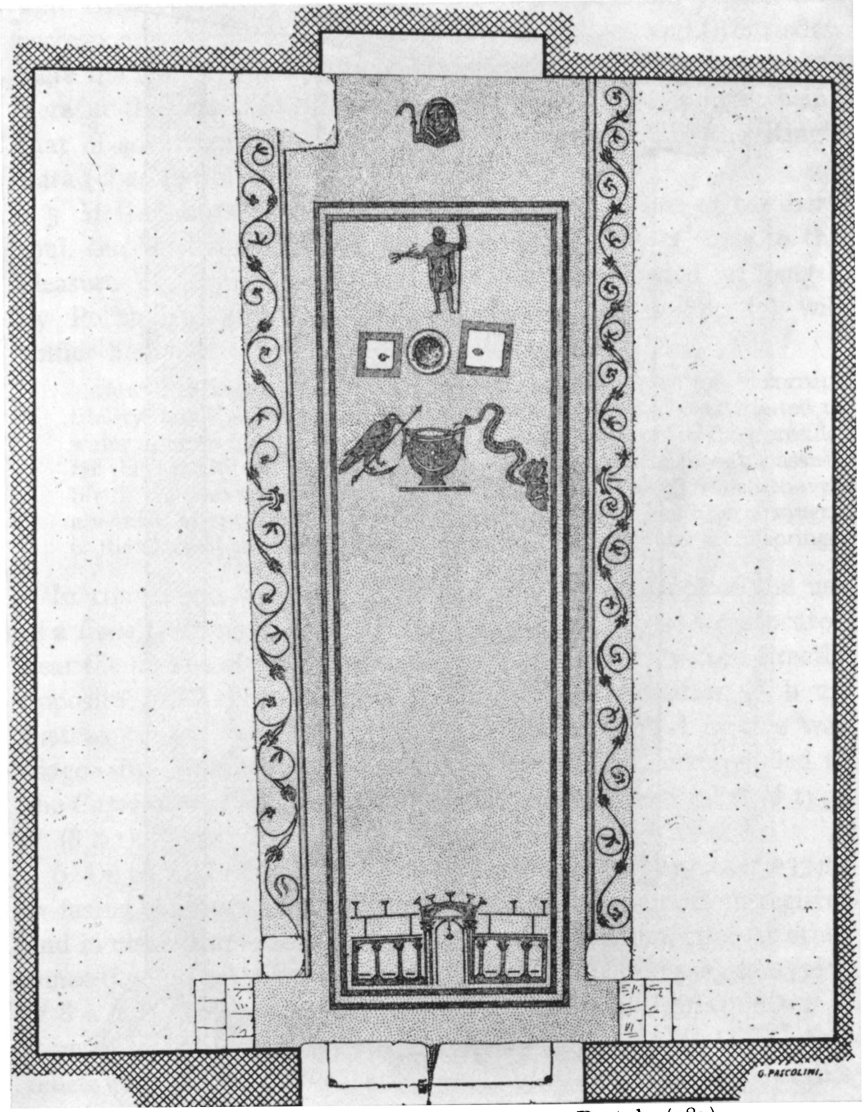
G. PASCOLINI.

Fig. 20. Ostia. Mithraeum of Seven Portals (287).

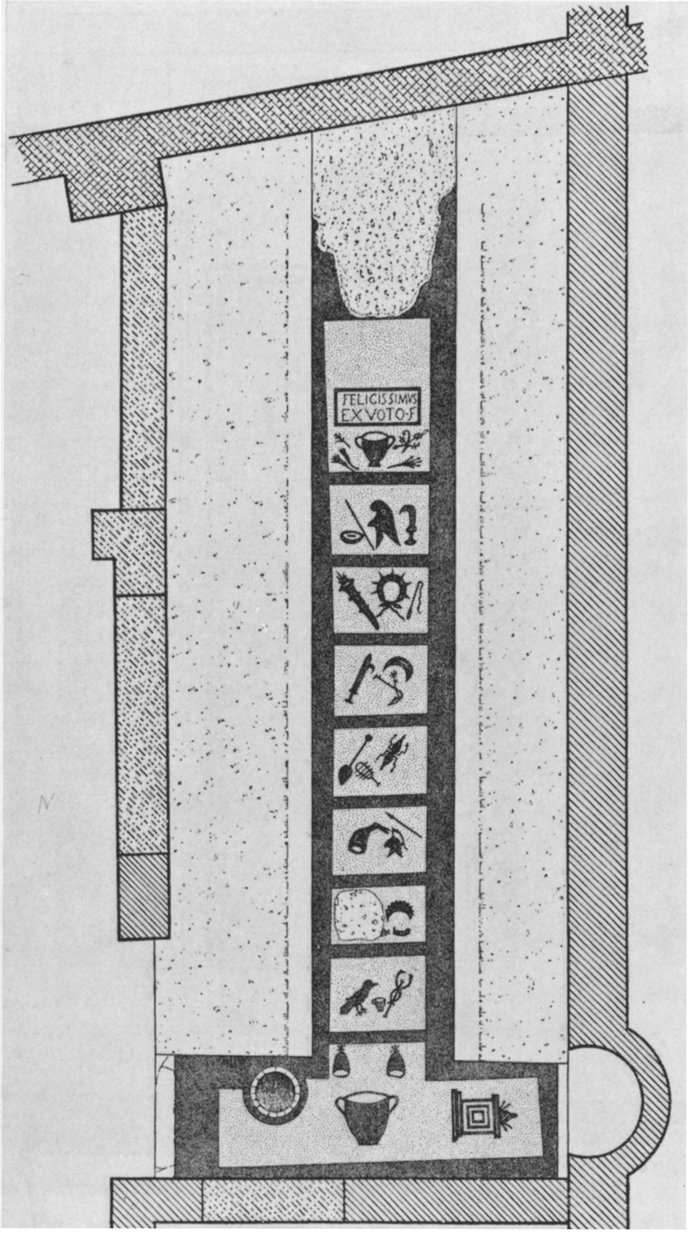
FELICISSIMVS
EX VOTO F

Fig. 21. Ostia. Mithraeum of Felicissimus (299).

lion's back were three very large stars inscrbied as the fiery star of Herakles, the radiant star of Apollo and the shining star of Zeus. These were Greek names of the planets Mars, Mercury and Jupiter and corresponded to the Iranian gods Artagnes, Mithra, and Oromasdes. Here the lion prefigured the King's manifold powers whose origins were in the star-studded sky, the greatest of these powers being that of sovereignty. A lion in fact was portrayed on the King's tiara (cf 29 in vol II).

5. If the lion signified the most vital embodiment of the fiery soul, the bowl signified the fresh waters that attract souls to the pleasure of physical existence, a theme expounded at length by Porphyrius (6 g 2.1). A brief citation (*De antro,* 17) will suffice here:

> Now then honey as an appropriate symbol of purification, incorruptibility, and the pleasure that leads down to birth is also attributed to water nymphs for the incorruptibility of waters over which they preside, for their purity and for their assistance in birth. Because water assists birth, the bees make honey in the craters and amphoras which convey a symbol of springs, just as with Mithra the crater has been arranged in the place of the spring, and in amphoras we draw water from springs.

In connection with the Initiation rites we shall notice the use of a *Fons perennis* in several Mithraea (9 a 8.2). These were located near the middle of the right hand bench, and were therefore directly opposite from the *Transitus dei* monument and altar (8 b 2), just as on the tauroctone reliefs the lion and bowl motive was diagonally opposite the *Transitus dei* motive and corresponded to the *Capricornus,* or water goat, on the Heddernheim relief of type V (8 b 1).

6. On several reliefs a lion either placed above (*2043 2241 2334**) or facing (*2243 2331*) a large bowl is shown on the bottom register and in close connection with the *Telete,* or initiation, rite. At other times the lion without the bowl is thus shown (*2315 2332 2338**; cf 8 a 1.1). This association is understandable if Initiation was a form of rebirth, which is governed by the *Principia vitae.* On a few reliefs a bowl was shown at the feet of one of the torchbearers (*204 530 2166*). On the Mauls relief (*1400**) a shell-like dish is thus shown, and on the Dieburg relief both torchbearers stand on what may be large urns, though probably they are pedestals.

e. From the foregoing survey it appears that the four motives, the *Natura dei*, the *Transitus dei*, the *Deus invictus* and the *Principia vitae*, in their primary forms were first shown in the tauroctone field itself. In the more elaborate development of the cult picture these symbols were moved to side panels or to the register above or below. Although the first of these symbols to be added was very likely the Deus saxigenus, this is actually, or ideologically, not the beginning but the culmination of the series. If we read the series counter clockwise like the eastern zodiac (cf 4 b 2), then the series begins with the *Transitus dei* at the top left and ends with the Deus saxigenus at the top right. On the left side the symbolism is that of Mēnōk generation (Genesis) initiated by a Passage of the Bull-soul or god and completed by the *Deus invictus*. On the right the symbolism is that of Gētēh generation (Apogenesis) beginning with the Principles of life, especially fire and water, and ending with incarnation in a finite body like the God from the rock. An uncertainty remains, however, as to whether the physical generation symbolized in the Natura dei was in this world or in a higher planetary world, especially that of the moon near which the Deus saxigenus is often placed (ct 8 a 1.2). The moon signified the principle of Physis (Natura) in the world of physical growth and decay, and the Luna Grade of initiation was that of Perses the Preserver of fruits (4 g 3; 9 a 15). It seems probable, therefore, that the Natura dei, in this series, signifies an incarnation of divinity with reference to the tauroctonos activity of Mithra. The growth of wheat from the bull's tail tends to strengthen the probability. The frequent emphasis upon the lion may also suggest the Leo grade of initiation whereby the Lions become embodiments of the divine and thereby saviors of the material world. On the other hand, the lion crushing an animal may signify the destruction of physical nature, or of a lower physical nature, for the attainment of a higher nature (cf 7 c 5s). The symbols in the bottom register have to do with man's regeneration in the material world.

PART NINE

SYMBOLS ON THE LOWER REGISTER OF THE SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN RELIEFS

The subject matter on the bottom register of the reliefs of Southeast Europe has to do with a Gētēh rebirth of the individual. The sequence of symbols is counter clockwise, which at the bottom would be from left to right. There are three regular symbols that are more or less stereotyped in form. On reliefs of types VII and VIII these appear in small panels on the right side of the tauroctone.

a. *Telete* (Initiation). The first symbol in the sequence shows some form of an initiation rite. Two persons are engaged in the rite, one of whom stands at the left and the other kneels before him at the right. The standing figure may well be a Pater acting as a mystagogue or priest. He is normally dressed in the likeness of Mithra, while the recipient of the rite is normally naked except for a Mithra cap or mantle. The Telete rites appear in at least four fairly distinct forms or ceremonies.

1. *Devotio* (Laying on of hands). One form of the Telete that is frequently shown in Southeast Europe is that of the administrant laying his hand or hands on the head of the kneeling initiate. This motive appears on reliefs of types II (*1084 2052 2243 2245 2332*), III (*2272**), IV (*1740 1974 2000 2046 2051 2214 2238*, cf *2315*) and V (*2202*; cf Fig. 25).

2. *Infusio* (Pouring on of water). On reliefs of types III (*2034 2050 2244** *2267* cf *2338**), IV (*1920** *2018 2320**) and V (*1128** *1475*) the main action of the rite appears to be the pouring of water from a drinking horn on the head of the initiate. In some instances the horn is quite evident (cf *2244**), whereas in others the object held in a vertical position over the head of the initiate looks more like a reed (cf *1475 2267*). On a relief of type IV (*1920**) from Potaissa in Dacia this motive is shown in a small cave which is injected into the lower left corner of the tauroctone field.

3. *Purgatio* (Purification). Another form of the Telete consists

of the mystagogue, or administrant, striking the head or shoulder of the initiate with the shank of the slaughtered bull (cf 5 f 1.3). This motive appears on a few reliefs of Southeast Europe of types IV (*1975* 2171* 2331*) and V (*2241*, cf *1128**), but is portrayed more clearly on reliefs of type VII (*1579**) and VIII (*729 1400* 1430**) in Middle Europe especially.

3.1. The *Purgatio* rite is shown in an interesting context on a fragment of a tauroctone relief found in Thrace (*2334**). At the extreme left end of the register is a *Deus saxigenus* motive, to the right of which is the forepart of a lion above a large bowl which has a crescent moon on its handle, the moon and water being generative powers. Farther to the right is a bearded and draped person who rests his right hand on a large vase from which water is pouring and his left hand grasps the trunk of a tree. This combination of symbols may be a variation of the God of the mountain who presides over Genesis (cf 8 a 5, 12 a 6). Here he is clearly associated with generative waters and fertility. To the right and approximately in the middle of the register is an artificial cave, typical of Southeast European reliefs (1b), in which the Telete is being performed. It is clearly a *Purgatio*. The Pater sits on a high backed throne that is shown in end view and rests his left hand on the head of the initiate who crouches at his knees. In his raised right hand he holds aloft the leg and shoulder blade of the bull ready to strike the initiate on the head or shoulder. Just outside the cave to the right stands a figure clad in military dress holding aloft toward the cave an object which may be a shield or crown but looks more like a crested helmet. The remainder of the register is occupied with the Apotheosis scene, and below it on the lower border are three altars corresponding to four other altars under the Natura dei motive. Between these groups of altars is the Greek inscription: HELIŌ MITHRAI AN(IKĒ)TŌ EUX(AM)ENOS DŌRON. The symbols on the register seem to emphasize rebirth to a higher state of existence, suggested by the ascent on the cosmic chariot. The seven altars suggest a series of rebirths in the seven grades of initiation. The presence of a person in military dress may emphasize in particular the rites of the Miles grade (9 a 13).

4. *Consecratio* (Coronation). On tauroctones of types VII (Fig. 25

*321**) and VIII (*1083** *1400** *1430**) the initiation rite consists of placing a solar crown on the head of the initiate. Since the mystes of the Heliodromus grade, shown on the wall of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*480, 2*), not only carries a blue globe of heaven and wears a blue nimbus but is also radiate with a golden crown, it is possible that this form of the initiation has to do with the Heliodromus grade (9 a 16).

4.1. If the *Consecratio* by use of a crown is only one rite in a sequence of rites used in each Telete ceremony, then the first rite in the sequence would probably be the *Purgatio* to cleanse the candidate by driving out evil powers with the power filled shoulder of the bull (cf 5 f 1.3). The next act would be a baptism by dripping water from the life-giving horn of the bull or from a reed, the *narthex* in which Prometheus stole the divine fire. The laying on of hands would follow the rites of purification and infusion of vitality as a form of confirmation or dedication. The bestowal of the solar crown would be a form of deification or apotheosis by virtue of which the recipient became a guide of the world, symbolized by the solar chariot. In Zoroastrian terms he would become a Savior whose Xvarr would assist in the final perfecting of the world (cf 6 g).

5. Separate monuments show different forms of Telete. A monument in the First Mithraeum of Stockstadt (*1169*) shows a Telete rite, but the form is uncertain because of a mutilation of the hands of the mystagogue and of the object he holds. In the third period of the Barberini Mithraeum heavy pilasters were constructed on the left side of the room to support the superstructure of the building. On the one nearest to the cult fresco two standing figures are shown (*393*). The one to the right, in three-quarter view, is extending his right hand toward the other figure who is approaching. In his hand he holds a short staff or similar object which the approaching figure reaches out to receive. The latter is crowned with a wreath of ivy. On another pilaster is a standing figure crowned with ivy (*394*). He is clothed in a tunic that reaches to his knees and is carrying fruits in his arms (cf 9 a 15).

6. A very important monument was a marble base at one time in the Museo Borgia at Velletri (*609*). There were seven symbols

carved on the three sides, three on the face, and two on both of the adjoining sides. Face, 1: In the central position on the face was a naked figure, except for a solar crown and wind-blown mantle, driving a quadriga toward the left. Face, 2: To the right behind the chariot stood a naked figure in frontal view holding a dagger in his hand while on the ground at his feet was an animal of some kind. Face, 3: To the left in front of the horses was the lower part of the usual symbol of the Covenant or *mithrem* pledge (12 c 4), consisting of two men making an oath over an altar. Left, 4: The next symbol, on the left face of the altar, showed a naked figure with hands extended upward, kneeling before a standing figure. This form of the Telete could have been a Devotio. Left, 5: To the left of this symbol on the same face was a young man, naked, standing between two stocks of grain with his knees somewhat bent so that his feet were spread apart (cf *390, Right 2**). His hands were pressed against his thighs, and he had on his head an object with three projections or horns, or a crescent with triple rays, the middle one being the tallest. To the right and facing him was a Mithra figure who held in his lowered left hand a long staff, and in his other hand he extended a cup in order to pour water on the shoulder of the naked mystes. This would be the Infusio form of the Telete. Right, 6: The symbol to the left on the right face of the altar showed a naked prostrate figure lying with arms and legs extended to full length. At his head was a standing Mithra-like figure who was extending a long staff in his right hand toward the prostrate initiate while he held a cup or similar object in his left hand. A similar motive is shown in the Capua paintings, as will be noted in the following section. Right, 7: The symbol to the right showed a naked figure kneeling in front of another who was advancing toward him and was armed with a dagger in his left hand and a lighted torch in his right. He was thrusting the torch toward the head of the kneeling mystes who was holding his right hand upward. Again this rite appears at Capua.

7. Scenes having to do with the *Telete* rites were painted on the faces of the side benches in the Capua Mithraeum. I shall describe them, beginning with the scenes on the left bench (south side)

nearest to the tauroctone fresco at the west end and progressing toward the east end, and then from the east end toward the west end of the bench on the right (north). The reason for beginning at the front left is that in the sequence that follows an ideological development can be followed. It may be noted that in the Dura Mithraeum the words *eisodos* and *exodos* were scratched on the column at the left front of the Mithraeum (*66*, fig 11). These words may have had reference to the beginning and ending point of ritual performance. The Telete rites may likely have been a symbolic enactment of a total cycle of life. The first preserved scene at Capua was actually the fourth in a series. Of the first scene the heads of two persons and part of a white tunic only have survived (*196 197*).

7.1. The fourth and fifth scenes were quite similar. In the fourth (*194*) the mystes holds his hands clasped in front of him as if in supplication while he is being thrust forward and the Mithra figure points with a wand toward an object on the ground. The mystagogue halts his forward thrust while the action of the Mithra priest or Pater is being performed. In the following scene (*195*) a mystagogue dressed in a white tunic with red borders stands behind the kneeling mystes and with his right foot braced against the ground and with his left knee in the middle of the back of the mystes he forces him forward. A Mithra-like figure in Phrygian cap and red mantle approaches the mystes. In the next picture located near the entrance end of the left bench (*193*) the mystes is shown prostrate, face downward and head toward the right. Beyond his outstretched hands stands the Mithra Pater who extends an object in his right hand downward toward the prostrate figure. Near the latter's feet stands the mystagogue in his white tunic (cf Right, 6, above).

7.2. Before looking at the pictures on the face of the right bench one should first observe the Luna chariot shown on the east wall in the semicircular area formed by the vaulted ceiling (*184*), the latter being decorated with large stars. The Luna chariot is drawn by two horses, one dark that moves downward toward the left side of the Mithraeum (5 h 8.1) and the other a light gray-white horse that wheels upward and backward toward the right side of the Mithraeum. The goddess herself wears a green tunic and the field about her chariot is dotted with stars. The field of stars in the barrel vault above is blue at the west end above the tauroctone picture and fades to a gray at the east end near the Luna chariot. Below on the north wall near the junction with the east wall there was a picture of the Deus aeternus with lion's head (*185*), only vague outlines of which survived.

7.3. The first scene at the entrance end of the north bench (*187*) shows the mystagogue, still clad in white with red stripes, propelling the naked mystes in front of him. The mystes has his hands bound together as he thrusts them slightly forward and has a blindfold over his eyes. Both are moving toward the left, the mystes being clearly dependent upon the other for direction. The next scene nearer the middle of the bench (*188**) shows the mystes in a sitting posture, apparently blindfolded and with his hands bound behind his back; moreover, his head is turned sharply toward his own left shoulder. From that side and from behind him the mystagogue approaches in full stride and appears to be about to remove the blindfold with his right hand, or otherwise he may be instructing the mystes with a touch of his hand. At the same moment the Mithra Pater in red mantle and Phrygian cap approaches from the left with a torch thrust forward toward the initiate's head, as on the Velletri base (Right, 7). In the following scene few features are distinguishable (*189*). The action seems to center around a kneeling figure (*Infusio*?). In the next scene (*190*) a somewhat taller figure at the left is approached by the mystagogue leading the initiate who appears to be still blindfolded and naked. In the following scene nearer to the tauroctone picture (*191*) the naked initiate, no longer blindfolded, kneels on his right knee, facing left, while the mystagogue standing behind him seems to be placing a wreath or crown on his head. The initiate is already wearing a Phrygian cap, this perhaps having been received in the preceding rite after the removal of the blindfold. The last scene appears to have been a *Devotio* (*192*), perhaps as a final act of dedication.

8. The general meaning of these scenes is reasonably clear even if details escape us. It appears probable that the Telete

rites progressed from station to station or altar to altar in a symbolic if not actual circle around the space between the benches of the Mithraeum, an ideal Mithraeum being circular in imitation of the cosmos (cf 4 d). There were generally three altars along each side bench, one or more altars in front of the tauroctone picture, and sometimes a bowl for water near the entrance or near the right bench. These stations are best preserved as a whole in the First Mithraeum of Poetovio (*1487-1508*). Two different representations of the *Natura dei* (*1489 1492*) stood to the left in front of the cult picture. In the Third Mithraeum the *Natura dei* monument (*1593**) stood at the middle of the left bench (cf 8 a 6). This left bench, it should be recalled was almost universally presided over by Cautopates (4 d 2), the *genius* of Apogenesis, or life after birth (3 i). In the Capua Mithraeum his picture was painted on the south wall above the left bench (*183**) whereas his statue and altar stood at the entrance end of the left bench in the First and Third Mithraea of Poetovio (*1502*, cf *1595 1600 1601*). At the middle of the left bench in the First Mithraeum, moreover, were the statue and altar of the *Transitus dei*, whereas in the Capua Mithraeum the plaque of Eros and Psyche (*186*) was near the middle of the left bench (8 b 3). These monuments help to interpret the two scenes on the face of the Capua bench near the middle. The action portrayed is an imitation of Mithra slaying the bull in which the initiate plays the part of the bull and the mystagogue that of Mithra tauroctonos, all of this being under the direction of the Pater in the likeness of Mithra Pater. In the tauroctone picture Mithra's slaughter of the of the bull is under the direction of the Raven as a messenger of Heaven. That the initiation rites involved a ceremonial slaying of the initiate is not only highly probable as a form of purgation or transition to a higher life, but is somewhat supported by the genuine murder committed by the emperor Commodus while performing the Mithraic rites. In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*Commodus*, 9) it is said that, "He polluted the Mithraic rites with a *genuine* homicide when in the rite something was regularly represented by word and deed in a fearful likeness". Paul spoke of Christian baptism as a burial with Christ in his death and a resurrection to the newness of life. The dead initiate was shown at the entrance end of the left bench as also on the right side of the Velletri base. Minto, who first published the Mithraeum, thought he detected the representation of serpent issuing from the back or spinal cord of the prostrate figure.

8.1. After the period of physical life ends with death, the soul passes to the Moon who purifies or illuminates (*gaočihr*) the seed of the bull, or otherwise it ascends through the sun gate at the south. In the Capua Mithraeum the dark horse of the Moon chariot plunging downward suggests physical death, whereas the white horse wheeling upward and toward the north suggests the ascent of the soul. Thereafter begins the period of descent and *genesis* of the soul in a new body, for Mithraists believed in cyclic rebirths (2 b 7). This is portrayed on the north bench of the Mithraeum over which Cautes presides (*182**). The world of Time and Life was under the Deus aeternus at the beginning of the north wall (*185*). His wings suggest the first principle of life, which is warm and moving air, and his leonine head suggests the fullest embodiment of life in an animate body (11 b).

8.2. The first scene on the north bench shows the blind soul becoming bound to a physical body that needs guidance in its forward motion (*187*). A Christian commentator asks,

> What sort of a thing is it they play at with blindfolded eyes in a cave? Lest they shrink from their shameful self-deception their eyes are veiled; some also flap their wings like birds and imitate the voice of a raven, and others roar like lions. Others having their hands bound with the intestines of a fowl are propelled over pits full of water while a person who calls himself a Liberator approaches with a dagger (*gladio*) and severs the intestines. There are other more shameful things. Lo, in how many ways they who call themselves wise delude themselves (Cumont, *MMM* 2, p. 7s).

Even though a rite of severing intestines bound about an initiate's hands cannot be identified in the iconography, nevertheless the ideology of such a rite would be that of liberating the soul from the bonds of the flesh, which bonds are acquired in the dawn of life, the dawn being symbolized by a cock. Propulsion over water would be a parallel to an *apotheosis* of the soul on the sky chariot which ascends over the waters (9 c 2), or it might signify the impulse to rebirth in a watery body (7 c 6). Not only were there bowls of water placed at the entrance of the Mithraea as at Dura (*34*, fig 10 at 10) and Ostia (*216*, *239*, *299*), but in the Second Mithraeum of Aquincum (*1753*) and in the Second Mithraeum of Poetovio (*1533* cf *1810*) dedications to the FONTI PERENNI were placed near the middle of the right hand bench (cf 4 i 1). At the same relative position in the Mithraea of Santa Prisca, Barberini Gardens, Baths of Caracalla, Museo di Roma and Capua there were recessed depressions, some extending below the level of the pavement that were quite clearly for water. A channel led from some of these either to the altar table before the cult niche or to the outside of the building, as also in the Poetovio Mithraeum. A pool for water was also found in the center aisle of the Second Stockstadt Mithraeum (*1209*). The necessity of the Mithraic cave being verdant and provided with springs of water was emphasized in Mithraic tradition (Pt 1, citation).

8.3. A *Telete* by *Infusio*, as shown on the tauroctones (9 a 2) and Velletri base, is confirmed by Tertullian (*De baptismo*, 5) who says,

> Even the gentiles, alien to all understanding of spiritual powers, attribute the same effectiveness to their idols; but they deceive themselves with bereft waters, for they become initiates of an Isis or Mithra by certain rites of ablution.

The follower of Mithra had to be reborn both by water and by fire, like the early Christian (Luke 3. 16; John 3. 6), an ideology that was expressed by the *Principia vitae* motives (8 d). The torch thrust toward the head (*188*), probably touching it for a moment, was symbolic of an engendering of the *pneuma* or *asthma* in the reborn *mystes* (cf 9 a 10), just as a flame of fire appeared on the head of Mithra while being engendered in the Petra genetrix (8 a 1). According to Tertullian (*De praescrip. haeret.*, 40) it was the function of the Devil to pervert the truth,

> Who also competes with the very substance of the divine sacraments by means of the mysteries of idols. He himself even sprinkles (*tingit*) some, at least his believers and faithful; he promises an expiation of faults by virtue of a bath (*lavacro*); and, if in this connection you recall, Mithra marks his Milites there on their forehead, he also celebrates an offering of bread, induces an image of the resurrection and takes back (*redimit*) the crown beneath the sword (*sub gladio*). What if he also

> establishes his highest pontifex in the marriage of one? He also has celibates (*virgines*); he also has ascetics (*continentes*).

The Telete rite by water was either a *tinctura*, a wetting with water as if to change the color, or a sprinkling, a bath by infusion of water rather than by immersion, the infusion being shown in the iconography.

8.4. The meaning of the next scene, in which the mystagogue guides the candidate into the presence of the Pater, is not clear because the Pater is not well preserved. In the last scene that is preserved the initiate with his hands still bound behind his back is now without blindfold but is wearing the Phrygian cap, or a more or less similar type of cap. The mystagogue standing behind him appears to be placing a wreath on his head, although the presence of the cap causes some doubt as to the precise nature of the rite that is being performed. The preceding scenes may have been rites of illumination symbolized by the removal of the blindfold and the bestowal of the sky cap (*190 191*).

8.5. The last station in the progress of the initiate would be at the main altar before the cult picture, this being flanked by statues of the Natura dei on the left in the First Mithraeum of Poetovio and by an altar of *Invictus* Mithra on the right (*1488*). After having been perfected (*teletē*) by the rites, the newly illuminated mystes would now perceive new meanings in the cult picture and in the symbolic imagery of the entire Mithraeum, especially if the shrine were now illuminated with numerous lamps. He should experience the feeling of a new birth in Mithra and perhaps also the exaltation of becoming "more than a conqueror" in Mithra.

9. In one of the Ostia Mithraea (Fig. 19) which had signs of the zodiac along the edges of the two benches (4 d), three planetary gods were also exhibited on the face of each bench as well as a dagger in the mosaic pavement at the entrance. There were also seven semi-circles (or hemispheres) marked out in the pavement of the aisle extending from the entrance to the cult wall. Each of these stopped short of the right bench in a sort of gate. These appear to have been symbolic representations of the seven spheres through which the mystes must pass in the seven grades of initiation, each being identified with one of the planets and each being in

reality a gate of death and rebirth, these transitions being induced by the dagger. The planetary gods were so placed that Jupiter with thunderbolt and scepter held the inner end of the left bench, Mercury with his caduceus the middle position and Luna-Diana the entrance end. Jupiter corresponds to the Natura dei position in the Poetovio Mithraeum, Jupiter being the god of full incarnation (4 g 3). Mercury is at the middle station with his magic staff in hand, the wand of the Ahu (cf 6 b 2-3), which also appears in the hand of the Pater in the corresponding Capua scene. As a Cattle thief Mercury holds the same position as the *Transitus dei* or Cattle thief monument in the Poetovio Mithraeum. As a Psychopomp Mercury corresponds to Eros guiding Psyche in the Capua Mithraeum. Moreover at Capua this position was at the extreme south, which was the way of souls becoming immortal (cf 4 f). The Luna-Diana figure at the entrance end, holding an arrow in one hand and an apple or ball in the other, corresponds to the Luna chariot in the Capua Mithraeum. If the arrow represents the passionate breath of life (7 c 2), the apple could represent the final reward of the hero, just as the two horses of the Luna chariot represent the life of the body and of the soul, or death and rebirth.

9.1. At the entrance end of the right bench of the Ostia Mithraeum was Mars with helmet, shield and lance. The fiery Mars was god of the Fravahr (4 g 3), the first principle of life, which in a blind passion for water unites with moisture to become embodied. At the middle of the right bench was Venus under a sky-veil. Her position corresponds to that of the *Fons perennis* in other Mithraea (9 a 8.2), and would be at the extreme north in the Capua Mithraeum, the north being the place where souls descend through the moon gate into the waters of birth. At this station rebirth by fire and water was completed, the fiery aspect of the birth being indicated by the torch ceremony at Capua. The planetary god at the end of the right bench was Saturn under his sky-veil. He was the god of knowledge, a correlate of the fullest physical existence, and therefore quite appropriately the god of the Pater grade which I have equated (4 g 3) with the wisdom of Religion (Dēn) and the Breath of Life (J̌ān).

9.2. While Mercury held the same position in the Mithraeum of

Spoletium as at Ostia, Saturn instead of Jupiter was shown at the inner end of the left bench (*677,1*), these being the only gods preserved. It is probable that Jupiter held the inner end of the right bench. This would mean that the initiate reached the full vigor of life before he achieved full knowledge, the two however being more or less simultaneous. In short there should be a close connection between the Lion and Pater grades (cf 9 a 10). Actually in the Mithraeum of the Seven Portals at Ostia (Fig. 20) a veiled Saturn holding his curved blade was shown in the mosaic pavement before the cult picture and a little farther away Jupiter with his forked lightning bolt. Still farther away was a *Fons perennis* in the form of a basin which may have been flanked by bubbling fountains originally. In the pavement nearer the middle of the aisle was shown a large bowl whose lip was decorated with leaves. Facing it from the left was the *vāregan* (2 c 6) holding a spear, while on the right was a snake with its head above the bowl and its tail just emerging from a mound of rocks. This is but another form of the Principia vitae motive (8 d). At the entrance end of the same aisle seven portals were shown in the pavement, the center one being the tallest and widest. This was probably the solar gate, the station of the sun being either before the cult picture or at the entrance end of the Mithraeum. The sun as a planet was not shown in either of the Ostia Mithraea. In this Mithraeum (Fig. 20) Mercury and Mars held the same positions on the faces of the benches as in the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres (Fig. 19). Venus and Luna, however exchange places so that Luna under a sky-veil is at the station of the *Fons perennis* and Venus in the nude is at the station toward which Eros-Cupid guides the departed soul at Capua. These variations in the iconography and significance of Luna and Venus indicate the difficulty which orientals experienced in trying to illustrate Persian ideas with Graeco-Roman art motives. The great water goddess of Iran was not the Moon or Venus but Anāhita, who could be more or less equated with Artemis-Diana or Venus-Aphrodite as divinities of water and birth or with Luna-Selene whom planetary speculation associated with the watery north. Water, moreover, was both *mēnōk* and *gētēh*, celestial and terrestrial (cf 5 h 5; 6 g 1).

9.3. In two other Mithraea of Ostia the snake, a symbol of the pneumatic soul *in transitu*, was shown near the middle of the center aisle. In one (*272*) the pavement is divided at the middle stations by a cross line. Near the right bench a serpent crawls forward toward this dividing line which I have deduced to be a gate of physical birth on the right and of physical death on the left. At the entrance end of this same rectangle a footprint was shown in the pavement with the toe directed inward as if to suggest the invisible entrance of the divine, a *transitus dei* into life. In the other Mithraeum (Fig. 4), previously described in connection with the snake (2 b 4), the snake crawls from the left bench toward the right. These motions of the snakes and of the footstep tend to confirm the order in which I have read the symbols of initiation at Capua and elsewhere. The raven at the entrance of the left bench of the Ostia Mithraeum (Fig. 4) would be at the station of physical death and passage of the soul, just as the raven heralds the death of the bull in the tauroctone picture. The cock at the entrance end of the right bench heralds the dawn of conscious life after the descent of the fiery soul into a physical body. The large scorpion in the pavement between the snake at the middle and the cock and raven at the entrance end is balanced by a bull's head flanked by sacrificial axe and snake that is shown in the rectangle before the cult picture. The Scorpion is the sign of autumn and physical death, while the Bull is the sign of Spring and renewed life. The Silvanus figure in the vestibule (2 b 4) with spade and sickle and a floral crown, like the Deus aeternus in the Capua Mithraeum, signifies the totality of life both of body and soul. The spade is for planting, the sickle for reaping, and the crown is for victory in life or death. Whether the final victory is in this world or another depends upon the eschatology of the local cult (cf 7 g-h).

10. Whether the initiation rites portrayed on the reliefs and frescoes were selected from the rites of particular grades or were generalized for all the grades is difficult to determine. Possibly by selecting certain rites that were characteristic of particular grades a general pattern of initiation for all the grades was shown, provided one understood the meaning of what was shown.

A survey of what we know about the different grades may help to evaluate the existing iconography. I have previously suggested that originally there were only two grades, the Raven and the Lion, whose ideology was the reverse of that of the seven grades which were evolved under the influence of Greek religious thought derived from Plato or Aristotle (4 g 3.2s). Even the Pater may have been only a specialized or priestly function of the Lions, for we find a community of *cultores* under a *president* which has only one *Pater leonum* (*688*). Again we find a Lion empowered to act as a Pater and preside over a group (*803*). A Pater or a Pater sacrorum duly empowered (*patratus*, or *nomimos*) is mentioned several times (*76 79 84* 739 706*), as is the Pater sacrorum (*206 420 423* et al).

The names and order of the seven grades were formerly derived from Saint Jerome (*Ad Laetam*, 107), who asks,

> A few years ago did not your neighbor Gracchus, whose name echoes patrician nobility, when a prefect of the city, overturn, demolish and throw out all the portentious masks (*simulacra*) with which the Corax, Nymphus, Miles, Leo, Perses, Heliodromus, and Pater are initiated, and when these had been dispatched in advance like hostages did he not enforce Christian baptism?

These seven grades have now been confirmed by inscriptions on the walls of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum in Rome (*480*) and by the imagery in the mosaic pavement of an Ostia Mithraeum (Fig. 21, cf 4 g 3).

The use of masks in the rites is implied by a critic of Mithraic ritual, who asks [1],

> What more shall I say? You the barbarian priest and play-fellow of Mithra, you worship the Sun as Mithra the Illuminator of mystic places and Knowledge-sharer, as you think. What is it that you act out among them, and like a polished mime carry through in their mysteries?

Ceremony was an important part of the rites, the ceremonies being in large part imitative. In late inscriptions (*400-405*) one speaks of delivering or "handing over" the *leontica*, *patrica*, *heliaca*, *persica*, *hierocoracica*, and *chryfios* (sic). Likewise Zoroaster was

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1) *Acta disp. Archelai cum Manete*, p 134=Cumont *MMM* 2, p 16.

said to have "delivered the teletai" (cf 1, init.). The *cryfios* (sic) was also "exhibited". The contents and meaning of these initiation ceremonies must be gleaned, if at all, from the inscriptional and figured monuments and from a study of the religious milieu out of which Mithraism evolved. The results can be only tentative and approximate.

11. KORAX (Corvus). Three Greek inscriptions from a Mithraeum on the Aventine (*472*) mention no other grades than Pater, Leōn and Korax. The longest (*473*) was for the setting up and consecrating of two bronze lamps, each having six nozzles, as a gift to ZEUS HELIOS MEGAS MITHRAS ANEIKĒTOS and associated gods by Kastor Pater and Kastor *huios hieros korax* and also by two Fathers and six Lions, whose names are listed, acting as assistants. A shorter dedication by the two Kastors was to ZEUS HELIOS MITHRAS ANEIKĒTOS (*474*). The third dedication (*475*) was by the Hiereus and Pater Benoustos together with the servants (*hypēretai*) of the god to ZEUS HELIOS MITHRAS PHANĒS. In passing it may be noticed that Phanēs, the Manifest, is the equivalent of Aneikētos, the Unconquered. (cf 6 h 10). The use of the terms *patēr* and *huios* is somewhat ambiguous since they may express a cult relationship as well as an actual family relationship, although the identity of names points to the latter. The son was a Holy Raven, which is the same epithet given to the grade in the Dura *graffiti* and is preserved in the *hiero-coracica* of the inscriptions cited above. The attribution of holiness to the Raven would be related to his function as the messenger of the divine Word (cf 4 g 3.1; 5 f 6). As such the raven grade would properly be under the protection of Mercury as in the Ostia Mithraeum (2 c 2). In this Mithraeum (Fig. 21) the symbols of the grades were shown in the mosaic pavement of the center aisle, the order being from the entrance toward the cult niche. In the vestibule there was a cult basin near the outer entrance. Near the middle of the vestibule a two-handled cup was shown in the pavement. This cup was in line with the center aisle of the Mithraeum. Close to the beginning of the side benches were two Dioscuri caps, each with a star at its crown. These would correspond to the torchbearers so often represented at these positions. Beyond the

caps in the central aisle was the first of seven rectangular areas marked out in the pavement.

Within the first rectangle were shown a raven at the left, a cup in the middle and a caduceus at the right, the latter signifying Mercury as the god of the grade. The cup denotes a function of the Raven, which was to pass the sacred drink to the communicants at the Trapeza Mithrou (cf 9 b 8 s). This rectangle should correspond to the first semi-circle marked out in the pavement of the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres (Fig. 19) and to one of the portals in the other Ostia Mithraeum (Fig. 20). Similar correspondences would apply to the subsequent rectangles and grades.

12. NYMPHOS (CRYFIOS?). In the second rectangle was a richly decorated diadem at the right as a symbol of Venus, goddess of the grade, and below it a lamp as a characteristic function. The symbol of the grade itself in the left half has not survived, but probably was a veiled youth. On the wall of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*480, 6*) the member of this grade is walking, clothed with a long yellow veil over his head (cf also *268,1*) and carries a lamp in his hands. The inscription reads, NAMA NYMPH[I]S TUTELA VENERIS. In the Dura *graffiti* he is called NEOS NYMPHOS, the New Nymph.

A possible formula of this initiation rite may be preserved by Firmicus Maternus (*De errore prof. rel.*, 19) which runs as follows in Greek: . . . . DE NYMPHE XAIRE NYMPHE XAIRE NEON PHŌS, "And [hail,] Nymphos, hail, Nymphos, hail, New Light!" Firmicus then continues,

> Why do you, calamitous persuasion, plunge such a miserable man through steep descents? Why do you promise him insignia of a false hope? With you there is no light, nor is there anyone who deserves to hear the bridegroom. One Light there is and one Bridegroom (*sponsus*); Christ has received the favor of these names. You will not have been able to transfer to yourself the glory of an alien felicity, nor be able to be decorated with the splendor of celestial light. You have been hurled into darkness and squalor.

It may perhaps be deduced from these comments that the New Light was Mithra as the Bridegroom of the New Nymph and that the Pater playing the part of Mithra called the formula to the initiate. The repetition of the vocative was typical of religious language or ritual. The lamp the Nymphos carried must have been symbolic of the Celestial Light whose splendor he was to see when his veil was withdrawn. The goddess placed at the middle of the right bench in the Mithraeum of the Seven Spheres was shown under a bridal veil, but it should be noted that the Iranian moon god Māh as well as the Phrygian Mēn was a male divinity and not a female (cf King Māh, 5 h 3, and Deo Lune, *1321*). Likewise here the Nymphos is a male, just as Mithra's virgins were also males. The ritual of the grade that emphasized the veiling of the candidate may have suggested an alternative name of Cryfios, the Concealed. If the Raven grade was that of the invisible Word that initiates creation, the Nymphos grade was that of Love whose attracting force generated the world of fire and light, which became the world of Mithra. The Nymph as a new-born soul (9 b 6), whose veil symbolizes generative waters, is married to Incarnate Fire in the world cave, like the cave Nymph to Helios Attis (n 12, pt 7).

13. STRATIŌTĒS (MILES). In the third rectangle of the Ostia mosaic there is a soldier's knapsack at the left as the sign of the grade, a helmet in the middle as one of its characteristic functions, and a spear at the right as a symbol of the planet Mars. In the Santa Prisca fresco the Miles carries a heavy knapsack over his left shoulder and is clothed in a white tunic with three purple bands at the wrists. The white signifies religious purity and devotion and the purple a quality of sovereignty. Above him is inscribed NAMA MILITIBUS TUTELA MARTIS. In the Dura Mithraeum a member is hailed as STRATIŌTĒI AKERIŌI, the Pure Soldier, which corresponds to MILES PIUS, the Devoted Soldier, inscribed on altars of the torchbearers in a Mithraeum of Wiesbaden (*1231-1234*).

In the initiation rites there was apparently a ceremony with a crown described by Tertullian (*De corona,* 15) as follows:

> Let his (Christ's) fellow soldiers blush that must now be judged not by him but by a Soldier of Mithra who, when he is being initiated in a cave, in the very camp of darkness, is warned to thrust from his head by a motion of the hand, as if he were play-acting at martyrdom, a crown that is offered to him by means of an interposed sword and that is even being fitted to his head, and to transfer it as by chance to his shoulder, saying that Mithra is his crown. Henceforth he is never crowned

> and considers this as a sign of testing himself, just as if he were being tempted away from the sacrament; and he is immediately rated a soldier of Mithra if he shall have rejected a crown, if he shall have said the same is in his god.

An initiate of the Miles grade, then, could not receive the crown of rulership, even if conferred upon him by the sword, the typical weapon of the Iranian Mars-Verethraghna (4 g 7). Even if it were placed on his head he must cause it to fall to his shoulder, from which it was taken back again (*redimit*) by means of a sword (9 a 8.3). Sovereignty, symbolized by the crown, does not belong to the soldier even though the weight of sovereignty often rests upon his shoulders. It is for the soldier to support sovereign power with complete devotion (*pius*), not to exercise it. Sovereignty in the Iranian view belonged to the radiant Āsmān with its shining lights (5 f 1; 5 c 2), which was the path of Heliodromus. It is quite probable that a helmet was placed on the initiate's head as a symbol of his defensive function. On the tauroctone fragment described above (9 a 3.1) where a Miles is present and seems to be passing a helmet toward the initiate, the latter is struck a blow with the leg of the bull. This Purgatio form of the rites appears on tauroctones of Mithraea where the military membership was prominent, as in Poetovio III (cf *1579**). Such a purification rite would be suitable to a Pure Soldier.

The blow with the bull's shank may have been symbolic of the *signum* placed on the soldier's forehead (cf 9 a 8.3), or this sign may have been a brand symbolically burned in with the torch [2].

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2) Julian, *Letters*, 451 (*To a Priest*, in *LCL*), says that a certain Pegasias, while showing the interior of a Temple of Athene in Ilion, did not behave as impious men do "when they make the sign of the cross on their impious foreheads, nor did he hiss to himself as they do. For these two things are the quintessence of their theology, to hiss at demons (*syrittein pros tous daimonas*) and to outline the cross on their foreheads (*skiagraphein epi tou metōpou ton stauron*)." On hissing see A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, pp 40, 221. These actions could hardly reflect the essence of Mithraic theology, but are rather the unreflective acts that survive from ancient magic. The pneumatic hiss counteracts the pneumatic power of an undesirable spirit or demon. The crossing of fingers or legs or the making of crosses and the tying of knots counteracts fertility powers. Thus the old crone sent by Hera retarded the birth of Herakles, and knots, bound hair and rings were taboo in the fertility cult of Demeter. The Torchbearers standing on crossed legs could denote the

Such a use of fire would be appropriate to the Miles grade because of the fiery nature of Mars, the protector of man's *fravahr,* or fiery soul (4 g 2-3). The *fravahr* was the first principle of man which combined with four other principles to form the living man. The Miles represented the unmixed (*akerios*) element of fiery Mars.

14. LEŌN (LEO). In the Ostia pavement a fire shovel is shown at the left as a symbol of the Leo grade, a *sistrum* in the middle as a function of the grade, and a thunderbolt at the right as a symbol of Jupiter, god of the grade. It is possible that the roaring of the Lions during the mystery rites (cf 9 a 8.2) was produced by or accompanied by the noise of the *sistrum,* a symbol of physical motion (Plut., *Mor.*, 376 C-D). The fiery and consuming nature of the Mithraic Lions has already been discussed in connection with the inscriptions found in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum of the earlier period (7 g 6), a theme that is elsewhere emphasized by a lion crushing an animal (8 d 4.1). This in turn is the counterpart of Jupiter destroying the earth giants with his thunderbolts (12 a 5), Jupiter being the planetary god of the Lions. The lion as a "physical principle of fire" represented maximum physical power, or a maximum embodiment of fire. Likewise the hot coals on the altar were maximum embodiment of fire, and therefore symbolic of the grade. This characteristic of the Leo grade is indicated in the Leontic rites as described by Porphyrius when he says that the Leo initiate was "invested with all the different forms of animals", these forms being some of the *simulacra* of the Mithraeum. This was a mimetic action by which the mystes arrived at the most perfect embodiment of life (*ahu*) in a body (*tan*) (cf 4 g 1 ss).

The purity and fiery nature of this new incarnation was emphasized in another rite involving the use of honey. According to Porphyrius (*De antro,* 15)

> The theologians make use of honey for many varied symbols because of its consisting of many powers, and in particular being both cleansing and preserving. By means of honey things remain uncorrupted, and deep seated wounds are purified by honey. It is sweet to the taste and

binding of the *psychē* in *genesis* and especially in *apogenesis* (3b1). The Miles sign on the forehead, probably made by "shadow" or imitative writing, would keep the Soldier of Mithra "pure".

> is extracted by bees, which, it turns out, are cattle-generated. Whenever, therefore, they pour honey instead of water to wash the hands of those who are being initiated into the leontic rites, they exhort them to have hands pure from all that is painful, deceptive and vile, and they bring washings (*niptra*) appropriate to such a mystes by avoiding water as being hostile to fire since fire is cleansing. They also purify the tongue from all that is sinful with honey. 16. But whenever they bring honey to the Perses as a guardian of fruits, they postulate in symbol the preservative quality.

The purification of the Leo then was not with water but with a *niptron* that was found in honey. According to a Dura *graffito* (*68*) "A fiery *asthma* is what also was a *niptron* of rites for the Magi". The breath of the horse of fire attached to the cosmic chariot, as described by Dio Chrysostom (5 h 6) was called *asthma.* In the Santa Prisca representation of the Leo mystes (*480,4*) he is dressed entirely in red, the color of fire and of youthful vitality, and he holds the altar shovel in his hands. The inscription reads: NAMA LEONIBUS TUTELA JOVIS. A procession of six Lions each bearing an offering or leading a sacrificial animal is shown on the same wall. The members of this grade were especially emphasized in this Mithraeum. In the Dura *graffiti* the lion is called HABROS, gentle or tamed. A Leo was in perfect accord with *aša* or *mithrem,* the fiery principle of world order. According to Varro (in Augustine, *De civ.,* 7.24) the lion of Cybele signified her power to tame the wildest of creatures.

If the Miles grade was that of the fiery soul unmixed with the lower elements, the Leo grade was that of the fully embodied soul at the height of its powers.

15. PERSES. In the Ostia mosaic the hooked knife with which Perseus severed the head of Medusa is shown at the left as a sign of the grade, in the center is a hoe or small plow as a characteristic function, and at the right is a star within an inverted crescent (cf 5 a 2) as a symbol of the waning Luna, goddess of the grade. In the Santa Prisca fresco the Perses holds a sickle in his left hand and a bundle of wheat stocks in his raised right hand. His white tunic is bordered with yellow stripes at the wrists. The inscription reads: NAMA PERSIS TUTELA LVNAE. According to Porphyrius (cited above) Perses was a PHYLAX TŌN KARPŌN,

a Preserver of Fruits. At Dura one reads: PERSES. . . . . ELEMNOIS, which I would restore as *Persesin melomenois*, "for the care-taking Perses". The closing of an *o* to an *e* and of *men* to *mn* corresponds to the shortening of an *ai* to *i* in *akeraios*, the epithet of Stratiōtēs. The identification of Perses with Luna at Ostia accords with the Persian view that the moon was next to the sun in elevation (5 c-d) and was the preserver of the bull's seed or vitality. The inverted or waning moon (cf 5 a 2) would be proper to fully matured fruits which must be preserved.

It appears, therefore, that the Perses grade was that of the soul that must be preserved when the body matures and decays. If the plow, or hoe, and wheat stocks symbolize the production of fruits, the sickle and hooked knife symbolize the harvest and transition of life.

16. HELIODROMUS. In the sixth rectangle of the Ostia pavement a lighted torch appears at the left symbolizing the grade as that of the fiery sky, while in the center is a radiate crown as a function of the grade, and at the right a whip, the symbol of Sol, the planetary divinity of the grade. In the Santa Prisca fresco the Heliodromus approaches the seated Pater with his right hand raised in a salute; his head is surrounded with a blue nimbus and with rays of gold and in the crook of his left arm he supports a blue sphere. He wears a red tunic with a yellow belt and has the sky mantle about his shoulders. The inscription reads: NAMA HELIODROMIS TUTELA SOLIS.

16.1. In the Third Mithraeum of Poetovio an altar found near the middle of the right hand bench (*1591**), where the Fons perennis was located in other Mithraea (9 a 8.2), showed on the right face a standing figure naked except for the sky mantle falling from his shoulders. He is holding a whip in his raised right hand and the world ball in his extended left hand, and his head is radiate with twelve rays of light which correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac. Behind him are the heads of the horses of his quadriga. This is clearly Heliodromus, the solar charioteer of the cosmic chariot whose path is the shining *āsmān* which governs all below. On the left face of this altar was a standing male carrying on his head a *kalathos* in the form of a city wall and holding in his left hand a cornucopia of fruits. From his right hand he pours a libation on an altar. This is the Agathos daimōn or Xvarr, the Good Fortune, that imparts vitality to all living things (11 c 1; 7 d; cf 6 g 2.2). This altar, whose horns were crouching lions, was dedicated to D.S.I.M.

16.2. At the next station in this Mithraeum, that is, at the inner end of the right bench and before the cult niche, stood the great altar of the Holy Covenant (*1584**). On the face of this altar Heliodromus stands at the left in shoulder cape and radiate crown and holding a whip in his left hand. To the right stands Mithra who passes to Heliodromus a dagger with pieces of meat on its upturned blade. A raven flying down from heaven pecks at the meat, which would be a form of sanctification in Iranian thought (cf 2 a 2). This token of a solemn pledge is being exchanged over the flames of a blazing altar, at the foot of which are the shoulder and leg of a slaughtered bull. Heliodromus the mystes of a cattle-theft becomes also the *syndexios* of the excellent Pater Mithra (cf 1 e, cit). The horns of this altar, likewise dedicated to D.S.I.M., were rams' heads.

It should be observed that to the left of the cult niche in this Mithraeum stood an altar or monument (*1589*) of Mithra tauroctonos dedicated to DEUS SOL INVICTUS MITHRAS, instead of a Natura dei as in the First Mithraeum of Poetovio. Moreover at the middle of the left bench stood the elaborate monument of the Natura dei (8 a 5.1) instead of a Transitus dei, as in the First Mithraeum. In the Third Mithraeum, therefore, which belonged to the middle of the third century, the progression was from Birth instead of Death on the left to Death and Ascent instead of Descent and Birth on the right. The ideology of final things has changed to other-worldliness culminating in ascent and holy communion with a heavenly Pater. In the older view of two grades of initiation the hope was for a final descent in a body of leonine powers that would help save and rule a perfect world on earth. The Heliodromus grade, on the other hand, was that of the soul that has passed to the sun-gate to become a guide of the cosmic chariot, or starry world above the cave, as shown on the cult relief (*1579**).

17. PATER and PATER PATRUM. The Pater at Santa Prisca is shown in dress quite similar to that of Heliodromus, for he wears a red tunic with long sleeves bordered with yellow stripes, and has a yellow belt around his body, and a red sky-mantle hangs from his shoulders. On his head is not the radiate crown but the Phrygian sky-cap. He is bearded, not young like Heliodromus, is seated on a high throne and points toward the sky with his raised right hand, like Barnaadath on the Dura tauroctone (cf 6 h 4). The inscription reads: NAMA /PATRIBUS/ AB ORIENTE AD OCCIDENTE(M) TUTELA SATURNI. It may be recalled that in Syria the planet Saturn was called Mithras Helios (4 g 4), which was Mithra of the winter sun, the sun that was most remote from the inhabited earth. "From sunrise to sunset" is an idiom for the totality of space, the domain over which the Sky Father presides.

In the Ostia mosaic the Pater grade was indicated at the left by a libation saucer and a magic staff, the *rhabdos* or wand of the Ahu (6 b 3). In the middle of the rectangle was a Phrygian cap, symbol of the sky with or without stars, and at the right was the curved knife or sickle of Saturnus-Kronos, god of the grade. This blade, like the dagger, was an instrument of creation conceived to be a separation of the finite from the infinite, or of knowable parts from an unknowable whole. The sky of the Pater, symbolized by the Phrygian cap or Saturn's hood was not the shining fire that marks the path of Heliodromus but the invisible *pneuma* or *jān* from which men derive not only the breath of life but also the capacity for knowledge (cf 4 g 3).

17.1. Beyond the seventh rectangle in the Ostia mosaic pavement there were additional symbols and the dedicatory inscription of Felicissimus. The symbols are a two-handled cup which corresponds to the cup in the vestibule at the opposite end of the aisle. The cup is surrounded with branches of foliage or stocks of grain, which would correspond to the Dioscuri caps at the opposite end. The cup was a symbol of primary cosmic stuff, the watery element (5 f 7), from which all *genesis* arose. This was the symbol of the Pater patrum, Father of all creation and life, whose twofold powers as beginning and end were the torchbearers, or divine twins. The Pater patrum was the highest elevation and function of the Pater grade, whereas an Antipater, mentioned in a painted inscription at Dura (*57*), was probably a member acting as a Pater or mystagogue. The mystagogue as a Priest of the Rites acted under the direction of the Pater of the Rites. These two functions would correspond to those of the Rathwiskar and Ahu, or Zaotar, in Zoroastrian rites (cf 6 h 10). According to Porphyrius, or Euboulos, the Ravens of Mithra were ministrants (*hypēretountas*). The Antipater at Dura may have been the equivalent of the Hypēretēs in Rome (*475*, cf 9 a 11). The cup was also a fundamental symbol of the Raven (cf *1974*).

17.2. In the Merida Mithraeum the marble statue of a reclining Oceanus, shown with a partly veiled body resting on the waters and holding a cornucopia, was dedicated, quite appropriately, by Hedychrus as the Pater patrum (*778 779*). The cornucopia connects this figure with the Saturnus-Tychon-Xvarr (11 c 1s), whereas the hooked knife (*650, 2**; cf *1283, 8* 1593**) is a symbol of the Deus genitor (8 a 5; 12 a 6; cf 10 e 1).

18. STEREŌTĒS (Continens?). This title appears frequently in the Dura Mithraeum, whereas that of Heliodromus never. Therefore one may ask whether the Stereōtēs was the equivalent of the Heliodromus, especially since all of the other seven grades are named at Dura. One *graffito* reads: "Inscribed to hopes for Antoninus, a Stereōtēs, a good Syndexios who is devout (*eusebēs*)". We have noticed above (9 a 16.2) a Syndexios rite (12 c 4) between Mithra Pater and the Heliodromus. *Eusebēs* had come to be the Greek equivalent of Latin *augustus* and therefore carried with it notions of kingly piety and rulership, an epithet particularly suited to the Heliodromus, for his ascent to the management of the world chariot was by virtue of a total escape from the lower world of materiality. A *stereōtēs* should be an ascetic, from *stereō*, to be deprived, and therefore one of the *continentes* mentioned by Tertullian (9 a 8.3). The fact that Antoninus was hoping for promotion, not in the Roman army but in the ranks of Mithra, would suggest he was under discipline for a higher grade. Since the Stereōtēs was also called a Sophistēs, a part of his discipline would be to gain the knowledge required of a Pater who was identified with Saturnus the god of divine knowledge (*gnōsis* or *dēn*).

18.1. The discipline which initiates had to undergo may have become very exacting as one progressed upward through the grades, even if one discounts the traditions that have come down to us on this matter. A trench near a fireplace in the Mithraeum of Procolitia (*844*) seems to have been for exposing a candidate to extremes of heat and cold[3]. According to Tertullian (*Adv. Marcionem*, 1.3), "The Leones of Mithra philosophize the sacraments of a dry and burning nature".

It seems probable that beginning with the Nymphos grade the *mystae* had to become celibates, the *virgines* mentioned by Tertullian (9 a 8.3), since the Nymph was betrothed to Mithra as a man of virgin purity. The greater mysteries are the gate of heaven to the House of God where the Good God dwells alone. Those who come hither must receive (or change?) their garments and become bridegrooms, emasculated through the virginal spirit (Hippolytus *Ref.*, 5.3; cf n 6, pt 3). As a Pure Soldier he must serve Mithra with loyalty and singleness of devotion. Beginning with the Lions the *mystae* became ascetics whose purifications were not by means of water but of honey as a form of fire. Upon elevation to the Pater grade the asceticism ceased and the *mystes* acting the part of Mithra Pater became the bridegroom of the betrothed Nymph. According to Tertullian (cf 9 a 8.3), *in unius nuptiis* Mithra established his highest pontiff. The *one* whose marriage rites are referred to must have been one of the seven grades, and the highest would be the Pater (cf 12 c 4). Whether such rites were literal or symbolic must remain uncertain, since the Pater did have natural children like Kastor the Pater whose son Kastor was a Korax (9 a 11; cf also *206 511*).

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[3] I. A. Richmond and J. P. Gillam, *The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh*, p 19, fig 4, and n 19 for the tradition.

As for the hopes of reward for such testings, the Emperor Julian closes his discourse on the rewards of *The Caesars* with these words: "Hermes said to me, 'As for you, I have granted you to come to know your Father Mithras. Keep his commandments and thus secure for yourself a cable and safe anchorage all your life, and may you be graciously endowed with Good Hope when you must depart hence because you have established him as your guiding god.' " Note also the closing words of his hymn *To King Helios*: "I pray that Helios King of All grant to me . . . an ascent to him thereafter and an abiding with him (*par' auton*) if possible for ever, but if this is more than is my due, for many circuits (or periods), all also of many a year length." This is a higher hope than he accorded to any of the Emperors that had preceded him, perhaps as a part of his satire, for "it was granted the Caesars to banquet below the moon herself on the surface of the air" where the lightness of the bodies in which they were invested and the revolution of the moon would hold them up (307B-D).

18.2. The nakedness of the candidate during the initiation rites was symbolic of his renunciation of things hostile to the soul. This is a basic conception of Porphyrius in his commentary on the Homeric cave as an image of the cosmos. A passage near the end (*De antro, 34*) is of particular interest and runs as follows:

> To this end therefore says Homer the cave must exclude every external possession, and the person who has made himself naked and become clad in the likeness of a beggar, who has beaten his body and cast away everything superfluous and has turned away from physical perceptions, must take counsel with Athena, sitting with her at the foot of the olive tree in order that the plottings of his soul may circumcise all sufferings. It is not beside the point, I think, that to the collegues of Noumenious Odysseus seemed to convey to Homer in the *Odyssey* an image of one who has passed through the circuit of generation and thus has been reestablished in the boundless places outside of every wave and sea:
>
> Till you come to men knowing naught of the sea,
> Nor eat vituals seasoned with salt.
>
> Open sea, salt sea, and billow are hylic substances in Plato.

Mithraic asceticism, as it developed in the third and fourth centuries under the influence of Neoplatonism, required at least a temporary repudiation of marriage ties with women as well as the exclusion of women from membership. It also required an avoidance of watery substances in order that the fiery essence of the soul might not be quenched or debased. This state of being was most fully achieved at the Heliodromus grade that was identified with the purest fire of the solar circuit. This fire was Mithra Heliodromus of the visible *hvarenō*, whereas the veiled sky of hot and moist *pneuma* was Mithra Pater of the invisible *hvarenō*, the source of all life, whose special messenger and *hvareno*-bearer was the Holy Raven (cf 2 c 6). Since the watery *pneuma* was the father of fathers, the libation cup was a suitable symbol of the Pater grade as well as of the Raven grade.

b. *Trapeza Mithrou* (The Sacred Meal). The communion table is the second main motive shown on the lower register of the reliefs of Southeast Europe. It normally occupies the middle of the frieze and shows two communicants at the table. They either sit in a squat position or semi-recline on a couch. The rite takes place within a small cave, as do the rites of initiation, whereas the following motive, the Apotheosis, is normally shown outside of the cave. The *trapeza* itself takes several forms.

1. *Triclinium.* Most commonly the communicants recline or squat on a triclinium, or couch, of normal height (cf *1740 1958**), but in a few instances the couch is very low (*2000 2018 2052*). On the relief of Bononia (*693**), which is of a Southeast European type (IV), three communicants recline at the meal, and in the Barberini fresco scene (*390, Right 5**) there are at least three and perhaps six persons at the table. A relief fragment from Merida (*782*) shows three communicants, another from Stockstadt (*1175*) at least six, as also the fragment from Besigheim (*1301, 6*), although the latter may be standing divinities.

2. *Mensa.* On several reliefs a small table is shown in front of the triclinium (*1958* 2046 2331*), as also in the more elaborate scenes discussed below.

3. *Trapeza taurika.* In what seems to be a later development or emphasis in the iconography, the couch is either the body of the bull itself, or a couch with the skin of the bull stretched over it, as in the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) and on the face of the Dieburg (*1247,11**) and Rückingen (*1137, A4e**) reliefs. This motive also appears in the separate monuments to be discussed below.

4. The lion is closely associated with the Trapeza Mithrou on a number of reliefs, being placed either in front of the couch (*2295* cf *988*) or to the left of it with his paw on a bowl (*2241* cf *2331*), or he is approaching the cave from the right (*2320**). Several times he is at the beginning of the frieze facing the Telete rite (*2315 2332 2338**). He also appears in connection with the separate monuments showing the Trapeza rite.

5. In several instances the Trapeza rite is either displaced in the series or omitted entirely. One instance (*2245*) has been discussed in connection with the Deus saxigenus (8 a 1.1), which, combined with the Transitus dei motive in a small cave, takes the place of the Trapeza Mithrou. The heads of the dog and lion shown near

the vault of this cave suggest regeneration and physical embodiment, which may also be two basic meanings of the Trapeza rite. The tauroctone fragment from Thrace which may reflect a Miles Telete (9 a 3.1) omits the Trapeza rite, so far as the lower frieze is concerned, and passes immediately from the Telete to the Apotheosis, although to the left of the Telete are the Lion and Bowl and also a Deus aeternus motive as well as a Natura dei. A Deus aeternus is likewise shown to the left of the Telete and Trapeza motives on the relief from Serdica (*2320**). Beneath these motives from left to right are a wild boar, a Phrygian cap on a mound (?) and a dog running to the right. These together with a lion facing the cave of the Trapeza Mithrou seem to emphasize physical generation and vitality in this phenomenal world, symbolized by the Phrygian cap. In the Capua Mithraeum the Deus aeternus and the Luna chariot were at the point of passage from physical death to a new physical life. It may be noted again (cf 7 g 4) that on a Lower Moesian relief of type III (*2272**) the Trapeza is placed beneath the bust of the moon (or season?) at the top right. The presence of Luna at the Trapeza taurika rite will be noted below. It should be recalled that the Deus saxigenus in Southeast Europe was also associated with the Moon (8 a 1.2).

6. On the reverse of the Fiano Romano relief (*641**) the communicants are shown at a table over which the bull's hide has been draped, having the bull's head to the right. At the top left the bust of Luna with the crescent at her shoulders is shown with her head turned to the left away from the Trapeza. Her whole bust, moreover is located within a very large rocky circle or crescent whose top joins the borders of the relief. This may suggest that the Luna world is also a material one composed of cloud rocks. Nearest to her at the table is Sol-Heliodromus, naked except for his sky mantle. Around his head is a large nimbus with prominent rays of light on its surface, this being a symbol of the radiant sky. With his left hand he holds a large whip against his shoulder, while with his right hand he reaches downward and to the right to receive a drinking horn from Cautopates who stands at the left and extends the horn towards the communicant. At the table to the right is Mithra Pater fully clothed and wearing the Phrygian sky cap.

He holds a large torch against his left shoulder while he rests his right hand on the shoulders of Sol-Heliodromus. This hand is not visible because of its position. Below Mithra Pater Cautes with a large caduceus approaches a water urn, apparently to produce fire as previously observed (6 b 3). In the fragmentary scene from the Dura Mithraeum of the Second Period (*49*) Heliodromus has a blue nimbus about his head without rays and he gazes toward Mithra Pater who holds a drinking horn in his left hand and again seems to rest his right hand on his companion's shoulders.

7. The Rückingen relief (*1137**) not only shows the Trapeza taurika rite as the last scene in the total series on the face, but it is featured on the lower half of the reverse. In the upper half is Mithra as Deus Invictus mounted on horseback and surrounded by wild animals including the wild horse (6 c 4). Again the table appears to have a bull's hide drawn over it, while in front is a Mensa having three legs. The Trapeza is flanked by two ministrants, the one on the left having already passed a drinking horn to the nearest communicant who is elevating it in his right hand while with his left hand he holds the bull's tail which ends in wheat stocks. He wears neither crown nor nimbus. Mithra in Phrygian cap at the right seems to be receiving something from the ministrant at the right. Near Mithra's left elbow stands a very large sword around whose haft, at the top right of the scene, is a large crown surrounded with prominent rays of light. Mithra's table companion may be a Miles in whose rites Mithra or the Pater *sub gladio redimit coronam* (9 a 8.3). Clearly the crown is the gift of the sword, or is maintained by the sword. On the reverse of the large Heddernheim relief (*1083**), where the rite features an offering of grapes (cf 6 i 3.1), the radiate crown was also shown about the haft of a tall sword standing behind the communicants. Both of the ministrants, who are wearing Phrygian caps, appear to be bringing round bread loaves on plates, the liquid being represented in the grapes. Here also the scene above the Trapeza taurika rite had to do with wild animals. I am inclined to believe that in both of these scenes of the Trapeza rite the communicant is reminded that the crown of the Heliodromus is the gift of the Miles as a devout soldier of Mithra, the emphasis in these Mithraea being upon a military

membership and upon Mithra as a Deus Invictus. The combination of scenes showing a mounted horseman above and a banquet scene below is frequently found on provincial tombstones. It was a conventional way of indicating that the deceased who is present at the banquet in spirit-form was a victor over death.

8. The reverse of the Konjici relief (*1896*) not only makes use of a Trapeza taurika and a Mensa in front of it, but the scene is presented within a framework of spiral columns to suggest the interior of a room or temple. Here the interest centers on the ministrants, two at each end of the table. One at the left in Phrygian cap is passing a very large *rhyton,* or drinking horn, to the nearest communicant. Behind him is another figure wearing a raven's mask and resting his hand on the former's shoulder, as if to identify the ministrant with a member of the Korax grade. The ministrant at the right, badly mutilated, is also passing a cup of smaller size and behind him is a figure in a lion's mask. A lion also crouches or sits to the left and facing the Mensa on which there are four small loaves, each divided by marks into four quarters. These are the Mithraic equivalent of the Zoroastrian *drōn* cakes which were taken to be imitations of the world mountain (5 f 1). The quartered round cake could suggest the templum of heaven marked out into its quarters as on Mithraic monuments (cf 3 h).

A tauroctone fragment from Rome (*397*) showed on the reverse a Trapeza taurika and Mensa with a dog below the table and a masked Korax as the ministrant on the right border. Above him stood Cautopates. Likewise in the culminating scene on the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) the ministrant is a masked Korax who passes pieces of meat on a long spit to the communicants. Here the companion of Mithra Pater is Heliodromus in a large radiate crown, whose preparation for crowning is shown in a previous scene (no. 11) where he is being confirmed by a laying on of hands. The preparation of the meat from the flesh of the bull is shown in the intervening scene (no. 12; cf 7 g 3).

9. The fragmentary relief from Troia in Farther Spain (*798*) shows the communicants reclining on a Triclinium. The companion of Mithra Pater is Sol Heliodromus who wears a nimbus and radiate crown. Mithra holds a *rhyton* in his left hand while he rests

his right hand on the shoulder of Heliodromus, a gesture that indicates approval and showing forth of the new initiate. The latter also holds a *rhyton* in his left hand, while he extends his right hand toward the ministrant standing to the left in front of the couch. The ministrant is bringing a plate of loaves. At his feet lies a torch. The ministrant at the right holds a torch downward in his left hand while in his right hand he extends a pitcher toward a very large urn that stands in front of the couch. A snake coiled about the urn has its head above its lip. Here apparently Cautes brings the bread and Cautopates the water for the sacred meal.

The torchbearers (?) are likewise present at the Triclinium shown on the relief of Merida (*782*) at which there are three communicants. Near the torchbearer at the left is a ministrant who brings a bull's head on a plate; two loaves lie on the Mensa in front of the couch. At the far left stands a representation of the Deus saxigenus. A cup from Trier (*988*) shows not only the Triclinium and Mensa with food on it but also two ministrants. The one at the left passes a drinking horn and the one at the right a round object which may be a loaf of bread. Here Heliodromus holding his drinking cup toward the sky is at the right. In front of the couch is a very large crouching lion with head to the right, and below, or in front, of him is a bowl encircled by a snake having on the left a cock and on the right a raven. These birds representing morning and evening or day and night correspond to the two torchbearers. The combination is a variant of the Principia vitae motive (8 d 2).

10. The last monument of importance to be observed in detail is the fresco on the left wall of the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*483*). The Triclinium is within a rocky cave, indicated by a scolloped vaulted line, the background of which is dark purple. Both communicants are clothed in a red tunic with a red mantle and a yellow belt about the waist, which is the same as the Pater and Heliodromus wear on the opposite wall (9 a 17). On the head of Sol-Heliodromus is a gold crown and radiate nimbus, the darting rays being conspicuous. His right hand is raised toward heaven in an open palm salute and his left hand holds a blue globe against his body. He looks at Mithra Pater who is drinking his health from a *rhyton*. The latter's Phrygian cap is framed in a nimbus.

Two ministrants bring plates of food, the one at the left wearing a Korax mask and having the legs of a raven. A procession of Leones (*482*) approach the cave from the left or entrance end of the Mithraeum. The nearest one carries a lighted candle in his right hand and four other candles hang by the wicks from his left hand. The next is carrying a cock, the third perhaps burning candles, the fourth a loaf of bread divided into six parts. Behind these is a Leo with a bowl in both hands, another with a loaf in a glass dish, still another with an urn, and the last with an object that may be a loaf of bread. Each of these is inscribed by his personal name, as for example, NAMA THEODORO LEONI, "To a Lion, Theodorus by name", or "Inscribed to Theodorus, a Lion".

11. This survey of the iconography makes it reasonably clear that the Trapeza motive, while mythically based on the pledged friendship of Mithra with the Sun, who is called in the inscriptions his Companion (6 i), also symbolizes the pledged friendship between the *Mystes* and the Pater or Pater patrum of the Mithraeum. The communicant may be the *mystes* of any grade but the highest fellowship is reached in the Heliodromus grade, for the solar charioteer is the visible manifestation of the invisible power of Mithra, god of all fire. The Hypēretai, or ministrants, are the *mystai* of the Korax and Leōn grades in particular, these being the mortal equivalents of Cautes and Cautopates as Hypēretai of Mithra himself. The presence of more than two communicants in some of the representations clearly indicates that a ritual meal of the *mystai* rather than the mythical meal of Mithra and the Sun is being shown. Since Mithraic ritual had a high quality of drama, or play acting, one cannot expect to distinguish clearly between Mithra Pater and a Pater patrum or between Sol and a Heliodromus. The development in the iconography also tended to introduce the Triclinium and Mensa in the place of the Trapeza taurika. The Triclinium or simple couch is the normal motive in Southeast Europe where Greek influence generally was strongest, whereas in the West where oriental influences tended to become stronger as time went on the tauric table was frequently featured, particularly where ever greater efforts were made to represent more and more details of cult in the symbols.

The members probably either crouched or reclined on the side benches of the Mithraeum during the celebration of the various sacraments including the Sacred Meal. In the Second Mithraeum of Poetovio, if not also in the Third, rectangular slabs of stone, supported in front of the benches, may have been used as *mensae* (cf sub *1509 1601*). The benches themselves were too high and too wide to be used as seats, and they were often too narrow to provide a comfortable triclinium, but they were wholly adequate for a semi-reclining or squat position such as is repeatedly shown in the pictures of the Trapeza Mithrou. The top surfaces of the benches frequently sloped downward toward the wall of the Mithraeum, and since the top surface often lacked a hard pavement like that of the floor of the central aisle, it is probable that they were covered with mats.

12. Fortunately we have in Justin Martyr (*Apol.*, 1.86) a fairly early witness as to the *elementa sacra* used in the Mithraic rites. He says,

> The evil demons arranged in imitation the like also to take place in the mysteries of Mithras, for you either know or may learn that a loaf of bread (*artos*) and a cup (*poterion*) of water (*hydatos*), together with certain spoken formulas (*met' epilogōn tinōn*), are appointed for the Teletai of the one being initiated.

The elevation of the drinking horn or of the hand toward the sky by the communicants, especially by Sol-Heliodromus, shows that reverence is being directed toward the Sovereign Sky of Self-Creation from which the sacred elements come. According to Macrobius (*Sat.*, 3.9.11) one should "touch the ground when addressing Tellus and reach toward heaven when addressing Jupiter". In the Graeco-Oriental mystery language of the Gospel of John (6.33-35) Jesus is represented as saying, "The loaf (*artos*) of God is that coming down from the sky (*ouranou*) and giving life to the cosmos. . . . . . .I am the bread of life (*artos tēs zoēs*)".

The *artos* was the Mithraic equivalent of the Zoroastrian *drōn* which was symbolic of the cosmos that was created or generated by internal heat in the doughy mass (5 f 1). It is perhaps not wholly an accident of language that *artos* [4], a thing that is fitted, is almost

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4) According to Diogenes Laertius (8. 34s) a Pythagorean tabu was to avoid breaking bread (*artos*) apart because bread brings friends together, "for some believe that the universe (*to holon*) had its origin from it."

identical with *arta* (*aša*), the world order whose essence was the fire of the Heavenly Order (Artvahišt, cf 5 c 4; 6 g 2). That water was the basic drink is certain not only because of the presence of the water bowl or urn at the Trapeza Mithrou but also because Justin Martyr would certainly have mentioned wine instead of water if wine had been regularly used in the communion rite, since he was emphasizing the similarities between Mithraic and Christian rites. Wine and not water was the Christian sacred drink. Water was actually as holy as fire in Iranian religion, and even in Zoroastrianism (cf 5 f 7). But in Mithraism the *haoma* drink or the "fat" of the ox were also Elementa sacra (cf 6 h 4.2). The *haoma* was derived either from plants whose origin was attributed to the mythical Ox-horn tree or from the fat or suet or flesh of the ox whose origin was traced to the mythical world-ox (5 f 9.1). Wine or the juice of plants would represent the "fire in the waters", while the flesh of the ox freshly slaughtered would represent the fire of life in living bodies. Likewise in the rite that Jesus was said to have instituted the *artos* was the divine body and the wine the divine blood, which was a Semitic counterpart to moisture and semen in Iranian religion (4 j 3.1).

In the account of expenses scratched on the walls of the Dura Mithraeum (*64 65*) the items most likely to have been the Elementa sacra were water, wine, meat, and perhaps radishes and relish. The radish is a very rapid growing vegetable, and may therefore have been symbolic of the tree of life from which all life including that of Mithra himself was generated. It will be recalled that the Mithraic Bull engendered both vegetation and animal life including man, whereas in Zoroastrian tradition man and woman were first engendered in the form of a rhubarb plant (5 j 2.4), a plant that is both perennial and grows very rapidly. The *artos*, or bread loaf, does not happen to be mentioned in the Dura accounts either because of the incidental nature of the accounts or because meat and vegetables had been used in the place of bread at Dura. In the Dura Trapeza taurika scene the Korax *mystes* passes pieces of meat on a spit to the communicants, whereas elsewhere loaves of bread are shown, as noted above.

c. *Apotheosis* (Consecratio). The last main motive on the lower register of the reliefs of Southeast Europe is that of a quadriga and its charioteer driving toward the right, often over water. The charioteer is shown helping a Mithra figure to mount the chariot before it departs.

1. *The Quadriga*. Generally the charioteer of the quadriga guides the horses with his left hand while he extends his right hand backward to assist his passenger to mount, the passenger being ordinarily the owner of the chariot. In one example, on a type III relief (*1972**), the driver holds a large torch, a symbol of the Heliodromus grade, as we have seen (9 a 16). The passenger whose robe streams backward toward the cave from which they are departing holds a dagger in his hand (as in *1579**). The scene in the cave is missing but would normally be that of the Trapeza Mithrou. On a few reliefs of type II (*2000 2245* cf *2181*) the Apotheosis is enclosed within a cave like the other two motives. This is exceptional, for the normal scene takes place outside the cave. On reliefs of type III and on reliefs of type IV that are strongly influenced by type III composition the Apothesis occupies approximately one half of the total register, and is thus very much emphasized (cf *1935 1958* 1972**).

2. *Oceanus*. On reliefs of type III and type IV that are influenced by type III a figure that is squat or semi-reclining appears to the right in front of the horses of the quadriga. He is either encircled by a large python or hydra (*1935 1958* 1972* 2272 2291*) or his torso rises out of the waves of the ocean (*2034 2038 2244*). Sometimes he holds his right hand (*1958* 2244* 2272* 2291*) or both hands (*1972*) in a salute to the sky, which suggests that he represents the uranian ocean rather than the terrestrial. On the relief of Siscia of type V (*1475*) he appears to the right above the horses' heads, while in an irregular panel just above, the god of the World mountain reclines in his normal posture (cf 8 a 5; 12 a 6). He balances a crouching lion on the opposite side of the relief which rests on top of the cave of the Telete by Infusio. Once (*2244**) the head of Oceanus is covered by a large canopy which he grasps by the edges with his raised hands. On two other reliefs, which are very similar to each other (*1974 2000*), the Apotheosis is shown within a cave, while to the right of the cave is a similar canopied

bust. This seems to rise above a mound of stones instead of water, but such stones may be cloud rocks (cf 10 b 1). On the reliefs of Neuenheim (*1283**) and Heddernheim (*1083**) the solar chariot appears to ascend the world mountain. On the Osterburken relief (*1292, 4a**) the emerging cosmos is represented by a head that is surrounded by a half sphere canopy. This would be the god of the primeval ocean, from whence came both heaven and earth, which are symbolized in the following panel (cf 12 a 1-2).

3. In Southeast Europe the Apotheosis with or without Oceanus concludes the symbols on the lower register, as also on the Dieburg relief of Mithra ephippos (*1247**). This relief shows considerable kinship with the reliefs of type III both in composition and subject matter. On its reverse the sky chariot is clearly associated both with a sky god and with the four seasons and elements (5 h 7). A drawing in a Latin codex of the fourteenth century in Munich [5] shows a somewhat similar type of cosmic chariot of which the four horses are labeled with the names of the seasons. The two going toward the left where the trees are barren and rain is falling were originally named Autumn and Winter but were changed by a later hand to Spring and Summer. The other two going to the right where the trees are verdant and the sun is shining were at first called Spring and Summer but later Autumn and Winter. The driver of the chariot holds in his left hand a large world ball dotted with stars as a symbol of the Kosmokrator. In his right hand he holds a torch having three tongues of fire that are labeled Father, Son and Holy Spirit. On his head is a crown surrounding a conical cap, while a wide spreading burst of light radiates from a point behind his shoulders. Above his head is a hand pointing upward in an open hand salute to the sky. Instead of a chariot with wheels being shown there is a column with a round base at the bottom and a half wheel at the top to which the reins of the horses are attached. The iconography here has been derived from late classical motives. The first labeling of the horses was from left to right or clockwise beginning with autumn and winter for the falling

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5) Latin codex Michele (=Scoto) Clm, according to B. A. Fuchs, *Die Ikonographie der 7 Planeten in der Kunst Italiens bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, an inaugural address, Munich, 1909, pl 2 (=Fig. 22).

rain and barren trees and ending with spring and summer for the verdant trees. The later labeling, if it was indeed later instead of earlier, was counter clockwise beginning with spring at the top left. This looks like an attempt to make autumn and winter correspond with the period of vegetation as in a very hot climate (4 h 2). The column and half wheel echo a similar motive on the royal seal of King Šauššatar (5 f 10; Fig. 10), this being the world-column and wheel of the sky. Arising out of the sky-wheel or half-wheel is the world charioteer or Sovereign who holds in his left hand the substance of the world and in his right its energy, one being the world-order and the other the threefold god of order whose essence is fire, a manifestation of ultimate sky fire whether visible or invisible (cf n 12, pt 7). The horses identified with the seasons represent the phenomenal and moving world of generation, the seasons corresponding to the elements. Summer and winter correspond to fire and water, autumn and spring to air and earth (cf 5 h 6), which are South, North, East and West respectively.

3.1. A grave altar in the Vatican, dated at the beginning of the Christian era[6] shows the Divus Julius Caesar ascending a quadriga drawn by winged horses. Above him are Caelus, an eagle and a solar chariot. A relief from Ephesus shows Marcus Aurelius mounting a quadriga as charioteer in a context that suggests a celestial ascent[7]. The use of the quadriga in the Emperor cult[8] may have provided the archetype of our Mithraic motive, or both may have been derived from a common astrological ideology in the Near East. It will be recalled that many centuries before it was said that Elijah ascended to heaven on a chariot of fire drawn by fiery horses in the midst of a whirlwind (2 Kings 2.11).

3.2. The context in which the Apothesis motive is used in Southeast Europe makes it clear that the life cycle ends with an ascent to a higher world, the first ascent according to western ideology being to the nearest planet which was Luna instead of Mercury,

6) W. Altman, *Die röm. Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p 175, no 230.

7) E. Strong, *Apotheosis*, p 90, pl 11. On the use of terms like *apotheosis*, see C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, *Zetemata*, Heft 14 1956, pp 173-179.

8) H. P. L'Orange, "Sol Imperator", *Symbolae Osloenses*, 14 1935, p 102ss, cf p 86ss; H. Seyrig in *Syria*, 18 1937, 43-51; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II, pp 110ss.

whereas in Iranian ideology the highest ascent was to the sun, probably associated with the Leo-Pater grade, and the next highest was to the Moon. In Syria and the West the Pater grade came to be associated with Saturn rather than with the sun because Saturn was recognized to be the most remote of the planets. The Trapeza Mithrou that precedes the Apotheosis must therefore take place either in this lower world or in a world below that of the new grade. The ideology that made initiation lead to an ascent conforms to the theology of the Neoplatonist Porphyrius who interpreted the Telete rites in Mithraism to be a "descent of the soul into the depths and its exodus again" (Pt. 1). Moreover for him the ascent of all souls was through the sun gate at the south and their descent through the moon gate at the north (4 g 4). For him therefore the Telete rites were in reality not a "perfecting" (cf *teletē*) but a beginning (*initiatio*). The Latin terminology reflects the change in ideology from the older view. The emphasis in Southeast Europe upon the rites as constituting a new beginning may reflect the strength of later Greek theological thought in that area. This is the region where we find not only Mithraic inscriptions in Greek but also traditional religions like that of Zalmoxis which contemporaries of Herodotus traced to the influence of Pythagoras, the philosopher of soul-transmigrations and other-worldliness. The association of Zalmoxis with Pythagoras, even if untrue, suggests similarities in their views. Moreover there was a strong solar element in the religion of Zalmoxis, as well as a belief in immortality.

3.3. An other-world emphasis is particularly pronounced in the iconography of the Virunum fragment from Middle Europe (*1430**). At the bottom of a panel that framed the right side of a tauroctone there is a Transitus dei in the form of an initiate being led by a psychopomp (8 b 3). In the next scene above the initiate seeks the Aqua vitae that is being drawn from the rocks (10 b). The third scene is a Telete by Purgatio (9 a 3). The *mystes* wears a radiate crown while he is being struck with the bull's shank. In the following scene, as a potential Heliodromus, the initiate holds the whip while he clasps the hand of Mithra Pater in a Syndexios covenant (12 c 4). In the following scene he guides the chariot

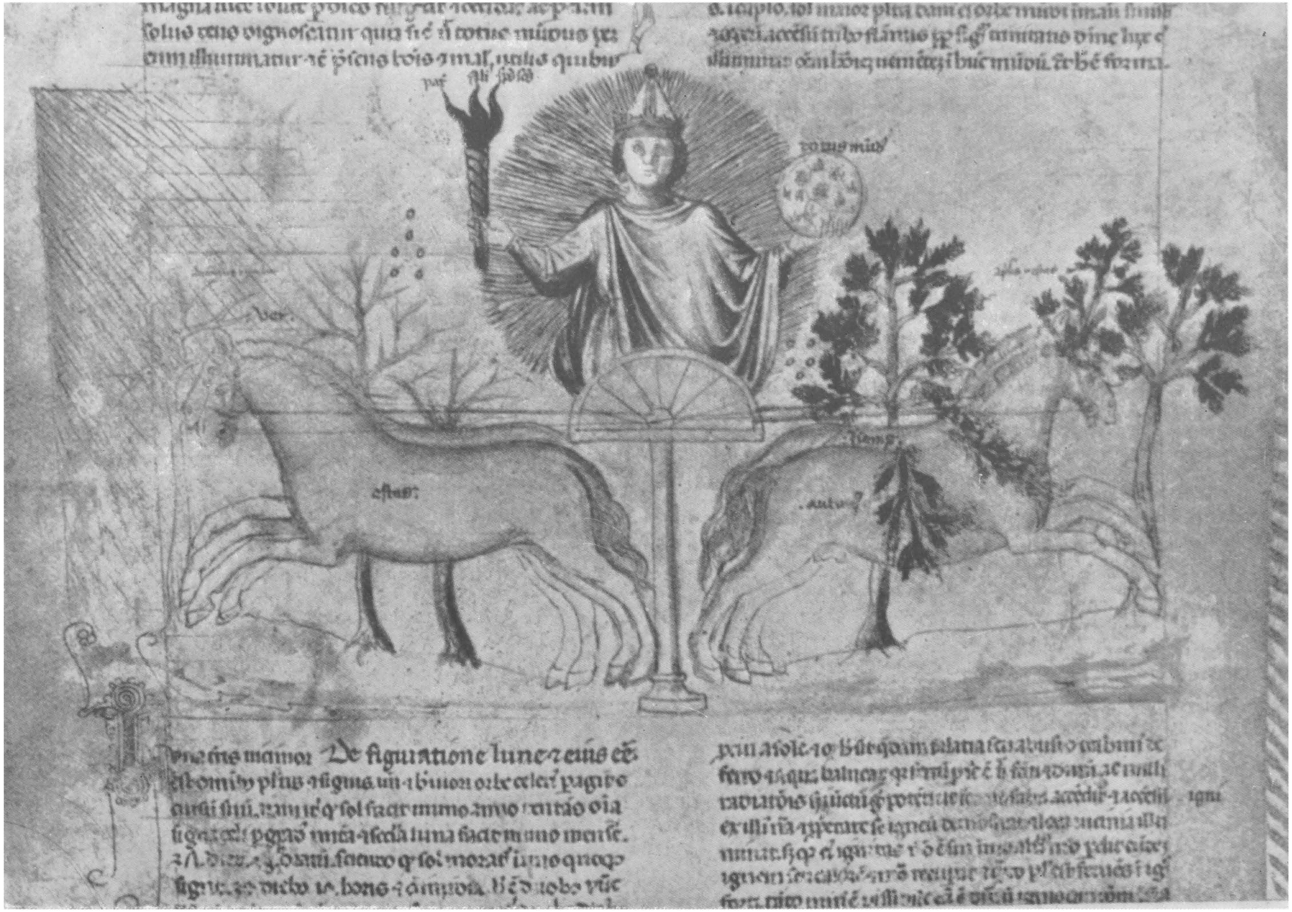

Fig. 22. Latin codex illumination of XIV century. (9 c 3)

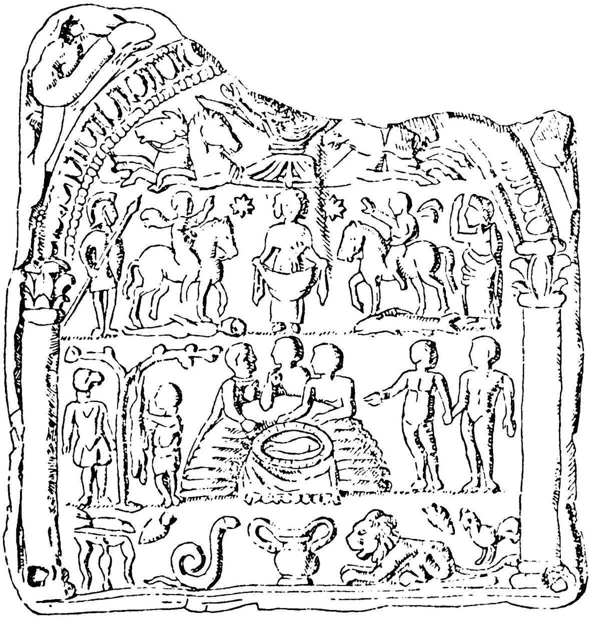

Fig. 23. Halapič, Dalmatia. (9 c 5.1)

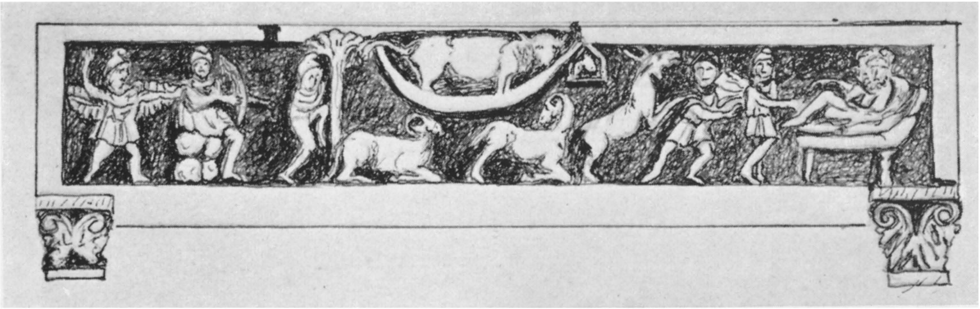

Fig. 24. (= top of 1958*). Apulum, Dacia.

upward with Mithra Pater as a passenger and a winged Mercury above the horses pointing the way to the celestial ocean. The latter is indicated by a Sea god and his consort in the background at the top of the Apotheosis scene. A lunar crescent on the god's head connects him more with a Phrygian Mēn or ancient Masdes than with the Greek Poseidon (cf 5 h 3.3). These may be the waters of the Moon gate through which souls also descend into birth. In the last scene above the celestial ocean is the equivalent of the Iranian *garōdmān*, or treasure house of the gods, to which the chariot is ascending. This is represented by a group of gods. It will be observed that there is no Trapeza rite shown unless it is implied by the assembly of the gods at the top. On the Mauls relief (*1400**), on the other hand, the Apotheosis which follows certain Telete rites is in turn followed by a Trapeza taurika as the last scene in the series, and likewise on the Barberini fresco (*390**) a Trapeza Mithrou concludes the series. The probability follows that in these instances the Sacred Meal is presented as taking place in the new world to which the initiate has arrived. With such a conception one might correlate the Vibia scene in the cult of Sabazius [9], or the early Christian conception of a eucharist with Christ in the Heavenly Kingdom.

4. The last scene on the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) is a Trapeza taurika, although it is followed by Saturnus at the zenith of the arch. In this position Saturnus is both the beginning and the end of the total cycle much as the Deus aeternus in the Capua Mithraeum marked the transition from death to a new life (9 a 7.2). On the Nersae relief (*650**) the Telete and Mithrem rites are followed neither by a Trapeza or Apotheosis but by the Deus invictus mounted on a bull (n 5, pt 12). Likewise at Dura there is no Apotheosis but the Deus invictus mounted on a horse is shown on both walls adjoining the tauroctone wall. Here the emphasis is upon the Unconquered Mithra who will complete the work of salvation as a horseman as well as initiate it by the slaughter of the bull. Thus the iconography at Dura raises the question whether the seven grades of initiation at Dura were conceived

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9) Cumont, op cit (n 60, pt 6), p 61, fig 3.

to be seven successive lives, each in its own planet, or only seven successive steps toward perfection in this world. On the one hand it is not evident that the grades were associated with the planets at Dura and on the other my previous analysis of the grades indicates that they could be regarded as seven degrees of perfection in this life. In short it must not be assumed that all Mithraists agreed on the meaning of the ladder (*klimax*) or on the number of its rungs (cf. *1061*).

It may further be observed that at Dura the initiation into the Heliodromus grade (no. 11*) is preceded by a Transitus dei, which is clearly a passage of the soul into the materiality of the cave (cf 7 e), or physical birth. Hence the following Telete is not a beginning but a completion or perfecting of life as a Stereōtēs (9 a 18). This was the traditional Zoroastrian view of the *fraškart* as being a restoration of *aša* in the present material world at the end of the world epoch. This was also a Messianic view that emphasized a restoration of an ideal Davidic kingdom on earth. A similar ideology seems to be portrayed in the last two registers of the Rückingen relief (*1137**) where the Apotheosis is shown in the middle of the third register and the Trapeza taurika at the end of the fourth and last register. To the left of the Apotheosis is a Transitus dei and an Arbor vitae (11 e 3) with three heads, which indicate material *genesis*. To the right is a large raven and the Mars-Venus motive (7 e 1) which indicate the creative Word (5 f 6) and compelling Love (10 c 2) as generative principles. In the middle of the fourth register stands Mercury as god of material wealth holding his money pouch aloft. To the left the primeval Sky god hands the thunderbolt to the god of the First Body, or starry sky (5 f 1). Between these gods and Mercury stand Sol and Luna as the brilliant lights of the sky; Luna touches the globe of Sol to show the source of her light. These lights are the blazing fires in the First Body that control all things below according to Aša or Mithrem. To the right of Mercury is a representation of the Mithrem pledge and the Trapeza taurika as the culmination and perfection of the Final Body. On the reverse of this same relief the Trapeza taurika, shown in greater detail (9 b 7), follows the final triumph of Mithra Invictus as the Mounted

Horseman. A similar ideology is set forth on the Osterburken relief (12 c 1-6).

5. The impact of other-worldly theology on Iranian thought is reflected in the eschatology of Antiochus of Commagene (cf 4 g 1) whose Greek heritage leads him to believe that his body will sleep for a boundless epoch after it has sent his god-loving soul to the celestial thrones of Zeus Oromasdes (32, I B 40ss). The theme of the Velletri base (9 a 6) likewise emphasized an Apotheosis by placing it in the middle of the face of the monument (Face, 1). The symbols behind the chariot (to the right) portrayed death (Face, 2; Right, 6) and regeneration by fire (Right, 7), while those in front of the chariot (to the left) portrayed the perfecting of the soul (Left, 4 and 5) and a final harmony with Mithra (Face, 3).

5.1. A relief from Halapič near ancient Salona in Dalmatia [10], which may be partly Mithraic in inspiration, deserves attention within the present context. It is engraved on a lead plaque (7.5 x 8 cm.), a small part of whose top is missing (Fig. 23). There are four registers of figures framed within columns supporting an arch of egg and dart pattern. Under the top part of the arch is a quadriga whose horses are moving swiftly in circles to the right and left. The right arm of the charioteer is extended upward in an open hand salute; the rest of him is missing, but on a parallel monument [11] he is radiate and also holds in his left hand the world globe. Twin stars of the Dioscuri appear on either side of his radiate crown. The hand salute appears in the Mithraic Apothesis motive as a gesture of the associated Oceanus (*1958* 2244**), whereas the charioteer holds a whip or torch (*1579 1958** et al). On the bottom register of the Halapič relief, as a frieze between the base of the columns, the Mithraic Principia vitae motive (8 d 2) occupies the middle of the frieze. At the right above the lion's tail is a cock, a symbol of morning and the culmination of Genesis, whereas to the left of the snake is a Mensa upon which there seems to be a fish. The fish was especially emphasized on the reliefs of the Danubian Rider Gods [12] and also in the cult of the Dea Syria. The fish as a creature of the waters should symbolize an important power of Aphrodite-Astarte-Anāhita as a goddess of the Aqua vitae (10f4), and may correspond to the turtle upon whose back the cock stands in the Mithraic motive at Poetovio (*1496**; 2 c 3; 8 b 2; cf 4 a). A fish as well as an animal seems to be shown below the feet of the Spandarmat figure on the Mitanni royal seal (Fig. 10). Both Spandarmat and Aphrodite were divinities of the spring season (n 14, pt 4; n 3, pt 11), and Anāhita was a divinity of both sky and earth waters (5 h 5). On the seal the goddess is flanked by Twins who are conquering the Demiurgic "Bull of Aphrodite" (4 f). They are the Angra and Spenta powers of Spenta Armaiti, Mēnōk of earth and its embodied wisdom and law (5 h 3.4ss).

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[10] E. Nowotny, *Ein röm. Mysterienrelief* in *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien und Hercegovina*, IV, 1896, pp 296-302; D. Tudor, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuvinorum*, I, Leiden 1968 no 116.

[11] E. Will, *Le relief cultuel*, p 317, fig 64.

On the register below the quadriga, which is framed partly by the tops of the columns and partly by the bases of the arch, Aphrodite-Spandarmat stands between the Twins, shown as mounted horsemen, and holds in her two hands the cosmic *kostīk-kestos*, which is the bond of Genesis and Aša in the physical world (5 f 1.3). The horse of the Twin at the right stands above a prostrate fish, and the other horse above a prostrate and naked human who lies face upward. At the right of the horseman and fish stands a draped female holding her right hand upward in a closed-hand salute and about her head is a diadem, probably of flowers. To the left of the horseman and prostrate human stands a warrior (M.P. *artēštār*, an "order-establisher") in high crested helmet and carrying a spear. He would correspond to Anytus, Titan and Guardian of Despoina, on the Lykosura monument (n 59, pt 6), whereas Artemis the Guide of Demeter, Mother of life, on that monument would correspond to the draped female on the Halapič relief. The Dioscuri, or Korybantes, perhaps as Father and Child, were also shown on the Lykosura monument. The Warrior motive would correspond to the Mithra tauroctonos motive on the Mitanni seal, whereas the fish and draped female motive would correspond to the draped Varuna and water motive on the seal. Artemis the Guide, as perhaps a Tychē of life, reminds one of Ašišvang who not only is the Guide of Mithra's chariot, but also embodies the heavenly *xvarr-pneuma* (6 a 3) and Aša (6 g 4). The goddess with the Kestos of Life and the goddess with the Diadem of Life correspond to the the winged wheel of life and the winged leonine goddess of life on the royal seal. The latter also has a parallel in the archaic winged *potnia therōn*, or so-called Artemis. The Despoina of animals is also their Nemesis (cf 4 g 5) and Aša, just as Spandarmat was the Wisdom and Law of the cosmic Wheel (*ara-*, 5 h 3.4). As the Spenta of living things she was also their Agatha Tychē, or the Good Ašiš. Anāhita, assistant of Spandarmat, tends to surplant the latter in Iranian religion after the fourth century before Christ.

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[12] Ibid pp 312ss, figs 61-64; cf Athen., 11.4.461; Onians, op cit (n 30, pt 6), p 194, n 5.

The register below, which is emphasized by its greater size and by its position between the middle of the columns, shows a Triclinium in the middle position. The host at the spectator's left extends his hand toward a fish which lies on a cloth-covered table in front of the couch. His guests appear to be two naked communicants. Two other figures approach the Triclinium from the spectator's right, one perhaps being a mystagogue and the other more clearly a naked *mystēs* (of male-female sex?). To the left of the Triclinium is an Arbor vitae from which is suspended a headless animal that is being dressed by a servitor or Hypēretēs. The head of the animal is being worn as a mask by a clothed figure who stands to the left of the tree. This register, therefore, appears to symbolize the reincarnation of the soul in other forms of life, just as in Mithraism the communicant on the bull of Mithra becomes a Raven or Lion of Mithra, or, as in the Dionysiac *ōmophagos*, the communicant becomes a Bacchos, a form of *apotheosis*. The quadriga at the top may suggest the ultimate Apogenesis and escape from the wheel of birth, perhaps as a Soldier of the god, whereas incarnation is emphasized on the bottom register. The "Dioscuri" suggest the mortal and immortal states of the Mainyu as Spenta and Angra, Combining and Separating, according to the Wisdom of the Great Mother and Mistress of all life. The Mēnōk and Gētēh fortunes of the soul (*mēnōk-fravahr*) are emphasized by the coiling snakes that frame the upper corners of the relief[13].

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[13] These are clearly shown on the parallel relief (n 11, above).

5.2. Separate monuments of the Heliodromus chariot were found in Gaul (*942*) and Germany (*1174*). The precise use and significance of these cannot be determined out of context. The former is passing over the serpentine ocean symbolized by a bowl and snake. A bust of Luna suggests the material world between earth and moon, while a bird on a post suggests the swift-moving and yet stable cosmos, like the wheel and post on the Mitanni Seal (Fig. 10). The quadriga monument in Rome (*332,2*) that was dedicated to the Sanctus Dominus Invictus Mithras (cf 6 h 6.3) makes it clear that the Charioteer of the Sky was a radiate and conquering Mithra whose function was distinct from that of the Sky god himself who was presented as Jupiter Optimus Maximus (*332,1*). Apparently the Magi themselves became confused about the connection between the Charioteer and the Sky chariot itself (see 5 h 6). How did the fiery horse differ from the driver of the horses, or how did Zeus Ouranos differ from Zeus Helios, if the essence of both was fire? The answer was that it was a difference in function; the Ouranos function was to generate from invisible powers and the Helios function was to rule with visible powers as an "intellect and leadership" principle. In short, the invisible Sky was the Ahu and the visible Lights were the Ratu powers of Mithra Ahura, or of Oromasdes-Mithras-Artagnes, or of Deus Mithras Invictus. (cf n 12, pt 7).

PART TEN

SYMBOLS FOUND IN THE TOP REGISTER OF THE RELIEFS OF SOUTHEAST EUROPE

The symbols usually found in the top register of the reliefs of Southeast Europe are less standardized than those of the middle and bottom registers, not only because they were probably later in artistic formulation but also because their ideology was more difficult to translate into art forms, and especially into Graeco-Roman art forms. The middle register presents both the Mēnōk and Gētēh generation of the world (cf 5 f), whereas the bottom register presents the initiate's *gētēh* regeneration and the top register presents the *mēnōk*, or self-moving, powers of regeneration. In Mithraism as in Greek religion the emphasis was upon generation more than upon creation by a creator, as in Zoroastrianism and other oriental religions.

In addition to the sun and moon, or the symbols of summer and winter (cf 5 d 1), there are normally five fairly well defined symbols in the top register. Their normal positions will be noted and also any important variants found in these positions.

a. *Deus taurus* (Gōšurvan). The sky-ox is prominent in the top register of many reliefs of Southeast Europe as also on the relief of Dieburg (cf 6 c 2.3). The bull is presented either in a sky-temple or sky-boat, or both.

1. Templum caeleste. This motive, showing the bull either crouching or standing in a small house, stall, or *templum*, appears in the middle of the register on reliefs of types III (*2036 2046 2291 2292*), IV (*1422 1920* 1935 1972* 1974 2000*) and V (*2042*). On a fragmentary relief from Cologne (*1019*) the Templum is replaced by the form of a *kamara* (cf 5 f 1.2), or vaulted chamber.

The Templum appears at the right end of the register on the few reliefs (*2171* cf 2226 2244**) whose series of symbols begin at the top right instead of in the middle (cf 4 b 2). The Templum caeleste also appears at the extreme right end of the top frieze of the Sarrebourg relief of type VIII (*966*) and of a Heddernheim relief of type V (*1128**). On the former Cautes stands in front of the temple while Cautopates is seated at the left of it. Here Cautes as the energy of male fire could represent the Cattle thief (cf 1 e).

2. Scapha lunata. This motive shows the bull in a small round boat, or *kamara*, which is sometimes elevated on a mound or is placed above fire altars, or even above altars and the Templum caeleste (cf *1972**). This motive appears likewise on reliefs of types III, IV and V and is located near the middle of the register (*1019 1475 1740 1972* 1975* 2036 2037 2292*), or to the right (*2338**) or left of the Dei mundi (*2202*) or of the Templum caeleste (*1422 1920 1935 1974 2000 2201 2292*). On some of these reliefs the shape of the boat is similar to that shown on Etruscan sculptures [1] or to boats shown on Babylonian cylinder seals [2]. In most instances the skiff is quite like a moon crescent, although in one instance (*1958**) the crescent is elongated to resemble an Egyptian Nile boat. On one relief (*2272**) the Scapha lunata is in a panel at the top right with the Moon and a Trapeza Mithrou (9 b 5).

On a fragmentary tauroctone from Lower Moesia (*2310*) the Scapha lunata appears at the middle of the lower register. An Oceanus reclining to the right grasps the prow of the lunar boat with his right hand (cf *1926*). At the right end of the register the Deus invictus gallops on a bull toward Oceanus and the boat. The Deus invictus is the god who subdues the primeval waters represented by the Scapha lunata and Oceanus as well as by the galloping bull (cf 7 d 1). The Iranian Oceanus was Napāt Apām, a swift-horsed Ahura of the waters (cf 5 f 7), and perhaps also an ancient Lunar Masdes (5 h 3.3; 9 c 3.3).

3. Dei mundi. In Middle Europe and the Rhineland the Deus taurus is regularly replaced by a god or group of gods, a substitution which makes it evident that the Sky-bull, elevated to the top of the relief in the Scapha or Templum or both, was a primary causation, or *mēnōk nērōk*, of material being. The different representations of primary causation will be discussed in Part 11.

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1) S. Ferri, *Arte Romana sul Reno*, p 154s, figs 87-89.

2) *Iraq*, 1, 1934, p 18, pl 3e-g.

b. *Aqua vitae.* To the left of the Deus taurus is often shown a more or less elaborated symbol of the production of the Water of life by an Archer and its reception by a suppliant. The Archer motive appears in two forms:

1. Deus sagittarius (Tištrya Erexša, or Hekatos). Frequently the Archer is shown sitting on a mound of rocks, which may be interpreted as the clouds of heaven (5 c; 6 h 4.1), while shooting his arrows toward the Scapha or Templum or toward an overhanging cliff (cf *1283* 2272**). Sometimes the cliff is near (*1740 1972**) or under the Scapha lunata (*1422 1475 1920* 1935 2202*). A variant is to show the Archer standing (*2171**, cf Fig. 25) and the suppliant climbing a steep cliff. In Southeast Europe the Deus sagittarius alone appears on several reliefs of types III (*2272* 2292*) and IV (*1740 1935 1975* 1974 2000 2226*), as also on the developed reliefs of the Rhineland (*1083* 1128* 1137* 1225*). The Deus sagittarius, either standing or kneeling, is shown reduplicated in separate panels on the reliefs of Heddernheim (*1083, A**), Neuenheim (*1283, 2, 5**) and Besigheim (*1301, 2, 3*). On the latter relief the Archer is reaching for his arrows, in the panel at the left, and has apparently completed his shot at the sky-rocks in the next panel to the right. The former scene is preceded by that of an Arbor Frugifera (11 a 3) as also on the Neuenheim relief, and the latter is followed by a Deus invictus motive in the form of a Capture of the wild bull (cf 8 c 1). This corresponds to an Arbor genetrix (11 e 3) on the Neuenheim relief.

2. Deus aquae (Apām Napāt). The reduplication of the Deus sagittarius motive on fairly late or fully developed reliefs runs parallel to a reduplicating of the Archer by showing another divinity standing behind him on reliefs of types III (*1958* 1972* 2036 2159*), IV (*1920* 2018 2023 2051 2214 2315 2338**) and V (*1815 2201*). This divinity rests his hand on the Archer's shoulder (*1958* 2018 2159*) or on the throne of cloud rocks (*2202 2214 2244* 2272**). On an Apulum relief (Fig. 24) the Deus aquae has spreading wings behind his shoulders and he points with his right hand toward the sky, thus identifying himself in some particular way with the sky. On another Apulum relief (*1972**) a wind-blown robe streams from his shoulders. The connection between the Archer and his

companion standing at his shoulder is obviously very close and probably represents two aspects or powers of the Aqua vitae. The Deus aquae should represent the source and being (or the Ahu) of water itself, which was the damp and moving air of chaos (5 j 1). The Deus sagittarius should represent the ordering principle (or the Ratu) of the warm wind, a force conceived to be self-desire called Pothos (5 j 2), which could be represented by darting arrows (cf 7 c 1-2). The arrows of fire and passion pierce the cloud-rocks and cause life-giving rains to fall.

3. Bouklopē (Cattle theft). It has been observed that the Templum caeleste is attacked by the Cattle thief (7 b) as well as by the arrows of the Deus sagittarius. On the Apulum relief (Fig. 24) the Thief is shown approaching the Scapha lunata and Templum from behind a tree while the Archer shoots his arrows from farther away. On another Apulum relief (*1972**) the Thief is shown attacking from the right while the Archer shoots from the left. On the Sarrebourg relief (*966*) Cautes approaching in front of the Templum corresponds to the Thief motive. This is at the opposite end from the Archer. Just as the Archer releases the sky-waters, so the Thief releases the imprisoned Water-bull who normally traverses the heavens in a sky-boat. The far-shooting Tištrya in the *Avesta* (Yt 8.6) was a rain producer (Yt 8.12) and was eventually equated with the planet Tīr=Mercury. An astral Mercury-Hermes was a cattle thief who captured the solar cattle, a myth that once had reference to the return of the rain clouds, or cows, to the sky (7 b 3). The Mithraic bull-theft was also to release the uranian waters and bring life into the world (cf n 4, pt 7).

c. Genesis (Natura mortalis). Frequently the Aqua vitae motive is enlarged to show a person catching the falling water in his hand or a person kneeling before the Archer as a suppliant, or sometimes both motives are shown, as on the large altar of Poetovio (*1584**). Here not only the Deus sagittarius is shown on the right side together with the suppliant and recipient, but on the left side are also the bow and arrow that produce the Waters and the dagger that separates the finite world of parts (7 c 1; cf 9 a 16.2). One of the Besigheim panels shows only the Suppliant at the feet of the Archer while the latter reaches for his arrow, whereas the other panel shows a Recipient catching the water as well as the Suppliant. The Recipient who is quenching his thirst is generally the only one shown in Southeast Europe, and the rock or cloud from which the water falls is frequently placed directly under the Scapha lunata motive (cf 10 b 1).

1. Posis (Intoxication of the Soul). The drinking of the Aqua vitae by a person who kneels before a column of rock or a cliff is shown on reliefs of types III (*1972* 2272**), IV (*1740 1920* 1935 1975* 2018 2036 2037 2051 2171* 2214 2244* 2315 2338**) and V (*1128* 1475 1815 2202*). The drinking of fresh flowing water was the equivalent of the *genesis* of the soul in a living body, for souls flying to water were believed to be souls going into birth, or becoming intoxicated with the sweetness of life (7 c 6).

2. Pothos (Desire for birth). The longing of the soul for physical birth by drinking the Aqua vitae is shown in the form of the Suppliant at the feet of the Deus sagittarius, as on the Rückingen relief (*1137, 1a, b**), a fragment in Mainz (*1225*) and on two reliefs from Dacia (*1974 2000*). The Pothos motive is an elaboration of the Posis motive as is suggested by their combination on the reliefs of Osterburken (*1292, 5a**), Besigheim (*1302*) and the Poetovio altar (*1584**). On the Virunum fragment (*1430**) the Posis follows a Theos psychopompos (cf 8 b 3) and precedes a Purgatio (9 a 3) rite. It would appear therefore that the Posis represents the incarnation of a soul *in transitu* that must in turn be purified for a higher life to follow (cf 9 c 3.3).

3. Principium naturae (Birth from the Rock). The Deus saxigenus (8 a 1) which sometimes appears at the right end of the top register (cf *1920* 2202*) instead of in the middle register as usual is more or less equivalent to the Posis motive, whereas the Principia vitae portrayed by a lion plunging downward into a bowl of water (8 d 1) is more or less equivalent to the Pothos motive, for all of these symbols represent Principia naturae. The Natura dei and Principia vitae motives, however, have a broad reference to all generation, whereas the Posis and Pothos motives allude more specifically to the Genesis of man.

d. *Apogenesis* (Vita mortalis). This motive is represented by domestic animals that are browsing or reclining beneath or to the right of the Deus taurus. The animals are either sheep or goats in Southeast Europe, whereas in the Rhineland it is a grazing bull (cf 12 c 1). An alternative symbol is the Deus invictus, or Trapeza Mithrou.

1. Corpus vitale. The sheep and goats appear on reliefs of types III (*1797* 1958* 1972**) and IV (*1740 1920* 1935 2244* 2315 2338** cf *2291*). These animals symbolize the mortal body in its full powers, and correspond to the grazing bull on Rhineland reliefs (12 b 3), or to the wild animals which surround the mounted Mithra (6 c 3s).

2. Invictus. The sequence of scenes or symbols on a relief from Romula in Dacia of type IV (*2171**) shows a Deus invictus instead of a Corpus vitale motive. Here the Templum caeleste is at the extreme right (10 a 1), and next following to the left are the Posis and the Deus sagittarius. Then follows the Invictus and lastly the Taurophorus. These last two motives normally appear in the middle register as previously shown (8 b and c) and are here substituted for the more normal Apogenesis and Transitus (10 e) symbols in the top register. On one Apulum relief (*1972** cf *1740*) a herdsman with a staff in hand and a dog and goat at his feet takes the place of the Deus invictus or Corpus vitale motives.

3. Trapeza Mithrou. On a lower Moesian fragment (*2292*) a normal Trapeza motive appears in the place of the more usual Corpus vitale and is followed to the right by a Taurophorus, or Transitus dei, motive. On another relief of type III (*2272**) the Trapeza Mithrou at the right (cf 9 b 5) balances a Deus saigittarius at the left; the latter symbolizes the beginning of life and the former its culmination. Eating the flesh of the bull should produce the fullest physical vitality, and when in addition the communicant becomes radiate with solar energy he must have acquired Invictus power, for unconquered force has to do with the material world of incarnate life (6 h 10ss).

e. *Transitus divus.* On the Dacian relief noted above (*2171** cf *2226*) the last symbol in the series is a Taurophorus, or Transitus dei (8 b). On the Apulum relief (*1958**) that shows the Cattle thief (10 b 3) a Corpus vitale symbol placed beneath the Scapha and Templum is followed on the right by a Thief carrying away a ram, whose forefeet are resting on his shoulders. This Tragophorus is a variant of the normal Taurophorus, which represents the passage of the soul into another world. This idea is represented by other symbols placed at the right end of the top register on a considerable number of reliefs. These are the most obscure of all the symbols in the register. They seem to fall into two classifications:

1. Ad portam. One type of symbol represents the Soul at a Gate. This is found on reliefs of types III (*1797** *2338**), IV (*1920** *1975** *2244**) and V (*1128** *2202*). On the fragment from Cologne (*1019*) a figure to the right of the Deus taurus approaches a tall pillar of stone, or cloud, which is quite similar to that before which the Posis figure kneels to catch the Aqua vitae (10 b 1). On one of the reliefs of type III (*1797**) two figures, the Soul and the Psychopomp, approach a tall pillar beyond which the Deus mundi is reclining. On another relief (*1920**) the order is reversed so that the figure at the pillar or gate is to the right of the Deus mundi who reclines on the dome of the tauroctone cave. Two figures at a gate or post appear on at least two other reliefs (*2202* *2244**). This motive seems to be the equivalent of the Theos psychopompos motive used elsewhere to represent the passage of the soul from this world to the next (8 b 3; 9 a 8). Another form of the Ad portam motive is found on the Heddernheim relief of type V (*1128**) which shows a figure walking toward the Templum caeleste with a staff in his hand. A figure walking or standing with a staff is found on several reliefs (*1935* *1974* *2000*, cf *2244**). The imagery and context suggest a traveler rather than the Cattle thief. The journey appears to be through the stone gate of the sky to the other world, and therefore a Transitus divus. According to Plutarch (*Mor.*, 944C) the two largest hollows (*koilōmata*) of the moon through which souls pass downward to the earth or upward to the sun are called gates (*pylae*), and the moon is where Kronos is bound in sleep by Zeus (11c1.1). The Mithraic gate is also near the moon where Kronos-Saturnus reclines (*1797**).

2. Apud deum. Another type of symbol represents the Soul or Traveler in the presence of the Deus mundi. A figure standing in the presence of a god, sometimes with a staff in hand (cf *1935*), appears on reliefs of types III (*1958** cf *1797**) and IV (*1935* *1974*

2000 2023). The god of the world mountain, or Deus mundi, sometimes with a scepter, appears near the right end of the register on several reliefs (*1935 1974 2000 2023 2338**) which also show either the Ad portam or Apud deum motive. The most noteworthy presentation of the latter motive appears on the Apulum relief (Fig. 24) where the god with a cup in hand reclines on a couch before which the Traveler stands and on the Third Poetovio relief of type VII (*1579**) where the god with scepter in hand sits on the world ball while the Traveler stands before him with a finger on his lips in a gesture of reverence.

f. *Gods of the Week.* It may or may not be by coincidence that the ideology of the five symbols analyzed above can be more or less correlated with the characteristic functions of the Gods of the days of the week as placed on the Bononia relief of type IV (*693**). These planetary gods are placed on the face of the tauroctone arch so that they run counter clockwise from Luna (Monday) at the right through Mars (Tuesday) and Mercury to Sol at the left end.[3] It may be observed that on the base of the

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3) Celsus listed the planets in the reverse order beginning with Saturn, in Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6.21-22. His statement runs as follows: "Celsus says there is a road for souls to the earth and from the earth that according to Plato is by way of the planets. . . . . After these things, wishing to display his manifold knowledge Celsus sets forth in his treatise against us certain Persian mysteries, in which he says: 'The reasoning of the Persians and the initiation rite (*teletē*) of Mithra which exists among them indicate the following, for in this rite there is a certain symbol of the two circuits in heaven, the one of the fixed stars and the other that is appointed in turn for the planets and for the passage of the soul through them. The symbol is of this nature: a ladder of seven gates, but in addition an eighth gate. The first of the gates is of lead, the second of tin, the third of bronze, the fourth of iron, the fifth of mixed coinage-metal, the sixth of silver and the seventh of gold. The first is postulated of Kronos by attributing to lead the slowness of the star, the second of Aphrodite by attributing to her the radiance and softness of tin, the third of Zeus because of its firmness and rigidity, the fourth of Hermes because both Hermes and iron are sufferers of all labors most active and useful, the fifth of Ares because of its mixture and variability, the sixth of the moon because of its silvery hue and the seventh of the sun because of its golden hue, both being reminders of the appearance of their bodies.' He then sets forth the cause of the order of the planets thus hit upon, their matter being made clear through symbols in their names, and he adds musical reasons which are set forth in Persian theology, but he shows enthusiasm in setting forth again a second account consisting of musical

Brigetio bronze relief (*1727**) the order is from left to right, as one would expect, and begins with Saturn who holds a pruning knife. Luna with tauric horns holds a torch, as also on a tauroctone relief (*10A*), whereas Sol holds a whip. The symbols of the other gods are normal.

1. Mars, God of passage. The position of Mars on the Bononia relief corresponds to that of the Transitus divus motives on the reliefs of Southeast Europe. Mars was not only patron of the Miles grade whose symbol was the knapsack for travel, but he was also apparently the divinity of the first principle of man, the *fravahr* (cf 4 g 3) which was believed by contemporary Zoroastrianism to pass to the presence of Ohrmazd when it was separated from the other parts of man (4 g 1). The position of the planetary Mars in an Ostia Mithraeum corresponded to the descent of the soul *in transitu* from the upper world in the Capua Mithraeum (9 a 9.1). In Southeast Europe the Transitus was to the upper world rather than down to this world.

2. Mercury, God of Apogenesis and Prosperity. The position of Mercury (Wednesday) corresponds to that of the Apogenesis motives, which emphasize a healthy Body and victorious Powers. Mercury not only holds the money pouch as a symbol of physical well-being but was patron of the planet Mercury (Tīr-Tištrya) which in Zoroastrian ideology was a bringer of the fresh waters of generation and life. He was the god of man's good fortunes and the fortunate guide of man's soul to the other world. On the reliefs of Southeast Europe he is the guide of the Soul to the Gate and presence of the Deus Mundi, the Soul itself in essence being

theories." One may question how much light the complete account of Celsus would shed upon the Mithraic mysteries. The symbolism of the materials of the planets contributes very little, other than a further confirmation of the idea of a planetary ladder for regenerated souls. One may perhaps correlate the slowness of Kronos with the dignity and wisdom of the Pater, the radiance and softness of Aphrodite with the "new light" of the Nymphos, the strength of Zeus with the vitality of the Lion, the labors of Hermes with the services of the Korax, the mixed metal of Ares with the double character of the Miles of Mithra, that is, a conqueror who is devoted to a ruler, and finally the colors of the moon and sun with the characters of Perses and Heliodromus, the former the moonlight that fosters fruits and generation and the later the fiery light of the charioteer of heaven.

the fiery Mars. The greatest good fortune would be to "die in Mithra" and pass to his heavenly mansion above the peaks of the Lofty Hara (cf 5 c). In the Mithraeum Mercury was at the station where the initiate underwent a symbolic death that he might be born again (9 a 9).

3. Jupiter, the Deus mundi. Jupiter (Thursday) occupies the middle position on the Bononia relief and thus corresponds to the position of the Deus taurus on the reliefs of Southeast Europe, and of the Dei mundi elsewhere (11 d). But the world is conceived to be a living world, for he wears as a crown the *kalathos*, or basket of fruits, like the Egyptian Serapis. In Planetary theology Jupiter, like the Iranian bull, was the god of vital force in the world of generation (4 g 3.3). Ohrmazd, his Zoroastrian equivalent, was similarly the creator of the material world of good creatures, and his own body was the *mēnōk* or prototype embodiment of such a world. Likewise the Mithraic Leo under the protection of Jupiter was the perfection of such an embodiment.

4. Venus (Erōs), God of Genesis. The position of Venus (Friday), the planetary equivalent of Erōs, corresponds to that of the Genesis motives of Posis and Pothos. Pothos was the Longing that initiated the Genesis of the living world from the primeval waters and wind. In planetary theology Venus was the divinity of the motions of love and longing, and her position in the Ostia Mithraeum corresponded to that of the Fons perennis elsewhere (9 a 9.1). Genesis itself was construed to be the longing of souls for the Water of life, so that souls going into birth were attracted to fresh water. Anāhita, the Iranian equivalent of Venus, was in particular a goddess of the fresh waters. The veil of the nymph, as also of the Nymphos grade, was conceived to be an envelope of the soul like the chrysalis of the moth or butterfly. Such an envelope was the watery body in which the soul becomes imprisoned.

5. Saturn, god of Water and Knowledge. The position of Saturn (Saturday) corresponds to that of the Aqua vitae motives which emphasize the Deus aquae and sagittarius. In planetary theology Saturn was the divinity of knowledge, which ancient peoples associated with water, and as the patron of the Pater grade he was characterized by the libation cup which alludes not only to a

ritual function but also to the Aqua vitae. To the ancients knowledge was regarded as a concomitant or consequence of physical consciousness and not a capacity of the disembodied soul as in the philosophy of Plato.

The veil about the head of Saturn represents the uranian waters or vapor and is one of the iconic forms of the Deus mundi (11 c) as also of the god so frequently shown at the right end of the top register in connection with the Transitus divus and Deus saxigenus motives. An inscription in a Mithraeum in Rome (*233*) says that Sextus Pompeius Maximus, a Pater, according to ancient religious tradition, made the "God of marble fashioned in a veil and shrouded in vapor (*umore obnubilatum marmoreum*)". The reference must be to the iconography rather than to a humid condition of the material. A god shrouded in vapor would be particularly suitable to a Pater and Ahu of the mysteries of life.

6. Sol and Luna, gods of Genesis and Apogenesis. It will be observed that Saturn and Venus, the Mēnōkān of Aqua vitae, and Pothos are at the left toward Sol, the Hypostasis of perceptivity, whereas Mars and Mercury, the Mēnōkān of the *fravahr* and *ruvān* in the physical body, are at the right toward Luna, the Mēnōk of physical being. Sol with his whip is the force of generative fire, whereas Luna with torch and tauric horns is its realization in Nature.[4]

4) The importance of the sun and moon in the process of generation and decay finds illumination in Plutarch's account (*Mor.*, 943C-945C) of the "religion of Kronos" which he locates in a lunar island. The most pertinent part of the account runs as follows: The two separations, that of body from soul and soul from mind, occur in this way: Every *psychē*, both with *nous* and without *nous*, when expelled from the body is fated to wander in the region between the earth and moon. In the gentlest part of the air, called the 'meadows of Hades' the good souls must spend time enough to purge and blow away, as an evil odor (cf 4 i 4), pollutions contracted from the body. As if returned from banishment they savor a joy very much like that of initiates which is attended by glad expectations but is also mingled with confusion and excitement. Such souls are nourished by the exhalations that reach them and see the moon as she really is, a mixture of star and earth. Souls pass both ways through the valleys of the moon-which are the Elysian Plain- to the sky (*ouranos*) on the farther side and to the antichthonic House of Persephone on this side. The *physis* of the *psychē* is left in the moon when the *nous* is attracted by Eros to the sun. Through love the moon expects to receive a maximum generative force from the sun. One's true self is not courage (*thūmos*), nor fear, nor desire (*epithūmia*), but that with which we

Perceptivity whose essence is in the sun is individualized in the *ruvān*, or perceptive soul, of physical creatures (cf 5 j 2). Sol, Saturn and Venus represent different aspects of Genesis as Mēnōk creation or becoming, while Mars, Mercury and Luna represent different aspects of Apogenesis as Gētēh becoming. Both belong to

reason and understand (*dianoia* and *phronēsis*); but the *psychē* receives the imprint of its form through being molded by the *nous*. The *psychē* is dissolved into the moon as body is dissolved into earth. This happens quickly for temperate souls when they are abandoned by the *nous* and no longer exercise the passions (*pathesis*). When the sun by means of his vital force has again sowed *nous* in the moon, she receives it and produces new *psychai*, and in the third place the earth furnishes body (cf 11 c 1.1; Plato, *Phaedo*, 108 ss).

Plato in the *Symposium* (190A-B) makes the male an original offspring of the sun, the female of the earth, but the androgynous of the moon. In this cosmic psychology the pure *nous* is solar, the mixed *psychē* is lunar and the material *sōma* is earthy. In some cosmologies the third part was derived not from earth but from water, called Triton or Trita Aptya or Thraetaona (6 h 5.1). Thus says Plutarch in his *De Iside* (381F), "The trident of Poseidon is a symbol of the Third Region, which sea shares with Sky and Air. Thus they name Amphitrite and the Tritons." In the *Rigveda* (5.41.35) Trita is the Third after Asura and Indra (the Ahu and Ratu of the sky).

The cyclic journey of the solar *nous* is not unlike that of the everliving fire of Heracleitus (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, 5.14=p 711): "This cosmos, the same for all, no god or man made, but always was and is and shall be everliving fire becoming kindled and quenched measure for measure." In his discussion of *Generation and Decay* Aristotle (329B25) takes heat (*thermon*) to be the force that disassociates unlike things and cold the force that integrates them, for cold moisture is sticky whereas anything dried from heat is brittle (330A5). Moreover because motion by rotation is eternal, the *genesis* of beings must be continuous (336A15ss), for the rotation produces Genesis without ceasing through the approach and retreat of the genetic power. The primary rotation which is that of the First Heaven (*protos ouranos*) is not the cause of Genesis and Decay, but rather the motion of the sun along the ecliptic. The rotation of the sky causes continuous motion, but the ecliptic rotation causes the approach and retreat of the moving body of the sun. If it generates by approaching and being near, it causes destruction by withdrawing and being distant (cf. Julian, *To Helios*, 137D-138A), for opposites are causes of opposites, and the time for *genesis* is equal to the time for *phthora* (=*apogenesis*). There would appear to be a difficulty in this cosmic exposition of Genesis, for the approach of the sun from the winter to the summer solstice increases the burning heat of the sun which should make things dry and brittle and therefore disintegrate them, unless Genesis is an integration of like things, like heat attracting heat. Porphyrius the Neoplatonist attributed Genesis to the cold north and Apogenesis to the hot south (4g4), perhaps in conformity to his understanding of Mithraic ideology as much as to Neoplatonism. Cosmic theories of opposites, of heat and cold

Jupiter as the Deus mundi, the Mēnōk of a Living World both potential and actual. Potential and actual becoming are portrayed on the Bononia relief by showing within the tauroctone field a barren tree and bull's head near Cautes, the Deus of Genesis, and a full fruited tree and scorpion near Cautopates, the Deus of Apogenesis (cf 3 f).

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or of Genesis and Decay, could be more precise than the actual compass points with which they were identified. Moreover, it must be emphasized that, whereas Aristotle correlated the annual rising of the sun from south to north with the progression of Genesis, the Neoplatonists as reflected by the Emperor Julian (n. 12, pt. 5) correlated the rising sun after the vernal equinox with Apogenesis or the withdrawal of the soul upward from the body. Consequently Leo, the northern limit of the sun's progression, would become the culmination of Apogenesis, a fiery state in opposition to Genesis, rather than the fullest state of Genesis or embodiment of soul (at age fifteen ?). Genesis which is the long period of the inclination and uniting of the soul with body is correlated with the southern declination and progression of the sun rather than with its northern ascent and progression. Whether the cutting off point of generativity or its opposite was at the equinox or solstice was far from being agreed upon, for thought is a child of its time and of its environment (cf n 3, pt 11).

PART ELEVEN

SYMBOLS OF THE PRINCIPIA MUNDI

The symbols most characteristic of the Middle European tauroctones have to do with the creative or generative powers of the material world, conceived to be essentially a living world. These appear in the frieze above the tauroctone cave on reliefs and frescoes of type VII and of type VIII that are most closely related to type VII. The tauroctones of Middle Europe are mainly of types VI and VII. Those of type VIII are clearly developments of type VII, as demonstrated in my earlier work (*Typology*, II 7-8). The type VI reliefs lack a pictorial frieze across the top.

a. *Demiourgos*. Before taking up the Middle European motives it must be noted that the Deus taurus in Southeast Europe is a parallal to these both as a Despot and Demiurge of Life. This conception of the bull is in keeping with Mithraic ideas known to Porphyrius which made the Bull a Demiourgos as well as a Despotēs of Genesis (4 g 6). In Mithraism even man's origin was attributed to the Bull and not to a World-man (7 b 1-2).

b. *Deus aeternus* (Aiōn-Kronos). On the large but fragmentary relief of Poetovio II (Fig. 1) the Lion-headed god was shown in the middle of the frieze at the top, while at his feet was a reclining god with a veil about his head, which is a characteristic of Saturnus (10 f 5). I have chosen to call the lion-headed god the Deus aeternus because *aeternus*, like Greek *aiōn*, connotes both life and time without specific reference to an element like water or stone. Oceanus, on the other hand, is more specifically associated with the Gētēh ocean, Saturnus with the Mēnōk ocean or sky vapor, and Jupiter with the sky dome or world mountain.

A Deus aeternus was also found on a relief of type VII or VIII which may have come from Rome (*335*). He was placed in the middle of the top frieze and was flanked to the right and left by alternating altars and daggers (cf 11 e). There were seven of the former and six of the latter. On the Barberini fresco of type VIII (*390**) a Deus aeternus stands on a blue globe between the two halves of the zodiac, that is, at the autumn equinox (3 g 1). The blue globe is the world of generation and fate (5 c 3; 5 h 2.2). On a relief of Apulum (*2198*), whose DE tauroctone is derived from Middle Europe and the East rather than from Southeast Europe, a lion's head appears at the top center of the tauroctone field. This tauroctone emphasizes the total cycle of generation by placing a cypress tree directly above the head of each torchbearer, the cypress being a characteristically "Persian" tree. On the tauroctone relief in Sofia of subtype C (*2320**), which is rare in Southeast Europe (*Typology*, IV 6 b), a Deus aeternus is shown at the beginning of the bottom register as a prelude to the Telete, and the Corpus vitale symbols (10 d 1) are also emphasized in the form of a wild boar and lion, and Genesis in the form of a dog.

That the Deus aeternus, which was beginning to be shown on the tauroctones in a central position, was a Principium mundi is made clear by a comparative analysis of the separate monuments. These have been found mainly in Italy, a few in Syria and Africa, and several in the Western provinces. They were conspicuously non-existant in Southeast Europe where the AB tauroctone, the Deus saxigenus, and the demiurgic bull were emphasized. The Deus aeternus combined the vital force of the lion (4 g 3.1) and the pneumatic power of the snake (2 b 7-8) with several other cosmic powers which require particular observation.

1. Lion's head. This divinity is normally shown with a leonine head, often with the mouth wide open, perhaps to suggest the yawning gulf of original chaos. The mouth pierced the stone of one monument (*543*), perhaps to allow illumination from behind. The fiery force of the lion's head is indicated by rays of light, while the nimbus connects this light with the sky (*103**). That the leonine head represented physical strength and courage is indicated by placing it on the kneecaps of the god (*326**) or on its breast (*777*) as the seats of strength and courage. The Merida statue (*777*) conforms to the newer Greek psychology by making the god's head human as the seat of understanding. Normally the more ancient psychology was followed that assigned courage and fiery anger to the head and intelligence to the breast or *phrenes*

(cf 11 e 2). Hence the god's breast was generally human. Sometimes an eye was placed upon the breast (*326* 611*) to identify it as the seat of perception and understanding. In one instance (*611*), conversely, eyes were placed in the middle of the lion's forehead and on both cheeks to emphasize perceptivity as a vital (cf 10 f 6) and ruling power (cf 5 h 1.2) of the god.

2. Snakes. Frequently a snake is coiled about the god with two or three turns in an upward spiral (*78 314 503 551 589 776 879 902 1123*) and less frequently with six or seven turns (*312* 543 545 550 665* 777*). One suspects that the two or three turns represent the paths of the sun and moon or of the sun, moon and Mercury-Mithra (cf 5 a 1), whereas the larger number of turns would represent the paths of all the planets. That the snake is coiled about the body of the cosmos is indicated by the signs of the zodiac being placed between the coils on the god's body, the progression being downward and from his right to left (*879*). On one statue (*545*) the equinoctial signs are placed on his breast and the solstitial on his loins, and on another (*611*), showing the God with a *kalathos* on his head, Leo is on the belt about the god's middle, whereas Scorpio and a dagger are on his right leg and Libra and an infant are on his left. Here the creative heat of summer and the generative heat of autumn are emphasized. The dagger and infant suggest creation and birth that follow blazing heat (cf 5 j 2). Life progresses from the primary substance and energy of the head downward to the more physical world of the legs. At least once (*589*) the lower part of the god is a square post instead of legs, the post being a symbol of the material world (10 e 1; 11 e 2). On the Oxyrhyncus relief (*103**) the god's legs are those of a goat, which emphasize physical nature in contrast to the understanding of the human breast and the vital heat of the radiate lion's head. The pneumatic snake progresses upward.

The coiling snake rests its head, sometimes crested, on the crown of the god's head (*312* 543 544 545 550 551 589 665**), or less frequently on his breast or shoulder (*78 1123*) or in his mouth (*382 902*). One monument (*383*) makes it clear that the breath (Asthma or Pneuma) of the god blown violently downward from his mouth is fiery, for it ignites a fire on an altar by his right leg. Each of the four wings of this god are in motion and are identified with a writhing, or pneumatic, snake.

3. Wings. The Deus aeternus normally has four wings (cf 5 h 1.2). Sometimes two extend upward and two downward (*103* 312* 382 550 589 902*) or all downward (*78 314 326**), two being joined at the shoulders and two at the hips (*312* 543 665* 1326*) or feet (*544*). On an Ostia statue (*312**) each wing is identified with a season of the year, summer and autumn being on the god's right from top to bottom and winter and spring on his left from bottom to top. At his right foot are hammer and tongs, symbols, of fiery creation and beginnings, while at his left foot are a cock and *caduceus*, symbols of birth and completions. A rampant dog is shown between the god's left wings on the Oxyrhyncus relief (*103**). The god's right hand, at least on the above monuments, had to do with Genesis, and his left with Apogenesis. Hence in his right hand he holds the key that unlocks sky-power and in his left the scepter that rules life (*312**).

The wings were symbols of the Pneuma, the hot breath that rules the seasons of life, and the snake was the symbol of pneumatic fire in its female powers (cf 1 e) and therefore represented the soul in its transitions (2 b 7).

4. Bowl and Globe. On one relief (*314*) the Deus aeternus stands above a large bowl in the top of which are the head and tail of a snake that coils around the body and over the left shoulder of the god. The head is toward his right leg and the tail toward the left. Here the snake seems to represent the complete Transitus of the soul through Genesis and Apogenesis which begins and ends with the elemental Aqua vitae. Once the bowl is shown on the breast of the god (*1298*) with the heads of two snakes above it, which thus seems to emphasize sentient life. On the Oxyrhyncus relief (*103**) two snakes extend downward from the goatlike loins of the god to a fiery altar on his right and a bowl on his left. From the altar's blaze another snake ascends to the god's shoulder or mouth. On a Deus aeternus relief from Gaul (*902*) the snake issues from a hole in the world-rock on the god's left instead of from a bowl of water; on his right is a blazing altar, above which is one of the Dioscuri standing in front of his horse and pointing toward the

sky with his right hand. His twin is missing from the opposite side of the relief. On a relief from Germany (*1326*) the snake is coiled about a bowl at the god's right foot. Behind the god a lion moves from a beehive at his left foot toward the bowl over which he holds his head, this being a variant of the Principia vitae symbols (8 d). The beehive was a symbol of physical birth (cf 7 b 1).

A statue from Africa (*125*) shows the god standing between either pine cones or honey combs, either of these being symbols of physical generation like water that attracts souls into bodies (7 c 6). A statue in Rome (*544*) showed the god standing on a large cone that is decorated with a lunar crescent.

Several monuments, as well as the tauroctone reliefs and frescoes noted above, show the god standing on a globe (*382 543 551 665**) from which the snake issues. The globe is divided into four quarters by cross bands on which dots suggest the planets (*543, cf 665**). The Deus aeternus is thus presented as a god of the cosmos, which is a world of time and fate (cf 11 b). His essence is motion, the basic meaning of *aiōn* and *aeternus* (*aiv-* from *i*, go), and is emphasized by his wings and snakes (cf 5 f 9.3). The Twins, like the bowl and globe or key and scepter, represent his Mēnōk and Gētēh powers.

5. Keys. As a god of cosmic powers the Deus aeternus holds in his hands not only the torch (*103* 383 589*) of Sol-Heliodromus, the scepter of Zeus (*543 611 665* 833* 1326*) and the fire shovel of Leo (*1123*), but more frequently he holds one or two keys in one or both hands (*103* 125 312* 314 382 503 543 544 551 589 665* 833* 902 1123 1134*). The key held against his head (*1134*) or decorated with five stars in the form of small holes (*543 544*) or balanced with a coal shovel indicate that he has the power to unlock the fiery energy of the sky. This is made particularly clear by placing a thunderbolt between the two keys (*103* 312** cf *544*). The very frequent emphasis upon the key shows that the god as Demiurge of the material world can also release the generative and sovereign powers of fire symbolized by the torch, shovel, thunderbolt and scepter, as well as the sky waters. Twelve spiral turns on the scepter (*543*), marking the paths of the planets through the zodiac, suggest the totality of his sovereign and vital powers.

Cautopates, the Lord, or Ahu, of fire, is also shown holding a key (*1163*). In Iranian cosmology (5 f 1 ss) sovereign fire had its origin in pre-existent moisture. While the god's eyes and wings may have been symbols of his sovereign powers (cf 5 h 1.2), these were but visible manifestations of his Ahu (=Aion) powers.

6. Deus Arimanius (Kronos). The Mithraic Deus aeternus had close affinity with the very ancient Phoenician Baal (Bel-Kronos) that was portrayed with four eyes and wings (5 h 1.2). Whether this was also the Mithraic Deus Arimanius is difficult to determine with our present evidence. In ancient Iranian ideology Angra Mainyu, the later Ahriman, was the moving force of heat as contrasted with Spenta Mainyu who was the animate body (5 h 2).

Two brothers by the names of Irenaeus and Arimanius dedicated a Deus aeternus statue (*833**) in Britain, or perhaps Arimanius is to be read as the name of the god [1]. In an Ostia Mithraeum a Pater who dedicated one of the statues of Deus aeternus (*312**) did not name the god in the accompanying inscription (*313*), whereas in another inscription (*315*) he calls himself PATER and ANTISTES of the DEI IUBENIS INCONRUPTI SOLIS INVICTI MITHRAE, and as a Priest he calls Mithra tauroctonos in the same Mithraeum (*310*) a SIGNUM INDEPREHENSIVILIS DEI (6 h 11.3). Unfortunately none of the dedications to DEO ARIMANIO (*1773 1775*) have been found with pictorial symbols. In Ostia a Petronius Felix Marsus gave to the Pater, M. Lollianus

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[1] E. and J. Harris, op cit (n. 56, pt 6), publish the inscription as:

VOL(usius) IRE(naeus)
ARIMANI(o v.s.l.m.)

On their plate XI (= 833*), however, I read:

DỊ VOL IRET
ARIMAN

There may be a ligature between the DI which would read DV or DIV, the Iranian word for god in a non-Zoroastrian context, and more specifically for Ahriman in a Zoroastrian context, Ahriman being associated with the snake like the Mithraic Deus aeternus. In no case can DEO be read. D.I. would designate the god that is unconquered in the world of time and fate (6h10). The Mithraic Tychōn-Xvarr in the Dieburg Mithraeum (*1255**; 11c1) was dedicated to Deus Invictus Mithras. In the above inscription I read E and T in ligature for *Iranaeus et* and in Arimanius I read MA, NI in ligature, and under the ET the top parts of the V are visible.

Callinicus, a SIGNUM ARIMANIUM as a gift (*221 222*), and in Rome a round base supported on a prismatic foot (cf 8 a 3.1) was dedicated by a Teacher and Father to DEO ARIMANIO (*369*). An association of the Pater and Magister with the God Arimanius tends to connect the god with the planetary Saturnus, god of knowledge and the Pater grade. Although the prism was associated with the Natura dei (8 a 3), so also were a god of the waters (8 a 4) and of the world mountain (8 a 5). Deus Arimanius should be the moving energy in the primeval world-stuff (5 h 2.1).

c. *Caelus-Saturnus* (Self-created Zurvān). The Deus aeternus statue having multiple eyes (*611*) also showed the god with a *Kalathos* on his head. We have observed a similar god carrying also a Cornucopia on the Poetovio altar (9 a 16.1), where he balances the Sol-Heliodromus. On the Bononia relief (*693**) Saturnus is characterized by a beard and head of hair, symbols of age, vitality and strength, whereas the planetary Jupiter wears a *Kalathos* (cf 10 f 3). A god with both a *Kalathos* and a radiate crown is clearly visible between the halves of the zodiac on the Dura relief (*40**). This god cannot be the sun since the Sun and Moon were shown below the zodiac. The *Kalathos* was a characteristic symbol of Serapis, who was more or less equated with both the Greek Hades and the Iranian Arimanius (6 d). The head of Serapis has been found in several Mithraea (*479 783 818*) and in the inscriptions (6 h 7.1) he was more or less equated with Mithra Invictus. The three-headed Cerberus and the mass of snakes shown with the Deus aeternus at Castel Gandolfo (*326**, cf 2 b 9.2) identify the god more with the lower world, or dark world, of Hades-Arimanius than with the world of fire and boundless light. This is the dark world of life and fate, symbolized by the blue globe, nimbus, or wheel[2]. In Iranian ideology Zurvān of finite

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2) In this context I recall the statement of Arnobius, *Adv. Nationes*, 6.10 (p 221 Reifferschied): "Among your gods we see that the most savage face (*faciem*) of a lion is smeared with undiluted cinnabar and is invoked by name as *frugiferius* (fruit-bearer)." The red of cinnabar is the color of blood and denotes the vitality of the soldier and youth. The god of the swift moving world of life is a *frugifer* Deus aeternus who could be symbolized by a *calathos* or *cornucopia*, like Serapis and Tyche. Because all genesis comes from the cosmic wheel with its sovereign lights (5 f 1, 3), the wheel therefore

time was identified with the color blue and with the world of fate and farmers or herdsmen (5 c 3), as were also the fires of Mithra (6 h 7.1). On the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) the god of the invisible sky appears at the zenith of the arch. He is neither radiate nor bearded, but has a nimbus and is hooded in a veil, and he also holds a large shepherd's crook, or perhaps a hooked knife like that of Saturnus in the Ostia mosaic (Fig. 20) and on the Brigetio relief (10f). Knife

may symbolize Tyche-Fortuna, or Nemesis as cosmic order and law (4g3), cf B. Schweitzer, *Dea Nemesis Regina*, in *Jahrbuch Deut. Arch. Inst.*, 46 1931, pp 175-180. In the Near East, moreover, Nemesis was identified with the planet Saturnus-Kronos. Jean Lassus, *Inventaire arch. de la région au nord-est de Hama* in *Documents d'études orientales*, 4.1, pp 132-136, discusses a grave monument whose "hero called upon Kronos when the men were standing against Nemesis", and among other things cites Vettius Valens, 2.22 (Kroll): "The star of Kronos is called Phainōn among the Greeks, but among the Egyptians the star of Nemesis." Cf also Paulus Alex., K. 3. In ancient Smyrna there were most holy statues of two Nemeseses, above which were two golden Graces. In Athens these Graces were called Increase (Auxo) and Leadership (Hegemone), according to Pausanias (1.33; 7.5.2; 9.35). Two Nemeseses associated with the *charites* parallel the two statues of Hope (6h1.1), and both Hope and Fortune could be represented by a cosmic globe (n. 7, pt 8). The Nemesis of Rhamnus (Paus., 1.33) was called a daughter of Oceanus and held a bowl as a symbol of encircling ocean in one hand and a tree branch in the other, whereas the two of Smyrna were called daughters of Night, as also in Hesiod.

The relief of the Deus aeternus from Ostia (*312**), mentioned above (11 b 6), was painted red (cf *902*) and has a *frugiferius* pine cone at the lower right, as well as the cock and caduceus of Hermes (cf 2 f 1.1), the god of Good Fortune. Symbols of Hephaistos at the left suggest the fashioning power of fire (5 j 5; n 67, pt 5). The combination of the reclining god, the mountain top and the fruit bearing branch or tree of life may be illuminated by a passage in M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, p 286, cited from the Mobad Farzāna Bahrām, *Šāristān-i čahār čaman* (Bombay 1327 h.q., p. 188s) which says that: God Most High created the holy soul of Zoroaster suspended to a tree which commands from heights supreme the generation of the potentials (=*mēnōkān*), and this is an illusion to the First Intellect. For the First Intellect is a tree whose fruits are all potentials. That the soul of Zoroaster is said to be suspended from it is an allusion to the fact that the rational soul of Zoroaster is a ray of the First Intellect; the perfections of Zoroaster are likewise emanations from the Tree of Intellect (11 e 3).

According to a passage in the *Pahlavī Rivāyat*. 56.7, "The three branches of the aromatic tree are Humat, Huxt, and Huvarst." These are the regions of the stars, moon and sun respectively (6c2.1), the sun being the highest and perhaps the supreme manifestation of First Intellect whose light illuminates the Tree of Life (cf 2 b 2; 5 e, j 2.4s). Cf Plato, *Tim.*, 90A.

and crook have to do with vegetation and sheep as forms of the Corpus vitale (10d1).

The hooded Saturnus figure on the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) must be considered in relation to a Mithra bust in Phrygian cap which appears above the tauroctonos Mithra on a relief from ancient Hermopolis in Egypt, of which photographs have been sent to me by Dr. Vermaseren through the courtesy of Mr. J. Harris who will publish the monument. The composition of the relief (type VII) and style of tauroctone (AC) are closely related to the Memphis relief (*91*) which I erroneously grouped with type I in my *Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones*. The complete relief of both monuments consists of an architectural cave (1c) with a springing arch, against the pilasters of which stand the torchbearers. Their removal from the central panel is a first step in the development of the type VI relief into type VII (cf *321* 1482* Fig. 3). The style of both tauroctones is subtype A in the disproportionately small bull and in Mithra's position on the bull, but is subtype C in the position of the bull as it tries to regain its footing and in the strong emphasis upon the snake and scorpion. The Mithra bust whose Phrygian cap supports the arch like an Atlas corresponds to the Saturn on the keystone of the arch in the Dura painting, which belongs to type VII, and to the Saturnus-Deus aeternus figures on the type VII relief of Poetovio (Fig. 1). It should be noted also that a very large bust with radiate crown was apparently placed above the middle of the large Sarrebourg relief of type VIII (*966*). The Hermopolis motive of a Mithras-Saturnus-Caelus placed at the zenith above a Mithras-Helios-Tauroctonos tends to strengthen my previous emphasis upon the dynamistic nature of Mithra as both Ahu and Ratu (cf 6 b 2). The former is the Pater-Despotes and Hypostasis of living beings, whereas the latter is the Poietes-Demiourgos and Ousia of life. The first emphasizes the substance and the second the activity of life. The Ahu corresponds to Deus Cautopates as the Spenta Mainyu, while the Ratu corresponds to Deus Cautes as the Angra Mainyu (or Deus Arimanius), who is also the mediating activity between Spenta Mainyu and Spenta Armaiti, the latter being the Wisdom of life incarnate in the Bull of Aphrodite, which is also a Despot and Demiurge of all life (4 f; 7 b 1-2). Arimanius as the mediator of motion or activity in *genesis* must also be closely connected with the Māthra Spenta, the Increasing Word, which, or who, is also intermediate between the two Spentas (5 h 4.2). The attack of Angra Mainyu upon the Mēnōk Bull was an activity of Logos as Moving Mind and was the beginning of finite incarnations of motion-life and intelligence-light in a world of fate or fortune, which is the world of the Deus saxigenus or Geus Maretan (12 b 3). Hence we find a twofold Mithra who as the Ahu of life is a sky-father but as the Ratu of life is the Mediator and Fashioner of Genesis. He becomes a threefold Mithra when the Logos becomes incarnate in the Rock-born god, the divinity of all finite being. The threefold Mithra corresponds to the threefold Helios in the theology of the Emperor Julian (n 12, pt 7), the first being an invisible Kronos whose consort is the substance and mother of all, the second being the visible sun as King Helios whose consort is the solar substance and mother of the star-robed Attis, and the third being the Witless Attis-Helios who united with the Nymph (=Aphrodite-Spenta Armaiti) in the world-cave of Birth and Decay. This cave is perhaps the Petra genetrix whose Nymph is Tyche-Fortuna, the lowest material causation, or the Gētēh Xvarr, Attis being the Mēnōk Xvarr and Tychōn.

1. Deus fortunae (Xvarr). The god with crown and cornucopia, as on the Poetovio altar, who is also pouring a libation (9 a 16.1), has a parallel in a statue in London (*812*) showing a god (whose head is missing) with a libation cup and cornucopia (cf *126*). In addition a snake coils about his right hand as he holds the cup over an altar, and the prow and rudder of a ship are placed under the cornucopia on his left side. These symbols as well as the cup connect the god with the waters as much as with the good fortune of sailors. In similar manner Oceanus is identified as a god of the waters by holding an anchor (3 h). Two monuments in the Dieburg Mithraeum show a god holding a cornucopia in his left hand and a libation cup in his right hand over an altar (*1253 1255*). The one dedicated to D.I.M. (*1255**) shows an infant rising to its feet above the cup, whereas below the cornucopia an infant rests its head in slumber on a basket of fruits (cf *611*; 11 b 2). The former motive suggests the motion of the soul in Genesis, while the mature fruits and slumbering

child, as well as the cornucopia, suggest the soul asleep in Apogenesis. The god with the cornucopia is perhaps the same god of fertility that reclines on a cloud-mountain above the Natura dei (8 a 5) and also beyond the Gate at the Transitus divus (10 e 2). This divinity in various manifestations may be the Iranian Xvarr, whether visible or invisible, that not only surrounds the world like a vaporous and windy envelope (6 f 2) but is also man's spirit and fortune (6 g 2s) as also his fate at his Bridge of Separation (6 b 1.3). The Xvarr at the Bridge were assistants of Amurdāt, Mēnōk of plants (6 b 1.3), and Demiurge of Good Pleasures (Plut., *Mor.*, 370 A).

1.1. This God of Xvarr and Fortune may be an Hermaphrodite-Tychōn (4 g 3) who, like Kronos-Saturnus, is bound in slumber by Zeus for periods of time in a lunar island on the boundary of Hades and Heaven. Through this island the *daimones* of heroes, like that of Herakles, pass from earth to the most distant solar island in the sea of Zeus, and conversely, from the island of the sun the *nous* journeys to join the *psychē* in the lunar island and, after thirty years of service to Kronos, passes thence to the Great Island, or Mainland which is earth, if *pothos* or *epithūmia* draws him thither. The sleeping Kronos is aroused from slumber by dreaming the pre-thoughts of Zeus, who in essence appears to be the air-ocean in which the outer islands are located, whereas the essence of Kronos appears to be twofold, that of the gold-like rock of the cave in which he slumbers and that of a royal and divine selfhood that becomes pure and unmixed when aroused. Hence in body he is rock-like and in mind an ethereal Zeus whose element reaches from earth to sun (cf 5 j 1; Plato, *Phaedo*, 110).

This long allegory based on the *Face in the Orb of the Moon* (*Mor.*, 920ss) by Plutarch is worthy of a much more detailed analysis than space permits here, for it reflects ideas, cosmological and theological, which the author derived from his knowledge of various mystery religions including Mithraism. The three islands beyond the lunar island are apparently Venus and Mercury and the most distant Sun. The lunar island is nearest to the Mainland which is the inhabited, or northwest quadrant, of the earth. The planet Mars is apparently represented by the *daimōn* of Herakles (planetary Mars) which passes to and fro from earth to sun. The highest honor goes to this Herakles whose essence is the solar *nous* (cf *fravahr*) and secondary honors go to the sleeping and waking Kronos. Thus in a strange conglomerate of astronomy and religion the seven planetary gods are all accounted for. The Stranger whose story is related at second or third hand by Plutarch had been a solar Nous who journeyed to the Moon and when combined with his Psyche became a servant of Kronos for the thirty-year period. Then instead of returning to the Sun he was attracted to Carthage on the earth where he had studied the mysteries of Kronos-Saturnus-Baal Hamon in documents that had been buried before the destruction of Carthage, which apparently agreed with, or re-awakened, what he had learned in the service of Kronos.

The sleeping Kronos, according to him, is apparently sustained by *ambrosia* brought by birds flying over the summit of the rocks (cf 6 h 4.1). The Mistress of the whole island is actually Kore-Persephone, the Phorosphoros who reflects the sunlight and who gently separates the only-begetting (*monogenēs*) *nous* from the lunar *psychē*, which, when enamoured of the body, sleeps like the soul of Endymion with the memory of life for a dream. The dreams that arouse Kronos therefore must be the intelligible life that exists in Zeus, at least potentially. The lunar power that binds the *psychē* to *nous* or to body is Clotho-Ilithyia and the power that separates is Artemis. The *nous* is associated with the Ouranian Hermes and the Demetrian body with the Chthonian Hermes. Souls which become bad *daimones* in life are punished in the deepest gulf of the lunar island which is called the secret chamber of Hekate. Thus this sleeping and waking Kronos-Tychōn is located at the boundary between the noetic world of Helios-Mithra-Hermes Ouranios and the material world of Hades-Ahriman-Hermes Chthonios. On the Mithraic monuments a god in the "repose of the creator" (cf 5 f 9.3 and *Gen.* 2.2-3) reclines on the cave-dome near the moon (cf *1935 1972**) or on top of the world-mountain (cf Fig. 25 *1593* 1797**, and Plut., *Mor.*, 370C).

2. Deus aquae vitalis. A god of vaporous air or water occupies the highest position on the circular relief of Salona (*1861**), which also shows Cautes as a Deus genitor (2 a). The god in repose near Luna and a Raven near Sol are balanced at the bottom of the

relief by an amphora flanked by two snakes as Principia vitae. Between the latter symbol and Sol are a lobster and snail, while a crocodile and dolphin appear between it and Luna. Thus the tauroctonos mystery takes place within a watery world of animate beings that are ruled by solar and lunar light. The raven may represent the sovereign and creative power of the sun, while the god in repose may represent the embodiment of the *mēnōk-physis* of the moon. An El-Kronos is often found closely associated with the moon on the reliefs of Roman North Africa. It should be remembered that the Olympian Zeus as a cloud-gatherer is a god of sky-waters, but his throne as well as his lightning-stone are sky-rocks. Likewise El-Kronos is enthroned on the mountain peak where the two oceans are separated, and Enki was god of the world-mountain in the midst of the world-sea (cf n. 74, pt 5).

3. Deus saxi vitalis. It has been noted above (II b) that a Caelus-Saturnus type of god reclined on the rocks below the feet of the Deus aeternus on the Second Poetovio relief. This god therefore would appear to be other than the Deus aeternus. The former may represent the stuff and the latter the motion of generation. The compounding of symbols was characteristic of Middle European reliefs. In Dacia a relief of type VI (*2006*), which is more characteristic of Middle Europe, was dedicated by Hylas, a freedman, to JO(VI) S(OLI) INVI(CTO) DEO GENITORI R(UPE) N(ATO) as a SIGNUM NUMINIS for the health of his son Horiens and his son's wife Apuleia. This unconquered solar Jupiter who was a Begetter born from the rock must have been no other than the *numen* or energy in the Petra genetrix itself. The relief emphasizes the seasons of growth and decay by having the torchbearers hold the Taurus and Scorpio signs, and Sol is shown as a hooded Saturn rather than as Sol with a radiate crown. The generative rock whose energy was fire was the stuff of the sky itself. This attitude toward the numinous sky helps us to grasp the thought of two members of the Leo grade who set up gifts to INVICTE CELESTI URANIE (*561*). The particular name of the Uranian god or his equivalent among the Graeco-Roman gods was probably not wholly clear to the dedicants. As the rocky sky he might have been called Caelus, but as the generative waters he might better be

called Saturnus, whose position in the zodiac was at the watery signs (4 g 4).

d. *Dei mundi.* On several fully developed reliefs of types IV (*2338*), V (*1128 1475 2202*) and VIII (*966 1292**, cf *1301 1359*) an attempt was made to represent the primary powers of creation or generation by means of various Graeco-Roman gods. On a Heddernheim relief (*1128, 11**) Mars in military dress stands in the middle at the top of the relief; on his right is Mercury with a wallet and on his left is the hooded Saturn. A Thracian relief (*2338**) has a similar arrangement except that a figure with a long staff (Jupiter as an Ahu?) takes the place of Saturn. At the right end of the same register is the reclining god (cf also *1797**). The latter is the god of the Natura dei and Apud deum motives. On a Siscia relief (*1475*) a Jupiter sits enthroned in the middle position, while Mercury with his wallet stands on his right and Mars in helmet on his left. On the Kumanovo relief (*2202*) there are four standing divinities, from left to right Minerva, Jupiter, Mercury and Mars. In this group of reliefs the Invictus Mars-Verethraghna is displaced from the central position toward the right side of the relief and a more conventional god of sovereign power like Jupiter is placed in the middle position. Mercury is generally toward the left side, except on the last relief. It is clear that Mercury represented material wealth or good fortune, whereas Mars represented ruling force, as does the wand or scepter of Jupiter. Minerva as well as Mercury was a divinity of intelligence or understanding in human affairs.

1. The gods are increased to a larger number on the reliefs of type VIII. The Sarrebourg relief (*966, D2*) shows a throned Jupiter with thunderbolt and perhaps also a scepter in the middle position. On the reliefs above, by contrast, he pours a libation, which function belongs more to a god of waters like Saturn. To Jupiter's right are Mercury and Mars, the latter being somewhat in the background between the other two. Nearest to the Deus Sagittarius motive at the left end of the register is Vulcan; between him and Mercury another god cannot be identified. To Jupiter's left in order are Herakles, Neptune and Bacchus who is nearest to the Templum caeleste.

The throned Jupiter on the Osterburken relief (*1292, 1**) not only holds a scepter and thunderbolt but is also being crowned by a winged Victory who also holds a palm branch in her left hand (cf 8 a 5.1). Standing in the front row to his right are Juno in a veil, Minerva and Venus, and to his left Apollo, Mars and Herakles. Apollo, naked except for a shoulder cape, stands crossed legged and holds his lyre on the top of an altar, perhaps to suggest that fire is the harmonious law (Aša) of the world (cf 7 f 1). Here Apollo resembles Mithra-Heliodromus (cf 9 a 16). On Jupiter's right but above or behind stand Proserpina in a veil, Pluto with a scepter, and Diana with quiver and arrows, while to his left is Neptune.

One suspects that these gods assembled around a throned Jupiter-Ohrmazd represent the totality of *mēnōk* or causative powers in the total cycle of generation from Genesis to Apogenesis.

2. Gods of Genesis. In general the gods toward the sun on the left, and therefore on Jupiter's right, are divinities of beginnings. On the Osterburken relief they are Diana, Pluto and Proserpine, Venus, Minerva and Juno; On the Sarrebourg relief they are Mercury, Vulcan and an unidentified god. On the reliefs of types IV and V they are usually Mercury and once Minerva.

3. Gods of Apogenesis. On the Osterburken relief the gods toward the moon, and therefore on Jupiter's left, should be gods of completions. They are Apollo, Mars, Herakles and Neptune, while on the Sarrebourg relief they are Neptune, Herakles and Bacchus. On the reliefs of types IV and V they are Saturn, Mars and once Mercury (cf 4 h 3).

4. Deus mundi as Ahu and Ratu. It should be recalled that the twofold aspects of Zeus Oromasdes in the Antiochus dedications (*32*) were the solar powers of Mithra-Mercury-Apollo on the one hand and the vegetative and victorious powers of Mars-Herakles-Verethraghna on the other (cf 6 i 1). In Stockstadt a certain Argata discharged a vow to D.I.M. ET S(OLI) S(OCIO) by dedicating a silver tauroctone relief (*1206*). Mithras Invictus-Verethraghna and Mithras Sol Socius are the Ahu and Ratu powers of Deus Mithras Pater and Genitor whose powers are emphasized on the relief by placing the Natura dei in the central position above the tauroctone arch and the Principia vitae symbols (8 d 2) beneath the bull at the bottom. Seven planets within the field of the relief express

the totality of Mēnōk powers in the Gētēh world of generation and decay. The Dei mundi are symbols of the various powers of Mithra as Ahu and Ratu, Lord and Ruler, Alpha and Omega.

e. *Altars and Trees.* Particularly prominent on the reliefs and frescoes of types VII and VIII are alternating tree and altar which are placed above the arch of the tauroctone cave (Fig. 12 *368 390* 670 1816 1973 2237*). Sometimes there are seven trees with six altars in the intervening spaces (Fig. 12 *368*) or four trees on each side of the Deus aeternus with three altars on each side in the intervening spaces (*390**) On one relief (*670*) there seem to have been six trees between seven altars, some being lost, which correspond to seven bowls on the lower border of the same tauroctone. These bowls correspond in turn to seven altars placed on the ground of a tauroctone scene (*368*), while above the cave there are seven trees and six altars. The first and last altar in the series below is round, the others square. On the upper Moesian relief (*2237**), where in a panel at the right of the tauroctone the Natura dei is shown as a god emerging from a blazing altar (6 h 6.1), there appears to have been a series of seven altars and seven trees above the tauroctone. On the Thracian relief that shows three Dei mundi at the top (*2338**) seven altars are shown framed in foliage on the ledge below the gods. Three more altars are placed beneath the sun bust, whereas beneath Luna is a reclining Saturnus-Kronos. On a Pannonian relief (*1816*) there are only four altars and three trees in a series between Luna and the solar chariot; on another (*1818*) there are seven altars between two trees. A Dacian relief (*1973*) shows an alternation seven times repeated of a dagger, altar, Phrygian cap on a post, and a tree, whereas daggers and altars alternate on each side of the Deus aeternus on a Roman relief (*335*, cf 11 b).

1. Ignis vitalis (altars). On reliefs of the Southeast European types (II-V) a series of altars are placed directly under the Deus taurus (*1935 1972**) or Dei mundi (*1128* 1475 2338*)*, or near the raven (*2085 2244* 2245*) or Mithra in the tauroctone field (*1974 2000 2068 2085 2264*), or on the bottom ledge of the tauroctone (*2043 2334* cf *1275*). Seven small balls are placed under the bull's foreleg on the larger Dura relief (*40**), which may be compared with seven

globes or stars on the upper border of a relief of type II (*2052*).

The god being born from the flames of an altar and the close association of the blazing altar with fruitful trees and blazing torch (3 f 1) suggest that the altar represents the fire of life. The normal six or seven repetitions connect this fire with that of the planets which preside over or protect the rebirths of the soul in the seven grades of initiation. Such transitions of the soul (9 a 9.3) are suggested by snakes entering and leaving the altar fire, as on a Deus aeternus monument (11 b 4). The knife alternating with the altars represents the separating and creative power of fire (7 c 4). The god coming to birth out of the fiery world of rock, or world-stuff, holds dagger and torch in hand, these being symbols of the Genesis of the living world.

2. Nous hylikos (trees). A few reliefs of types VII and VIII show three or more trees above the tauroctone cave (*415 1083** *1400** cf *1359*) or at the top of the tauroctone field (*1283**). On the Aquileia relief of type I (*736*) goats browse on trees at the left side of the tauroctone field, and live goats represent the Corpus vitale (10 d 1). A tree with a serpent is shown within the field of the Heddernheim relief (*1083**), and likewise a cypress tree on a Roman tauroctone (*366*, cf 5 e). Trees shown with the torchbearers on the tauroctones (*335 350 693** cf *334*) have been discussed previously (3 f). Cypress trees are shown both with Mithra ephippos (6 c 5) and with Mithra-Jupiter Dolichenus (*334*) as a Kosmokrator. On the Quadraro relief of type VII (*321**) two trees appear on the left border. On a branch of the upper tree sits a raven as the voice of heaven (5 f 6). At the foot of this tree is a dagger pointed at the ground and a reclining Deus mundi. On a branch of the lower tree is a Phrygian cap, which corresponds to the cap-on-a-post seven times repeated on the Apulum relief (*1973*). If the progression is downward, as one would expect (4 b 2), then one passes from the creative Word (raven) through world-creation (dagger and Deus mundi) to the physical world order (cap on tree, or post).

If the baetylion or pillar was an ensouled stone (8 a 3), the cap on a post should represent the living world of sky and earth, whereas the tree should represent the Nous hylikos, or the embodied mind of understanding and intelligence. Odysseus, it will be recalled

(9 a 18.2), was to sit with Athena beneath her olive while devising plans. The symbolism of the tree is more fully elaborated in a long passage by Porphyrius (*De antro*, 32) of which the following is most pertinent.

> It remains to set forth the symbol of the full grown olive tree because it is at once significant. It stands in fact for something more than ordinary, for it is not merely said to have grown nearby but rather at a head:
>
> Yet more, at harbor's head an olive tree slender leaved,
> Close by it too a cave.
>
> It has not grown there by some chance, as some would believe, but rather itself shares the riddle of the cave. Since the cosmos is not without plan, nor has come into being by chance, but is a product of god's planning (*phronēsis*) and of intelligent nature, the olive tree, a symbol of god's planning, is planted by the cave, the image of the cosmos. For the tree is Athena's and Athena is foresight (*phronēsis*). Since she is a goddess born from the head, the theologian discovered an appropriate place by having consecrated the tree at the harbor's head, indicating thereby how this entire work came into being, not by a spontaneous and irrational chance, but on the contrary that it is a product of intelligent nature and of wisdom, so that the tree, though separated from the cave, is established at the head of the whole harbor.

The belief that a tree manifests forethought and design in nature as well as vital force itself is quite understandable, for primitive peoples could not fail to be impressed by the mystery of its growth and fruitfulness. Hence a tree, or trees, of life and knowledge are emphasized in the Garden of Eden. Firmicus Maternus alludes to the perceptive aspect of the tree in a passage (*De errore prof. rel.*, 5) on Persian religion in which he criticizes the idea that the soul can be divided into parts because it assumes that the parts must be *corpora*, or physical bodies. It is most unfortunate that the first part of the passage is missing for it was describing a threefold icon. What survives runs as follows:

> . . . . so that the (second part) that is armed with a shield (*clypeo*) and covered with a breastplate is equally adored and consecrated. A third part is that which is allotted the dominion of wild beasts in rough and secluded parts of the forests (*silvarum*). The last part of this tripartite division is that which exhibits the ways of lust, depraved desires and the charms of excessive love. Therefore they assign one part to the head because somehow it seems to contain the anger (*ira*) of mankind. Another part they locate in the heart (*cor*) because it seems

> to hold a variety of thoughts which we gather by a multiple effort the same as forests (*in modum silvarum*). The third part is located in the liver (*iecor*) whence license and lust are born. For the fecundity of the genital seeds collected there compels the desire of love by natural stimuli.

This accords with the ancient notion that man thinks with his heart rather than with his head (II b 1), and here the heart was in some way connected with the imagery of trees (*silvae*), and the lower organs with beasts. In actuality a tree of knowledge and a tree of life are scarcely separable since perceptivity and knowledge were understood to be dependent upon physical consciousness. A soul (*fravahr*) without body and breath (*ǰan*) was without knowledge (*dēn*), even if perceptive (*ruvān*), according to Iranian thought (4 g 1.3; n 98, pt 5).

3. Arbor vitae as Frugifera and Genetrix. The tree of sapient life appears in two noteworthy forms, that of the Frugifera and the Genetrix. The former motive, showing a man plucking fruit or a branch from a tree, is found only on the most fully developed reliefs, namely, those of Heddernheim (*1083**, *A18*), Rückingen (*1137, 3b**), Dieburg (*1247, 4-5**), Neuenheim (*1283, 1**), Osterburken (*1292, 2**), and Mauls (*1400, 4**). On the Rückingen and Osterburken reliefs the Frugifera is combined with the Genetrix motive, the latter showing a head with Phrygian cap emerging from the top of the tree. On the former relief there are three branches with three heads, a motive also found in a side panel of the Dieburg relief (cf 6 c 2.3). On the second Poetovio relief (Fig. 1) there are three separate trees each with a head. On the Neuenheim relief (*1283, 6*) there is a single tree with a head, as also on the Heddernheim relief (*1083, 1*) and on the Dura fresco that was painted above the arch (Fig. 12). The Natura dei is combined with a tree on a separate monument of Carnuntum (*1687*; 8 a 4). Moreover the Deus mundi who reclines on the rocks above the fiery Natura dei on the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) is identified with a branch or tree. In this connection it may be recalled that the Phoenician Aion, offspring of primeval Wind, was said to have first discovered the fruit of trees and that his offspring was Genos, the Begettor, and Genea, the Genetrix (5 j 4). The Deus aeternus figure seems to

emphasize the Genos as a Mēnōk or celestial power, whereas the Deus fortunae-Xvarr, or Tychōn, figure seems to emphasize the Gētēh or terrestrial power. As Genitor and Genetrix (cf *419*) the Deus mundi is the divinity of the Petra genetrix.

The Genetrix motive represents the embodiment of rational power as Nous hylikos. The three heads have been previously interpreted as the three qualities of rational being; namely, thought, word and deed, which are the totality of human life (6 c 2.2). A lion placed in front of a tree, as on the Sarrebourg relief (*966, C3*), on the other hand, emphasizes the fullest embodiment of vitality (4 g 3.1). The Arbor frugifera motive should signify the quest for sentient being and the Arbor genetrix motive its realization. The tree or trees placed at the top of the world-cave, like the tree at the head of the harbor in Ithaca, should suggest the controlling function of the Nous hylikos. When the Deus mundi or Genitor brings forth the God from the Rock (8 a 5.2), or devises the regeneration of the world (5 h 7-8), he is crowned by the Season of vegetation, or Spring, with a wreath. The Nous hylikos was the vital *sap* that makes one *sapient*, and its origin was in the wind (5 j 3) and breath (*ǰān*) of a warm-moist Pneuma (6 g 2.2). On the Neuenheim and Osterburken reliefs the North wind blows upon the Arbor genetrix, for in hot climates the colder wind was taken to be generative rather than the burning south wind. The north seems to have been attributed to Deus Arimanius (cf 9 a 7.2), as to Ahriman (4 i 4). Zoroastrian dogma, however, made Ahriman the cause of cold and death instead of vital heat [3].

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[3] Angra Mainyu (Ahriman), as one would expect, does not appear in the Zoroastrian calendar of "creation" and "rest" days (*gāsānbār*) of Ohrmazd. Yet in a non-Zoroastrian view of the seasons he must have been closely connected with Spenta Mainyu and Spenta Armaiti (5 h 4). The calendar as described in *Bundahišn*, 1.52-60 = ZZ p 284s, is presented in tabular form below. This calendar cannot be discussed here in detail. However, a few features relevant to Ahriman (Angra Mainyu) and to Mithraic ideology may be noted.

First of all, the year is divided into quite distinct halves, beginning with spring equinox in Fravartīn and the autumn equinox in Mihr. The six *gāsānbār*, or rest periods in creativity (*dadv*, or *dadhv*), occur in every second month, with a noteworthy exception. The rest period following the creation of plants (*urvar*) falls in Mihr instead of Āpān, the month of autumn rains. It will also be observed that none of the three autumn months is named for a

The Deus aeternus, variously represented as a winged-leonine monster or as a snake-encircled human (777), is, I believe, closely connected with the Indo-Iranian Vayu-Vāy whose worship was attributed to Angra Mainyu, as the Deceiver, by the Zoroastrians (5 j 1). The Lofty Vayu was Lord and Fashioner of Order, a Friend

Zoroastrian Amahraspand, but that two of these follow Fravartīn in the spring, two follow Tīr in the summer, and two follow Dadv in the winter. The months of the autumn season, the last season to be added to ancient calendars (cf n 68, pt 6), were named from a Mithra cycle of divinities, like the first group of days in the second half of the month (n 68, pt 5).

Second, it must be noted that Ohrmazd is absent from the names of the months, unless he is concealed in the Dadv at the winter solstice, especially if this is the Creative-Lord-Fire (Dadv-pat Ātur). I suspect that this Dadv overlays Angra Mainyu, he being followed by Spenta Mainyu (=Vahuman) and Spenta Armaiti (Spandarmat). These three in particular were pre-Zoroastrian divinities (5 h 4). Angra Mainyu as a fiery World-mover (5 h 2.1) was displaced by Spenta Mainyu-Ahura Mazda and was made the killer of the Bull rather than the creator or Begetter. Mithra, however, remained or survived as the Lord of waters and vegetation (cf 6 a 3.1) which would make him Lord of Wide Cattle Lands (6 a 4).

Finally, the creation of man, beginning on the day of the erotic wind (Rām, 5 j 1.1) at the winter solstice (cf Boreas) and ending on the last day of the regular year, that of Endless-light, is a Zoroastrian emphasis upon man as the last and most superior of all creatures, even surpassing Cattle-development (Gōšpand) which began with the Waters (Āpān) of Creativity (Dahv) and was completed on the day of the Creative-Lord-Mithra. Yet in the five "Stolen" days before the spring equinox occurs the movement of the *fravahrs*, the first fiery principles of man and creatures (4 g 2-3). Hence spring begins with the First Principle of Order (Fravartīn). The importance in the calendar as a whole of Water and of Mithra or the Creative-Lord-Mithra, as compared with Fire-Ātur, is worthy of notice (cf 5 f 7), and also the secondary importance of the typically Zoroastrian Amahraspands, Artvahišt, Hurdāt, Amurdāt, and Šahrēvar, and especially Ohrmazd. This calendar, like most calendars, was certainly a conflation of traditions, the most conspicuous being the Zoroastrian doctrine of creation by Ohrmazd rather than generation by Mēnōk and Gētēh Nērōk (5 f ss).

Days of month	Months of year	Thing created	Days required	Month of *gāsānbār* days, meaning of the days
Ohrmazd	Fravartīn	Āsmān	Ohrmazd	
Vahuman			40 to	
Artvahišt	Artvahišt		Āpān	
Šahrēvar		Āpān	Mihr	Xvar to Dadv-pat-Mihr:
Spandarmat	Hurdāt		55	"House of man and
Hurdāt			to	plants appears".
Amurdāt	Tīr			

of the Waters and Germ of Creation (5 j), that is, the Power of Mēnōk dahišn (5 f). But he also contained within himself the powers of Spenta Mainyu (5 j 1) which would be the Vāy of Enduring Self-creation (5 e 2.2), that is, the power of Gētēh dahišn, which is represented by the Xvarr-Deus fortunae figure with infants

Dadv-pat-			Āpān	Xvar to Dadv-pat-Mihr:
Ātur		Zamīk	Mihr	"Clearing water from
				turbidity".
Āpān	Amurdāt		70	
Xvar			to	
Māh				
Tīr	Šahrēvar		Art	Aštat to Anaghrān,
Gōš				"Creatures of earth
				can walk".
Dadv-pat-	Mihr	Urvar	Ormazd	
Mihr			25	
			to	
Srōš			Ařt	Aštat to Anaghrān:
Rašn	Āpān	Gōšpand	Ohrmazd	"Vegetation shows
				leaf, color, scent".
Fravartīn				
Varhrān			75	
Rām	Ātur		to	
Vāt			Dadv	
Dadv-pat-			-pat-	
Dēn	Dadv		Mihr	Mihr to Varhrān:
Art		Martōm	Rām	"Creatures taught to
Aštat			70	provide for winter".
Āsmān	Vahuman		to	
Zāmdāt				
Mahraspand				
Anaghrān	Spandarmat		Anaghrān	
				Five "stolen" days:
				Ohrmazd to Spandar-
				mat, for "Marching
				hosts of *fravahrs*".

It may be observed that the Tīr month at the beginning of the dry summer is that of the planet as Apaoša, the Water-withholder, rather than of Tištar, the bringer of the waters (n 33, pt 6). The latter would belong to the Āpān month when vegetation flourishes. The five extra days at the end of the year for the marching hosts of the *fravahr* would more or less coincide with the Greek Anthesteria and the Latin Februa-Parentalia rites for the ghosts of the dead. In the Latin calendar this period was followed by the month of Mars which began the year, Mars being a divinity of vital force. The Fravartīn month beginning the Zoroastrian calendar may conceal the more ancient Verethraghna-Mars, god of the *fravahr* (4 g 3) as the first principle of life.

and cornucopia. The Spenta Mainyu whose body is the World-egg (5 h 3.3) is hardly separable from Angra Mainyu, the fire in the egg, on the Modena relief (*695**) which combines a Visible god (Phanes) of energized material with a Deus aeternus of material energy. These Mēnōk-Gētēh powers also appear as a God in repose on a rock and a God born from a rock, or as a Bull resting in a Templum caeleste and a Bull moving in a Scapha lunata.

3.1. The material of Wind-generated Plants (5 j 3s) may also be the primary energy-substance, for *hylē* (= *hūlē*), matter, shrub, forest, seems to be cognate with *urvar*, *urvan*, plants, soul (4 g 1.1) and with *ūrus*, *olvos*, bull, mountain (from *'urv-*, *ulv-*, n 4, pt 7, cf *bullock*, *bulk*). "Plato said with reference to Three Hypostases that substance (*ousia*) preceded divinity (n 8, pt 4). There is however a Highest God and Good, but also after him a Second, the Demiurge, and a Third, the Soul of the World. As for soul however the Most Divine preceded" (Porphyrius in Cyril, *c. Julian.*, 8, p 271A). This primal *ousia* may also be an *abzār* for the *advēnak*, accomplishing *baxt* (fated creation) through Finite Time (*Dēnkart*, M. p 203ss). This *advēnak abzār* is described as four robes. The robe of Ahriman, being deep dark and belonging to evil knowledge (*dušākāsīh*, a Zoroastrian perversion of *gnōsis*, 4 g 3), is attributed to the planet Saturn, called in religion "Far-reaching Aggression" (cf 5 h 2.1). The robe of Ohrmazd is Expanding Self-motion and Movement of Soul in the material world, that of Varan (the Lusty One, cf 7 e 1) belongs to Mars (Vahrām) and Wrath (cf *thūmoeides*, 4 g 3) and is self-seeking (*dōšakīh*, a perversion of *akerios*, *pius*, 9 a 13), while that of the Wind (Vāy) is the Self-motion of the cosmic Wheel and the J̌ān of man and especially of the soldier (5 j 1).

The *physis* of an incomprehensible primary energy-substance (2 b 8; nn 95, 98, pt 5) is made manifest by various *signa* and *numina*. Zurvān of boundless time is an Ahriman-Saturnus-Oceanus in repose, whereas Zurvān of Self-created Finite Time is a Ahriman-Deus aeternus-Vayu as first intelligible motion, while the Demiurge is an Invictus Mars-Mithra (cf 12a6) and the Soul of the World is a Jupiter-Ohrmazd, their bodies being Three Faces (*advēnak*) of Infinite Time, an Incomprehensible Mēnōk—Gētēh Abzār—Physis, or Saturn half naked-awake-mind, half clothed-asleep-matter, a God *in* the Rock.

PART TWELVE

THE ICONOGRAPHY AND IDEOLOGY OF MITHRAIC SALVATION

Several dedications, particularly in Germany, were made to Mithra or the Torchbearers "In honor of the Divine House (*domus divinae*)". Some of these were in the Mithraea (cf *1165 1347-9* et al.) where elaborate pictorial monuments were found. This emphasis upon the Mithraeum as a Domus divina is of interest because it gives point to the elaboration of the tauroctone reliefs and paintings as well as of the decoration of the Mithraeum itself. Just as the Roman domus was something other than a building, so the Mithraeum was something other than a meeting place for worshippers. It was an imitation of the cosmos, as pointed out in the first part of this work.

A considerable number of tauroctones of types III, IV, V, VII and VIII tried to present to the initiate as complete an imagery of Mithraic cosmology and theology as possible (cf 5 f 6). It must now be reasonably clear that Mithraism was essentially a religion of Gnosis and Telete. The Pater, under the nurture (*tutela*) of Saturnus, was supposed to be endowed with true knowledge of the cosmos and of man's proper function in it. In the Mithraic conception religion was both gnostic and redemptive, its wisdom, like that of Zoroastrianism, being both wise and creative, or recreative (5 e 2; 5 f 5). Mithraic iconography and ideology have been presented hitherto in connection with the reliefs of Dieburg (5 h 7; 6 c 2) and Rückingen (7 c-g) as also with the elaborate reliefs of Southeast Europe. It remains to survey as a whole the iconography of the Osterburken relief (*1292**), supplementing this with reference to other parallel symbols especially on tauroctones of types VII and VIII.

a. *Mēnōk dahišn* (self-moving creativity). In a previous section (11 d) we observed that the Dei mundi on the right hand of the enthroned god have to do in general with beginnings or Genesis, whereas those on his left have to do with completions (cf 4 g 5) or Apogenesis. It is possible therefore that the left side of the tauroctone that is under the protection of Sol may generally have to do with beginnings and the right side under Luna with completions. Although strictly speaking Genesis and Apogenesis have to do with the soul and body, in a broad sense the cosmos itself was considered to be a living organism with soul and body. To the initiate, however, most important of all was the generation or regeneration of man. By the second and third centuries of our era the symbols of such things had become prolific and often far-fetched. For example, according to Macrobius (*Sat.*, 1.19)

> The Egyptians put forward the argument of the caduceus for the generation of man also, which is called Genesis, making note that four gods preside over man's birth: the Daimōn, Tychē, Erōs, and Anangkē. They wish the first two to be known as Sol and Luna because Sol is the author of warm breath (*spiritus caloris*) and is the Genitor and Guardian of the light of human life, and is therefore considered to be a *daimōn*, that is, a Deus, of birth (*nascentis*). Luna is Tychē because she is the Dancer of bodies, they being hurled about by a variety of chances. Erōs is denoted by the kiss (of the snakes on the caduceus) and Necessity by the knot (at the middle of the snakes' bodies on the caduceus).

Erōs, the power of attraction, and the daimōn as the Spiritus caloris of the Sun are the forces of Genesis, whereas Luna and Anankē are the fortune and fate of living bodies. Warm breath and love are primary forces of Genesis which we observed in Phoenician cosmology (5 j 2ss). The spiritus caloris is in fact not only the equivalent of Pneuma (in the Deus aeternus) but also, when traced to the sun, of the Avestan Hvarenō (Xvarr, 6 g 3). In the pneumatic Hvarenō were both heat and moisture. "The capacity for generating from moisture has in fact been attributed to Venus for the propagation of animals", says Macrobius (*Sat.*, 1.8). We have found Venus on the Osterburken relief among the gods of Genesis (11 d 2), and Erōs is represented in the arrows of the Deus Sagittarius and in the Pothos motives (10 c 1; 10 b 2). Eros-Aphrodite (cf *784*) combined with the Daimōn of Hermes was the essence of Tychōn (4 g 3.1), and the bond of all physical life was Necessity. Before the Genesis of men and animals, however, came the evolution of the living world itself in response to a thought or self-motion that arose in the world-stuff.

1. Ahu (lordship of life). The first symbol of the Osterburken series (*1292, 4a*) is that of a youthful head framed in a concave nimbus that imitates clouds or rocks. Somewhat similar heads appear on the two Dacian reliefs (*1974 2000*) where the so-called Oceanus is usually found (9 c 2). This head represents the first motion or progression in the primary world-stuff, whose watery characteristic connects it with a world-ocean. As a head it is the *mēnōk*, or first motion of the sky (cf 5 f 8, j 7). According to the *Hermes Trismegistos* (*Corpus Hermeticum*, ed. Nock) 10. 11, the spherical cosmos is a head, than which nothing material is higher, and it is the cause of hylic motion, "for all hylic motion is *genesis*".

On a fragmentary relief from North Italy (*723, 1*) a standing god of Saturnus type touches rocks at his feet with his wand. This motion corresponds to that of the Ahu shown in the Dura fresco (6 b 3). The word *ahu*, it should be recalled (cf 5 f 7.2), is a form of Ahura-Asura, whose essence was life and lordship. The Ahu corresponds to the Saturnus with the shepherd's crook also shown in the Dura fresco (11 c 1). The Asura-Ahura always retained a connection with the celestial waters, whether as Varuna, Apām Napāt, Ahura Mazda, or an Oceanus-Saturnus-Pater (cf 4 h 3).

2. Āsmān-Zamān (finite time) The second symbol at Osterburken (*1292, 4b*) shows an Atlas supporting the world-globe and at his feet a Gaia-Tellus reclining on a basket of fruits. These symbolize the twofold powers derived from the Ahu and manifested (*čihr*) in the world of finite time, or time that is self-created. These are the heavenly lights that control the seasons and the productivity of the earth in her seasons. The ancients scarcely distinguished between the motion of time and the seasons (cf *hōra* and *tempus*). A parallel motive on the Neuenheim relief (*1283, 7**) shows a youth in Phrygian cap partly kneeling and holding aloft the world-globe or disk behind his head. This combines the Atlas and Ahu motives so as to emphasize the visible sky in the star-studded cap (3 g) and the invisible sky in the nimbus which are at the head of the material world. From these come the twofold powers of lordship and rulership, of Ahu and Ratu.

The first symbol on the Dieburg relief (*1247, 1**) is that of the two opposed horses or water animals, which may denote opposite powers in the evolution of the world (cf 5 h 8.1), water and motion.

3. Bavišn (threefold genesis). The third scene at Osterburken (*1292, 4c*) shows the three Parcae-Moirai with Lachesis in the middle holding a pair of balances. On her right stands Atropos with a scroll and on her left Clotho probably with her whorl. Since Lachesis separates and measures out the raw materials of life which were believed to be heat and moisture or the four elements, she corresponds to *ravišn*, the first stage of *bavišn*, or generation. Clotho who spins the threads corresponds to *ēstišn*, the combining of the elements, and Atropos to *zīndakān*, the finished bodies whose fate is fixed in the web (cf 5 f 3) [1]. A similar ideology may be intended

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[1] The author of the treatise on Fate (Ps. Plut., *Mor.*, 568E) construed fate as a substance to be the entire soul of the cosmos divided into three parts or aspects, the fixed, the planetary and the sub-planetary about the earth; the highest was called Clotho (the one that spins), the next Atropos (the one that does not turn) and the lowest Lachesis (the one who allots), who receives the celestial activities of her sisters and transmits them to the earth regions subject to her authority In Plato's *Timaeus* (41F) Lachesis is called the Nomos that accompanies the Physis of the universe, and in the *Phaedrus* (248C) she is called the Thesmos of Adrastia (the Inescapable, or Nemesis). It may be noted that Drastēria, the causation principle or *energia* of the universe, was contrasted with the *hylikē*, or material, principle (Sex. Emp., *Adv. Dogm.*, 3. A4). By some Atropos was taken to represent past time, Clotho present time and Lachesis the future (Ps. Arist., *De mundo*, 401B18ss), whereas in the *Republic* Plato attributes past time to Lachesis and the future to Atropos.

Plutarch's ideas about the Fates (Moirai) and the nature and function of the *daimōn* come to light in an extended discussion of the *daimonion* of Socrates (*Mor.*, 575B-598F). After various suggestions by members of a group assembled in Thebes, who are plotting to drive out the Spartans, Simmias, brother of Epaminondas, who claims to have talked with Socrates about his *daimonion* without obtaining a satisfactory answer, nevertheless presents his own opinion that this *daimonion* was not a vision or an actual voice but rather the apprehension of a divine message by a sensitively attuned soul (588D). Socrates had a *nous* that was pure and without passion, that was mingled with his body as little as possible, and was capable of grasping the meaning of a daimonic message without any spoken words (E). Words compel the *psychē* as if by a forceful blow through the hearing organs, but *nous* is guided by the higher *nous* through a mere contact of mind with mind. The *psychē* of man drawn taught by inner strains like twisted cords is the most responsive of organs to the touch of *logos* and in response to the impulse is moved to understanding (*to noēthein*). The principles of passion in the threefold Hekate found in the Sidon Mithraeum (84*, cf 2 a 3), for the female powers of fire were represented by a Dea triformis (1 e). The Oxyrhyncus relief (103*) portrays such a Deus triformis (2a4) as does the Deus aeternus with a three-headed dog (326*;

and impulses are tied to the understanding (*to noon*) which, when disturbed, causes them to be drawn along and they in turn impart tension to man (589A). If the body can be moved by *logos* without words, then the *nous* can be guided by a greater *nous* and by a soul more divine that touches it from outside in the way that *logos* touches *logos*, or light causes a reflection (B). The *logoi* of *daimones* arouse an echo in those only who have a tranquil character and undisturbed soul, those whom we call holy and daimonian (D). Such was the way in which Socrates' *daimonion* functioned (F).

Plutarch goes on to illuminate his conception of daimons and of the soul by having Simmias relate the story of Timarchus who had been initiated into the mysteries of Trophonios and upon his death three months later was buried beside a son of Socrates (F). To find out about Socrates' *daimonion* Timarchus had descended into the pit of Trophonios where he remained for two nights and a day and was given up by his friends for dead. But upon his return he told how his soul had been released from his head as if by a blow and had passed into the sky as in a dream. There he heard the music of the spheres, saw the stars like fiery islands in a vast sea, the planetary islands seeming to float across and against the current. The sea was deepest and bluest far away toward the south, but was more turbid nearer. Where the earth should be there was only the great abyss of Tartarus in which were the groans and cries of living creatures (590F). The Styx was the border between this earthy Tartarus or Hades and the realm of Persephone which was on or about the moon, this being the place of *daimones*, for higher regions belonged to gods. From his daimonic guide Timarchus learned that, of the Regions and Four Principles of all things, Life the first principle was linked to Motion the second principle by Unity in the first realm which was that of the invisible sky. Motion the second principle was linked to Genesis the third principle by Nous in the second realm which was the space between sky and sun. This third principle was linked to Decay the fourth by Physis in the third realm which was between sun and moon. Atropos held the key over the first realm, Clotho over the second, and Lachesis over the third, for at the moon was the turning point (*kampē*) of Genesis (591B). While the rest of the fiery islands belong to the gods, the moon belongs to *daimones* of earth and is just above the Styx, which is the sky-ocean between earth and moon. Evil souls slip off the moon and are carried downward by Hades, but good souls who are released from cyclic births rise to the moon. The trembling stars that appear to sink to the abyss or to rise from it are the *daimones* themselves (591D). Every *psychē* has a share of *nous* and is not without *logos* and *nous*, but as much of its *nous* as is mingled with flesh and passions is altered and turned to the irrational by its pleasures and pains. Souls are submerged in bodies to different degrees, some almost completely and some leave the purest part outside. This part is the *nous* that tends to keep the *psychē* from submerging. This *nous*, if correctly named, is a *daimōn*

2b9.2).[2] Other triform female divinities are named in relatively late Mithraic inscriptions (cf *522*). Plato (*Rep.*, 617) represents Lachesis of past time as having turned the outer sphere of the sky with her right hand, Clotho of present time as turning the planetary spheres with her left hand, and Atropos of future time as turning both alternately with right and left hand. These motions of the fates produce the harmonious music of the spheres, but Lachesis also, who holds the cosmos on her knees, produces the fortune or lots for souls going into birth.

and is really external to the *psychē* (E). Souls that are obedient to their *daimones* produce the tribe of prophets and holy men, for their daimons are less restrained by the irrational *psychē* and can range more freely. About these matters Timarchus would have better knowledge three months hence. After loosing consciousness again Timarchus again came to and ascended from the oracle and related his experiences, but three months later he died.

In a similar type of essay devoted in large part to the religion of Kronos Plutarch says (*Mor.*, 945C) that Atropos, enthroned in the sun that sows *nous* in the moon, initiates Genesis, while Clotho in motion on the moon mingles and binds together (*nous* and *psychē*), and on earth Lachesis, who has the largest part of *tychē* (Fortuna-Xvarr), finally takes a hand. "For the inanimate (matter) itself is powerless and susceptible to alien agents, and the *nous* is impassible and sovereign (*apathēs* and *autokratōr*), but the *psychē* is a mixed and intermediate thing, even as the moon has been created by god a compound and blend of the things above and below, and therefore stands to the sun in the relation of earth to moon." In his discussion of the *Obsolescence of the Delphic Oracle* (*Mor.*, 416E) Plutarch says, "The moon is actually a mixed body imitative of the *daimonion* power, being in accord with the circuit of the celestial family; some seeing the waxing and waning phenomena call the moon an earthy star and some an Olympian earth, but others speak of it as the domain of a chthonic and at the same time a uranian Hekate." This would be the threefold Hekate of earth, moon and sky and would correspond to the three realms of the fates and to the three parts of man. The threefold principle is that of Bavišn-Genesis whose origin is in the Sky wheel (cf 5 f 3).

2) In a treatise *Concerning Statues* (Euseb., *P.E.*, 3.11.32-34) Porphyrius says, "The moon again is Hekate with respect to her changing of form and the power in the forms. Her power therefore is trimorphic; she carries the New Moon's white garment, a golden sandal, and the flaming torches. But the *kalathos* which she carries on high is a symbol of the production of fruits which she bears according to the increase of light, and the bronze sandal is a symbol of the full moon. One may also derive from the branch of laurel her fiery quality, but from the poppy her generative and the number of souls inhabiting her, as if a city, because the poppy is a symbol of a city. She carries arrows, like Artemis, because of the pangs of birth pains. The Moirai moreover are related to her powers, Clotho to the genetic, Lachesis to the nurturing, but Atropos is the inevitability of the god.

Various female divinities were found, especially in the Mithraea of Sidon (*86*, Venus), Merida (*784 785*, Venus; *789 790*, Matrona) and Dieburg (*1260-62*). There were dedications to the Matronae and to the Goddesses of the crossroads (*deabus quadrubis*) in the Friedberg Mithraeum (*1066-7*), and there was a relief of Epona seated between her two horses in the First Heddernheim Mithraeum (*1094*). The significance of these multiple divinities may or may not be connected with that of the Mithraic Dea triformis (cf 7 h).

4. Ratu (sovereign fire). The fourth panel at Osterburken (*1292, 4d*) is that of a god in the likeness of Jupiter receiving a thunderbolt from a god in the likeness of Saturn. On the Neuenheim relief (*1283, 9**) Saturn holds his pruning knife and Jupiter his scepter, and the latter also wears a diadem. Between the gods on both reliefs is a blazing altar. A similar motive is the first on the Sarrebourg relief (*966, B1*), and fourth on the North Italian fragment (*723, 4*). It will be recalled that according to Iranian thought the Ratu derived his *šahr*, or sovereign power, from the Ahu (6 b 2-4) just as fire was evolved from moisture (5 f 1). Sovereign power was manifested in the blazing fire of the sky and was uttered by the voice of the thunder or of the raven (5 f 6; 2 c 4). The thunderbolt of the Deus aeternus shown with a human head (*665**) represents not only the ruling force of the lightning bolt but also that this power is one of the several attributes of the God of epochal time. According to Heracleitus, "The thunderbolt steers all things" (5 c 5).

In his summary of Cretan myths Diodorus (5.70.1) says of Zeus, "Some say that he succeeded to the kingship after Cronos. . . . . not by overcoming his father with violence, but in the manner prescribed by custom and justly, having been judged worthy of that honor". This is in full accord with our Mithraic conception, and also with Iranian cosmology, especially with that which emphasized a treaty (*patmān*) between Ohrmazd and Ahriman for the duration of finite time (cf ZZ p 93s, 99s).

5. Aša (Establishment of order). The fifth scene at Osterburken (*1292**, *4e*) shows Jupiter (Ohrmazd) as the Ratu destroying or vanquishing the snake-footed giants (of Ahriman). This begins the series of scenes on the Marino (note 5; pt 4, n 27) and Barberini

(*390,* L 1*) frescoes, and also on the reliefs of Nersae (*650, 1**), Heddernheim (*1083, 15**), Mauls (*1400, 1**), Virunum (*1430, B1**) and probably Poetovio II (Fig. 1). It is the second symbol on the Sarrebourg relief (*966, B2*) and third on the North Italian fragment (*723,3*). It is separated into two panels on the Dura fresco, which follow the Saturnus at the top (Fig. 25). The defeat of the giants represents the establishment of Aša as the order of the world, and this was accomplished by the emergence of heavenly fire (Ašavahišta, 6 g 3-4) from the cosmic stuff, or of Mithra, god of fire, from the cloud-rock, a primeval Oceanus, Saturnus or Ahu. This fire, as sovereign power flashing forth in the planets and stars of heaven, dispelled endless darkness and chaos. At the end of time Ohrmazd and Srōš as a Ratu will in a similar way put an end to Wrath and Lust (5 f 1.4), just as in Mithraism the Deus invictus will usher in or consumate final preparations for the *Societas divina* (12 c 5-6).

6. Verethraghna (life victorious). The sixth symbol at Osterburken (*1292, 4f*) is that of a god who reclines on a mound of rocks and holds a short sword (*akinakēs*) across his knee. This god often holds a knife against the rocks from which the Deus saxigenus emerges, a symbol that has already been discussed in detail (8 a 5). These symbols are combined on the reliefs of Nersae and Virunum. The god of the rocks or clouds is shown in a separate panel on the Dura and Barberini frescoes and on the reliefs of Heddernheim, Neuenheim, Mauls, and on the North Italian fragment. On the Dieburg relief he is naked and seated on a rock holding a large dagger in his hands. He is the Deus mundi as Genitor invictus [3].

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3) The divine Physis, or god, (n 21, pt 5; cf also n 8, pt 4) is called the *archaiogonos* and first cause(*aitia*) of all that results from the twofold circuits of the sun, one circuit governing day and night and the other governing the seasons of growth and decay (cf n 4, pt 10). Seated at the top of the sky he is "the god who controls the universe" (Ps. Arist., *De mundo*, 399A19-27). He is therefore called Anangkē, Anikētos, Moira, Nemesis and the like (401B8-13). The Mithraic Deus genitor is Verethraghna, the Unconquered, who accompanies Mithra in his world circuits (6 a 3s) or reclines at the summit of the world-mountain with his world-creating knife which separates the finite from the infinite, and the finite world is the world of Necessity. His substance is in the wind-*pneuma* and all forms of life (2c5).

The sword or dagger was the symbol of the Iranian Ares-Verethraghna, whose cult also seems to have required the top of a mound (4 g 7; 6 f 4). The bathing of the sword blade in warm blood suggests its connection with life, and probably with the life of conquerors. Verethraghna, the Victorious, was a producer of life by destroying the demon of drought, his instrument like that of Tištrya being doutbless the knife (cf 7 c 4; 8 a 6).

b. *Vāxš-čihr* (Logos and Phōs). The top frieze of the Osterburken relief (*1292, 1-3*) begins at the left with an emphasis upon a very large Raven and ends at the right with a live Bull, both facing right, while in the middle panel is the assembly of the Dei mundi (11 d). In the passage on Iranian cosmology cited earlier (5 f) the Word-Principle (*vāxšōmand*) was said to have been separated out of the Mēnōk dahišn part of the original instrument or world stuff as Mēnōk Yazdān (self-moving gods), each for his particular function. The gods therefore were the divine *logoi* or functions of the Logos. The Word was symbolized in Mithraism by the Raven in particular, the bearer of invisible *hvarenō*. The Word was the moving, ruling and more or less rational power of heaven, whereas the living bull may have represented the word incarnate, or the power of the Word that has become manifest in the flesh (cf 5 c 5; 5 f 9.1). The conception of god being essentially a Word or Logos in creativity or world activity calls to mind the opening paragraphs of the Gospel of John. These appear to me to be a conflation of parallel statements which run as follows: [4]

1. At first was the Logos, and the Logos was connected with God, and the Logos was God. 10. He was in the cosmos, and the cosmos through him came to be, and the cosmos did not

2. This (Logos) was at first connected with God. 3. Everything through him came to be, and without him not one thing came to be that has come to be. 4. In him was Life and the Life was the Light

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[4] There is perhaps a third account fused with these two which began with John's preaching, which ran as follows: 6. There came a man sent by God, his name John. This one came for a witness 7. to bear witness about the light, that all might believe through him. 8. That one was not the Light, but (came) to witness about the Light. 19. And this is the witness of John, etc. What follows is a composite of these sources or different accounts containing more or less parallel statements. All may have been derived from John the Presbyter of Ephesus, who was perhaps the unknown disciple who provided the "Upper Room" (cf Mark 14.12-16; Euseb., *Ecol. Hist.* 3.31.1s).

know him. 11. To his own (creatures) he came and his own (people) did not receive him. 12. Whoever did receive him, he gave to them the ability to become children of God, to those believing in his name 13. who were born not from blood, nor from the desire of flesh, nor from the desire of man, but from God. 18. No one has ever seen God. An only-begotten (God?) who is in the bosom of the Father, that one (Logos) expounded by word.

of men. 5. And the Light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not overcome it. 9. It was the Light that is true which illuminates every man coming into the cosmos. 14. And the Logos became flesh and made its tabernacle among us; and we gazed in wonder at his glory, a glory as of an only-begotten by a Father full of grace and truth, 16. because of his fullness we have all received, grace in exchange for grace, 17. for the Law was given through Moses, and grace and truth came to be through Jesus Christ.

In these two statements about the nature and activities of the divine Word, the former stresses the invisibility of the Logos and the latter stresses the Logos as the source of life and the equivalence of life to light, a light which, when incarnate, shines with *hvarenō* radiance (cf 6 g; 6 h 6.1). The Osterburken frieze has to do with the generation of life and light in response to the divine Logos, the light being a manifestation (*čihr*) of the activity of the rational and ordering *vāxš* in the life of the cosmos.

1. *Theos ek petras* (Genitor luminis). In the background behind the raven at the left end of the frieze of the Osterburken relief is shown the birth of the God from the Rock. This motive has already been studied in detail (8 a 1). The God from the rock, a symbol of mystery rites according to Firmicus Maternus (*De errore*, 20), was not only begotten by the god *in* the World-Rock and of manifold incarnations (2 c 5), but was himself both a Genitor of Light and of Life (cf 8 a 2; 11 c 3). He was the light that "lights every man coming into the cosmos", and also the "only-begotten in the hollow depth (*kolpos*) of the father". As a god of Pneuma and a special bearer of Hvarenō (6 f 4) Verethraghna was the equivalent of the Wind Kolpia who brought forth from the darkness of Night both Life (Aion) and First-begetting, from whom came Generation and Fire, Flame and Light (5 j 4). With Mithra also, the god of fiery energy, goes "the blazing fire which is the strong visible Hvarenō (Yt 10.126).

Hvarenō, or Xvarr, in its visible form revealed the character of great souls (6 h 5.3-6.1) but in its invisible form it fixed the characters of men (6 g 2), for the Life is the Light of men. According to a man's invisible light or fire, the essence of Aša, so is the man. The divine Logos which was both life and light was, therefore, more than an utterance in the darkness; it was the ordering principle of the cosmos whether visible in blazing fire or the royal diadem or invisible in the fires of life. The birth of the God from the Rock was the emergence of order from disorder, cosmos from chaos, and Life from Not-life (5 h 1.1). The ordering Word (*vāxš nērōk*) was the controlling rulership (*šahr*) intermediate between the motion of Thought (*mēnōk dahišn*) and the completion of the Deed (*gētēh dahišn*).

2. *Theos ek dendrou* (Genetrix sapientiae). The Arbor vitae, combining both the Frugifera and Genetrix motives (11 e 3), appears above the Theos ek petras on the Osterburken frieze. In the corner of the relief to the left the head of Boreas, the Wind of Genesis (4 f 1), blows a strong breath into the tree, while to the right of the tree is the ascending chariot of Sol, the most brilliant manifestation of genetic and ruling fire. The Mithraic iconography of the Tree of life and knowledge has already been analyzed in detail (11 e). The Theos ek dendrou emphasizes both the birth and rulership of hylic, or material, mind, matter being tree-stuff (*hylē=silva*) in particular. But likewise matter (*materia*) is the mother (*matēr*) of physical bodies, which are sapient in their higher forms. The Frugifera motive symbolizes the separate perceptivity and self consciousness of the fiery soul (6 g 2), which is the *ruvān* or *baodhō* of solar or lunar origin (4 g 3). The Genetrix motive symbolizes the complete embodiment of the divine Breath (*ǰān*) and Wisdom (*dēn*) in matter. For this reason the tree was said to be the offspring of Pneuma or the Winds and a god of health and rulership or courage (5 j 3). On the Neuenheim relief the Frugifera and Genetrix motives are placed at opposite ends of the top frieze with opposite winds because the former motive symbolizes the beginning and the latter the completion of the generation of incarnate, or rather of material, mind. On the Osterburken relief incarnation of mind is represented by the Aqua vitae motive (12 b 4). The rising light

of Logos and Life is symbolized on the Osterburken relief not only by the ascending Sol chariot (cf 5 g 7) but also by a winged Phosphoros carrying a torch above the solar horses.

3. *Theos bouklopos* (Transitus dei). On the Osterburken frieze, to the right of the Dei mundi, who represent the activities of the Logos in the living cosmos (cf 11 d 2-4), the Cattle Thief moves toward the right above the Luna chariot. In the corner of the relief still farther to the right is a beardless Wind god blowing upward. This should be the South wind, the opposite of the bearded North wind. If the North wind presides over the downward way of immortal souls (*fravahr*) into bodies, the South wind presides over the upward way to the divine Thūmos or Pneuma (4 f). The Theos bouklopos has been studied in various contexts (1e; 7e; 8 b; 9 a9; 10 b 3). It symbolized a Passage of the God or Logos into or out of the *gētēh* world. On the Osterburken relief the passage is into the material world. This is doubly emphasized by the downward descent of the bulls which draw the Moon divinity, who has tauric horns, into the material world below them (cf 5 g 6-7); their heads even disappear into the rocky or cloudy sky roof from which the Deus sagittarius is drawing the Aqua vitae (12 b 4). Moreover, between the Theos bouklopos and the Dei mundi Hesperus plunges downward behind the Luna chariot. The right hand of Hesperus, which may originally have held a lowered torch, reaches toward the back of the live bull which stands on the zodiac dome of the tauroctone cave, and also heads downward.

A similar standing bull is featured in the first panel on the right side of the Neuenheim relief (*1283, 11*), in a panel on the Mauls relief (*1400, L 6*) as also in its top frieze with other symbols of the Corpus vitale (10 d 1). This sky-bull represents the Mithraic equivalent of the Avestan Geus Urvan, the Mēnōk embodiment of all forms of life, including man himself (7 b 1ss). Zoroastrians made a Gaya Maretan (Gayōmard) the progenitor of man, and translated the name to mean Blessed Hero (*nar i ahrov*). I suspect, however, that *gaya* is an adjectival form (cf *gavy-*, *gaoya-*, *gōy-*, 5 h 3.2) of *geus-gavas*, bull (5 f 2.2), so that Gaya Maretan was the Bull-man, or -mortal, whereas Geus Urvan (Gōšurvan) was the Bull-soul, or -plant (5 f 9.1). Angra Mainyu made an attack upon both so that the resulting death or sleep of the bull-man caused the motion of the living world and of all life (5 f 9.3). This is the Genesis to which the Cattle thief secretly gives attention (7 b 1). The Thief is the Mithraic Logos that "was in the cosmos, and the cosmos through him came to be, but the cosmos did not know him".

The grazing bull in the Osterburken frieze is related to the Raven at the opposite end as the descending Hesperus who holds his torch over the bull's back is related to the ascending Phosphorus who holds his torch over the head of the most fiery horse of the Sol chariot. On a Roman tauroctone relief of type VII (*415*) a similar Phosphorus leads the solar quadriga toward the Arbores vitae, from which the Lunar chariot is guided by a Hesperus. Below, on the body of the dying bull, near the wound is inscribed: NAMA SEBESIO, and under the knee of Mithra: DEO SOLI INVICT(O) MITRHE; on the lower border: C. AUFIDII JANUARIUS . . . (and a brother) . . . NAMA NECS. If *necs* is by any chance a corruption of Greek *nekys* (Latin *nex*), that is, "The dead body by name", then Sebesios may be the name intended for Sebadius-Sabazios, just as Mitrhes is intended for Mithras. Here Sebesios would be the equivalent of the mortal Dionysos in bull-form, Dionysos being the Giver of Life to men (6 h 3.2), and the bull, like the Hadhyoš bull, being a source of the life-giving *haoma* (6 h 4.2-5.2). Such an identification would give point to the grape ceremony on the back of the bull which is shown on the reverse of the Heddernheim relief (*1083*; 6 i 3.1), as well as to the Trapeza taurika itself which made the bull's body both the table and one of the Elementa sacra (9 b 12). "Taking a loaf, after having pronounced a eulogy, he (Jesus) broke it and gave to them, and said, 'Take it; this is my body'. And taking a cup after having blessed it, he gave it to them, and they all drank out of it. And he said to them, 'This is my blood of *The Covenant* that is being poured out for the sake of many' " (Mark 14.22-24).

4. *Theos hekatos* (Aqua vitae). The last scene at the right end of the Osterburken frieze is a combination of the Aqua vitae and Genesis motives (10 b, c), the former emphasizing the Theos hekatos, or Deus sagittarius (10 b 1), and the latter the Pothos and Posis motives (10 c 1,2). This motive balances the Theos ek petras

at the opposite end of the frieze. If the latter emphasizes the emergence of life and light in the cosmos, the Hekatos symbol emphasizes the emergence of living beings endowed with perception and knowledge, for the waters attract souls into physical birth (7 c 6). The Theos hekatos is one who "works his desire from afar (*hekōn-hekas*)" like Tištrya Erexša or Hekate (cf Hes., *Theog.*, 411), and thus causes the beginning of incarnation, while the drinking of the water achieves its completion. As the Arbor vitae on the Osterburken relief shows the complete generation of Logos as Mind, so the Aqua vitae shows the complete generation of Logos as body, for "the Logos became flesh and dwelt in us" in response to a far reaching desire "not from flesh nor from man, but from God", or from the Logos, for "the Logos was God". The arrow itself was a manifestation of the power of desire (7 c 1) and was the symbol of Artemis and Hekate as gods of childbirth and of the world of physical life and death.

The birth of the Logos from the Rock, which was the emergence of fire and life in the cosmic egg (8 a 1.1 and 1.4), and the incarnation of the Logos in the Water (11 c 2), like an Apām Napāt (5 h 3.3), which was the emergence of phenomenal life, correspond to the Raven as the *vāxš nērōk* of the Logos and to the Bull as the *čihr nērōk* of the Logos, the former being Genesis and the kindling fire, and the latter Apogenesis and the dying fire (4 f 1-2).

c. *Gētēh dahišn* (physical creativity). The panels on the right side of the Osterburken relief have to do with the material nature of man and his regeneration. We have observed that a primeval Thought or self-moving creativity (Mēnōk dahišn) led to the evolution of cosmic order. From this primary order the God of Life and Victory brought forth the Logos of Life and Light both as a divine utterance and as the beginning of Genesis in the Arbor vitae. The engendering of sapient being by the Arbor genetrix led in turn to the engendering of the Logos in the Mortal Bull, perhaps because in ancient cosmology the origin of the Bull was traced to the world-tree (cf 5 f 9.1-2). The Bull was the beginning of Apogenesis in the Water of life, for the Deus taurus was also a source of the Aqua vitae (cf 7 a 2; 10 b 1). The Logos in Apogenesis leads to material creativity, or the Deed, which has to do not

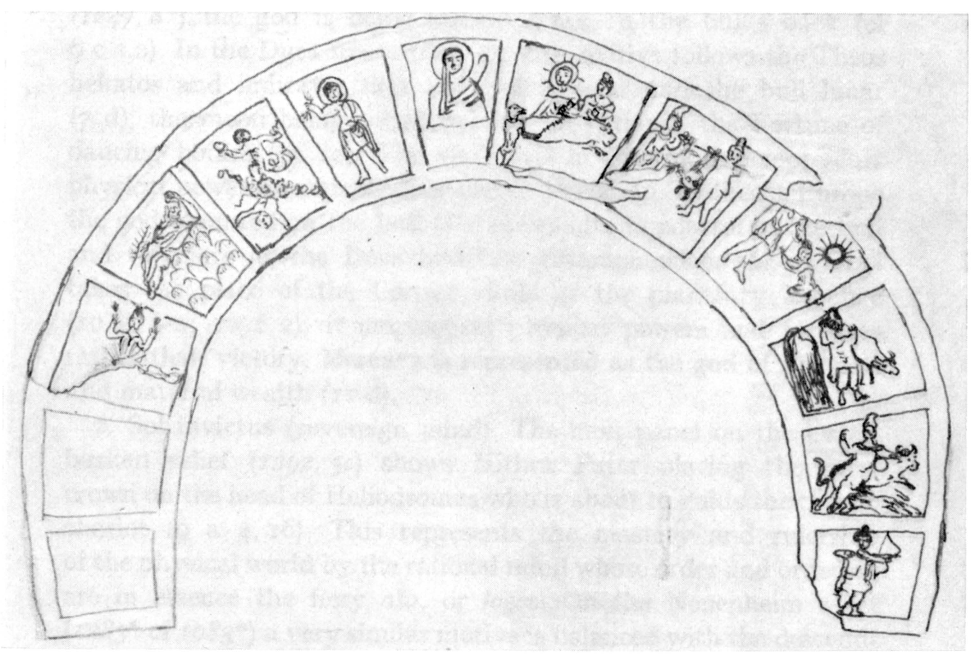

Fig. 25. Dura III. Paintings around the reliefs (cf. 34*).

merely with physical generation but much more with the regeneration of man, for this is the main point of interest in the mysteries.

1. Taurus vitalis (physical strength). The first panel on the right side of the Osterburken relief (*1292, 5b*) shows the live bull running toward the right and dragging the god along with him (cf 7 d 1). On the Neuenheim (*1283, 13**) and Dieburg reliefs (*1247, 8**) the god is being carried away on the bull's back (cf 6 c 2.2). In the Dura fresco (Fig. 25) this motive follows the Theos hekatos and indicates that the god is solar and the bull lunar (7 d), the moon being called by the "Egyptians" the Fortune of dancing bodies (pt 12). The vital bull in this motive represents physical power uncontrolled by noetic power. In Southeast Europe the god mounted on the bull (8 c) shows him in control of the bull and therefore as the Deus invictus, although when this symbol takes the place of the Corpus vitale or the planetary Mercury (10 d 1-2; 10 f 2), it emphasizes physical powers and fortunes rather than victory. Mercury is represented as the god of physical and material wealth (11 d).

2. Sol invictus (sovereign mind). The next panel on the Osterburken relief (*1292, 5c*) shows Mithra Pater placing the solar crown on the head of Heliodromus who is about to guide the cosmic chariot (9 a 4, 16). This represents the mastery and rulership of the physical world by the rational mind whose order and ordering are in essence the fiery *aša*, or *logos*. On the Neuenheim relief (*1283** cf *1083**) a very similar motive is balanced with the descending Luna biga at the middle of the top frieze. Elsewhere the motive is a symbol of the Apotheosis of the mystes (9 c), or without Mithra Pater it is a symbol of the world encircling sun (5 g 6).

The symbol that more often follows either the Taurus vitalis or the Theos hekatos is that of the Taurophorus, as in Southeast Europe (8 b, cf c 1). There, when it is used in the place of the mystes Ad portam and Apud deum (10 e) or of the planetary Mars (10 f 1), it represents the Deus invictus, since victory has to do with the dangerous passage of the sun through the world of darkness (6 h 10) or of the rational soul into the physical body. The Taurophorus, or Transitus dei, motive follows the Taurus vitalis motive on the reliefs of Dieburg (*1247, 9**), Neuenheim

(*1283, 14**), Mauls (*1400, 8**), and on the Dura fresco (Fig. 25; cf 7 e). On the Barberini fresco and Mauls relief the Taurus vitalis is omitted so that the Taurophorus follows the Theos hekatos directly. On the Sarrebourg relief (*966, R2*) it follows the Taurus vitalis and is in turn followed by a panel showing a lion in front of a tree. This should represent the twofold powers of physical strength in the lion and rational power in the tree, which are the powers of the bull and the sun.

Sol invictus is more than Deus taurophorus who transports the bull into the world cave; he is also Sol tauroctonos invictus, for the slaying in the cave is simultaneous with the transporting of the bull into the cave (cf 7 e 1). The victorious fire was that of the material hearth and of night (6 h 10 cf 6 a 3), the invisible fire of Mithra, the god of all fire. The sovereign and world ordering fire of Sol invictus penetrates the cave by means of the Logos which is manifested through the invisible word of the raven and the visible ray of the sun. In response, or as a manifestation of both, the Deus invictus generates all life both rational and irrational by killing the divine bull.

It must be recalled that according to Porphyrius (cf 4 d 1) some theologians, perhaps among them the Magister and Pater of Mithra, saw in the cave a symbol of noetic essence as well as of potent matter. In the rocky and watery substance of the cave as also in its darkness they saw the physically perceptible world of material being, whereas in the firmness and rigidity of its obscure form they saw noetic form, or the intelligible being of Plato. This would be the Logos in the cosmos "that is the light of men". The cosmic cave is the world of Deus Sol invictus Mithra where the one fire and the one body have become the many beings rational and irrational, where pure light has become fragmented and pure substance has become partially illuminated. It is the Zoroastrian void or world of conflict between the two worlds of light and darkness.

3. Homo renatus (regeneration of man). Following the Charioteer on the Osterburken relief (*1292, 5d*) is a symbol of a Telete by Infusio (9 a 2). A solar crown rests on the ground while the initiate is being "born of water" (cf 9 a 8.2-3). On several tauroctones the

series on the right begin with a Telete by Infusio (*390, R1**) or Purgatio (*650, 3* 929, 1 1579**). On the reliefs of Mauls (*1400, 10**) and Virunum (*1430, 5**) a Purgatio rite follows the Theos hekatos, which in turn follows a Transitus dei motive (cf *729, 1*), that of Mauls being the Taurophorus and of Virunum a Psychopompus (8 b 2-3). On the lower frieze of the large Heddernheim relief (*1083, A1-8**) there is a series of symbols from left to right consisting of an Arbor genetrix, Taurophorus, Consecratio, and Junctio dextrarum separated by three cypress trees. In the Consecratio rite the mystes is a Heliodromus in shoulder cape who holds the world-globe while Mithra bestows the solar crown. He still wears the crown while he kneels for the Junctio dextrarum (12 c 4). On the Dura fresco the solar crown is shown in the field above the mystes during the Devotio rite instead of on the ground as at Osterburken. The Devotio follows the Taurophorus on the Quadraro relief (*321**), and balances a Junctio dextrarum on the Esquiline relief (*350*).

The Telete rites were a form of birth or rebirth, as our previous analysis of the rites has shown (9 a 7-9). This fact tends to be confirmed by an inscription in the Santa Prisca Mithraeum (*498*) which reads: NATUS PRIMA LUCE DUOBUS AUGG. CO(N)-S(ULIBUS) SEVERO ET ANTON[INO] XII K(ALENDAS) DECEM[BRES] DIES SATURNI LUNA XVIII. In interpreting the meaning of *natus* it must be noted that the "birth" took place at dawn on the day of Saturn on the twentieth of November. Sunrise was especially connected with Mithra of the Hāvan gas, or sunrise period, and Saturn was the planet of the dying and reborn sun as well as protector of the Pater grade. That a day of Saturn after the full of the moon was chosen may also be of some significance. It may be noted that the week begins with Saturn on the Brigetio relief (*1727**) instead of with Sol as on the Bononia relief (*693**). The initiate was reborn in Mithra in the period of the dying sun and waning moon. In Rome also a Pater patrum of Sol Invictus Mithras, who was also a Hierophantes of Hekate and an Archibucolus of the god Liber, was *renatus in aeternum* by means of a taurobolium and criobolium, perhaps in preparation for becoming a *Dux tauroboli magni* (*520*, cf *522*). Rebirth in Mithra, symbolized by "an image of the resurrection" (9 a 8.3) was one more point of competition with the Christian's rebirth in Christ.

Being born or reborn was not only symbolized by the rites of initiation but also by the Arbor genetrix. The Dieburg (cf 6 c 2.2) and Sarrebourg reliefs (*966, C3*) omit the Telete symbols where one would expect to find them and instead substitute a triple Arbor genetrix (*1247, 10**) or an Arbor vitae with a lion in front of it.

Closely connected with the Telete and Arbor vitae symbols is a symbol that combines elements of both, as shown on the Barberini fresco in a panel (*390, R 2**) following the Telete by Infusio. The scene is framed by two trees over which arches the rainbow-like dome of the sky. Between the two trees a youth in a Phrygian cap seems to be struggling upward from a kneeling position. His left hand touches the ground at the foot of the tree at his left, while his right hand touches the underside of the sky above the tree on his right. This gesture has a close parallel in the young Deus saxigenus on the Trier relief (*985**) who similarly touches the zodiac circle while he holds the world-globe in his left hand (8 a 1). On the Neuenheim relief the new-born god holds the globe toward the sky while his right hand grasps the long-bladed dagger that has severed the rock from which he emerges (*1283, 10**). The gestures of the figure in the Barberini fresco remind one of the so-called Orphic formula for admission to Elysium, "I am a child of earth and starry heaven". In any event the symbol would suggest that the initiate has been born into the new age (*in aeternum*). A similar partly kneeling figure with lowered left hand and raised right, usually naked, appears in the side scenes of three other tauroctones (*923, 5 1510, 3* 1400, 5**). On the Poetovio fragment (Fig. 1) the three Arbores genetrices are in the panel directly above him. In Southeast Europe this motive seems to have a parallel in the standing figure who holds both hands raised (*1215 2338**, cf *2026*) or grasps the sides of a gateway (*1128* 2225*).

4. Junctio dextrarum, or Syndexios (compact with Mithra Pater). Generally, as on the Osterburken relief (*1292, 5e*), a Homo renatus symbol is followed by a solemn covenant (*mithrem*) between the Pater and Mystes, or as is more usually said, between Mithra and Sol (cf 9 a 16.2). On the fragment from North Italy (*923, 4*)

and Poetovio II (_1510, 1*_) the Junctio precedes the Renatus symbol. On the Poetovio III fragment (_1579, 1*_) they are balanced with each other. The pledge was usually solemnized by the Joining of Right hands (_966, C5 723, 4 1083, 7* 1400, 11* 1430, 4*_) and once by drawing blood from the finger of the Initiate at an altar (_350, 2_), or by clasping daggars between them (_650, R 2*_). Another form was to seal the oath by touching the flesh of the bull as on the Osterburken relief and on the large altar of Poetovio III (_1584*_) where the solemnity is enforced by the voice of the Raven (9 a 16.2). In the Barberini motive (_390, R3_) pieces of the bull's flesh are pierced by spits and held above an altar to suggest the piercing of the bodies of the contracting parties likewise if they break the pledge. On the Second Poetovio relief (Fig. 1) either daggers or spits are crossed.

From remote antiquity Mithra was a divinity of Friendship and the Contract based on Aša-Ṛta. As such he was the Logos and Mediator, or Deuteros Noūs (7 h), of the two worlds of Mēnōk and Gētēh creativity, which are the worlds of initial thought and final deed. In the new-born of Mithra the Logos fire of Life and Light must become wedded to a perfected body of water and flesh, the Life corresponding to Pneuma and the flesh to Earth. Such a marriage of the holy elements was the special achievement of the Pater (cf 9 a 18.1). To such a one the poet might exclaim, "O initiate of a cattle theft, covenanter of a pre-eminent Father!" who was Mithra, the god of fire (1 e).

5. Mundus redivivus (triumph of Mithra invictus). Following the Junctio dextrarum on the Osterburken relief one finds Mithra ephippos armed with bow and arrow and accompanied by a groom (_1292, 5f_). This motive takes the place of an Apotheosis symbol which follows the Junctio on several reliefs (_390, R4* 1400, 12* 1430, C3* 1579, 4*_). On the Heddernheim (_1083*_) and Neuenheim (_1283*_) reliefs this motive, or a version of it that emphasizes the crowning of the charioteer, is placed in the top frieze (cf 12 c 2). On the Dieburg relief (_1247*_) as generally in Southeast Europe an Apotheosis follows the Trapeza Mithrou (9 c 3). In this connection it should be noticed that the Junctio dextrarum is omitted from the Dieburg relief, and the Mounted Mithra occupies the central

panel instead of Mithra tauroctonos. The Junctio rite however, has a parallel in the solemn commission and covenant that is so elaborately portrayed on the reverse (5 h 7-8). Mithra's commission as Savior of the living world is completed by his function as a mounted horseman (cf 6 f). If in Mithraism as in Zoroastrianism every follower was considered to be a preparer of the final world order (cf 6 g), then the connection between the solemn pledge and the final triumph of Mithra becomes clear. Such a belief has a parallel in the Christian belief that every believer helps to "save the world", whether or not the Savior is to "come again" to complete his initial work.

6. Societas divina (fellowship with the Father). A Trapeza Mithrou (9 b 2) provides the culmination of the mysteries on the reliefs of Sarrebourg (*966*), Rückingen (*1137**), Osterburken (*1292**) and Mauls (*1400**) and on the Barberini (*390**) and Dura (Fig. 25) frescoes [5]. On the Virunum relief the Dei mundi appear to be substituted (*1430**). The Trapeza Mithrou motive has been analyzed in detail (9 b); its portrayal on the reverse of several reliefs and on separate monuments emphasizes the importance of the sacred meal in the mystery rites. It completed Apogenesis, or life in the physical world of the body, at least in the belief of many followers of Mithra. Others may have conceived of the Trapeza Mithrou being enjoyed in its more perfect form in some higher and more immaterial world (9 c 3.2-3). "I drink no more what has come out of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God" (Mark 14. 25). In any case Sol Socius, the Companion, was a

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5) The side panels of the Marino tauroctone (n 27, pt 4, for details of which I am indebted to Dr. Vermaseren) show on the left side a Gigantomachy (12 a 5), Deus genitor (12 a 6), Theos ek petras (12 b 1) and a Deus invictus (8 c; 12 c 1); on the right side a Transitus dei (8 b; 12 c 2), Telete (9 a; 12 c 3), Junctio dextrarum (12 c 4) and an Aqua vitae (10 b; 12 b 4).

One would expect an Apotheosis or Trapeza Mithrou as the last scene. However, a Deus invictus concludes the series of six scenes on the Nersae relief (7 g 5) and an Arbor frugifera (11 e 3) on the large Heddernheim relief (*1083, A18*). There it follows a Deus saxigenus as also on the Mauls relief (*1400, 4*) and the Dieburg relief, where the Heddernheim motive is presented in two panels, one showing the striding figure with the knife and the other cutting the branches (*1247, A4, 5*; cf 6 c 2.1). An Aqua vitae or Arbor vitae could represent the ultimate renewal of life, as also a Deus invictus or Trapeza Mithrou, even though the emphasis may be different in each.

prototype of the Fellowship between the *mystes* and Mithra Pater.

d. *Akanarak zamān* (boundless time). Just as we observed parallels in the symbols on the right and left ends of the top frieze of the Osterburken relief (12 b 4), we may now observe the parallel imagery and ideas in the Mēnōk and Gētēh series of symbols. Not only are there six symbols on each side, but the Taurus vitalis as the origin of physical nature more or less corresponds to the Ahu as the lordship of life. Sol invictus as ruler of nature corresponds to the Āsmān of bright lights and time. Homo renatus, the regeneration of man as the perfection of Thought, Word, and Deed, corresponds to Bavišn as threefold Genesis. The Junctio dextrarum corresponds to the Ratu as receiver of sovereign power. The Mundus redivivus corresponds to Aša as the destruction of earth giants and disorder, and finally, the Societas divina should correspond in some way to Verethraghna as the Genitor of life victorious. These two series represent the beginnings and completions of the totality of finite time, which means that not only did the Ahu emerge from the original boundless time (cf 5 f 4) but also that the Societas should be a return to boundless time. This would be similar to the Zoroastrian belief that the stages to the final renovation were a reverse of the stages from original creation (7 g 3). A similar type of thinking among the early Christians saw in the Savior a second Adam who reversed the fall caused by the first Adam. The main painting in the Christian chapel at Dura showed at the top Christ as the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders and below Adam and Eve with the serpent in the Garden of Eden. Christ the Agnophoros carrying the lamb into the heavenly fold corresponds to Mithra taurophoros carrying the heavenly bull into the world-cave, perhaps to reverse the action of Mithra bouklopos who released the Bull from the Templum caeleste.

1. The Grades of Passage. If the Fellowship of Mithra Pater with his *mystae* takes place in this world, as seems to be what is represented on the Osterburken and other reliefs, then it must become timeless in a renovated world of boundless time whose sameness and impassibility (5 f 3.3) make it virtually timeless. The number of stages of progress or epochs of time between the

beginning and completion appears to have been either two to three or six to seven, as symbolized in particular by the series of altars and trees on the reliefs (11 e) or by the coils of the snake about the Deus aeternus (11 b 2).

If the progression shown on the reliefs is from Mēnōk to Gētēh creativity, it will also be from the Sun as god of Genesis to the Moon as god of Apogenesis, but if the eschatology of salvation is otherworldly (cf 7 g 1), then the progression is by means of a ladder, perhaps of planetary steps as on the Bononia relief (11 f) from the Moon and Apogenesis back to the Sun and a new Genesis or to an endless bliss in an ethereal world of pure light. I suspect that in general a two or three step ladder, at least at the beginning, was thought to be downward from fiery beginnings to a perfected world through Raven and Leo, or Raven, Leo and Pater incarnations (cf 4 g 3 s), whereas the six or seven step ladder came to be thought of as an ascent through planetary incarnations to the Sun or Saturn. There was probably as little agreement among Mithraists about the details of eschatology as among the early Christians.

e. *Dēn ị Mihr* (the wisdom of Mithra). I am impelled to bring my long investigations of the Religious Wisdom of Mithra to a close with two general observations on Mithraic religion and art.

1. Religion ritualistic rather than mystic. While Mithraism was a religion of *gnosis* and doubtless inspired in the new initiate the ecstacy of the mystic, it could not become a gnostic mysticism emphasizing philosophic contemplation or speculation, for it was first of all a religion of sacramental rites, the rites being indispensible reenactments of the cosmology as applied to man. These sacraments were based upon more or less traditional theology and cosmogony and were indispensible to the restoration of man and his world, whether his world was to be this one or some other. This emphasis upon ritual and rite counterbalanced any tendency to stray into speculative mysticism. In actuality Mithraic ideology tended to resist the impact of contemporary science and philosophy or the influence of popularized forms of Stoic, Neo-pythagorean and Neo-platonic thought. Some of the latest monuments, like that of Osterburken, show less of these influences than others that are perhaps earlier in date or were in a more potent "Greek" environment.

2. Art dynamistic rather than morphic. Mithraic religion was essentially dynamistic in its concepts and emphases rather than morphic. A dynamistic religion finds considerable difficulty in expressing its concepts in morphic images such as Greek religious art provided. The same difficulty confronted Hinduism. The morphic figures and symbols created by the Greek artist tended to limit as well as define the activity of the divinity, whereas the Hindu divinity could only partially be represented by the many heads or arms or rapid gyrations that art imposed upon its dynamism. The dynamism of Mithraic Fire and the mutability of Mithraic bodies can only inadequately be represented in finite and often static Greek forms or icons. The meaning of the Greek Nike or Herakles slaying a bull or centaur is by no means commensurate in meaning with Mithra's slaughter of a bull with his dagger even though the latter image may be derived from the former. Both suggest a victory, but Mithra Invictus Tauroctonos is either the Genitor of the living world or, after the impact of Greek other-worldly philosophy, the Destroyer of physical nature. The addition of the genetic dog and pneumatic snake or noetic raven and apogenetic scorpion, and of the other numerous images, was a continuing attempt to express the dynamistic meanings of activity by more or less static forms. In fact most of the elaborate imagery is essentially an explanation of details already presented in the tauroctonos action. If the Greek icon tended to represent a static fact or form, the Mithraic icon, whether borrowed or created, attempted to express an activity or force either material or immaterial. My long protracted study of Mithraic iconography and ideology has forced me to a realization of this fundamental characteristic of Mithraic art and religion. It would be too much to hope that all of my many analyses and interpretations have been faultless, but at least it may be hoped that they are in the right directions.

GENERAL AND ANALYTICAL INDEX

Abbreviations: s. = under; v. = see; q.v. = which see.
Form of reference: 4g3.1 = part 4, section g, subsection 3.1; an s = following.
4/12-13 = part 4, notes 12 and 13.

Abtīn (Āthwya, Āswyān), 6h5.

Abzār(*abzār*), original stuff-energy, instrument, v. *apsu*, *kōt*, 5c5, e2.2s, f, 3, 3.2, 4, 9; 7a3; as wind-water, 5f7; as Ahriman, 5h3.4; Ahura, 5f8.

activity, v. motion, *logos*, 12e2.

actor (*mimus*), 9a10.

Adam, 3/6.

Adonis, 3d; 4h3, i2; 3/5; 4/17; 5/98.

Ad portam, s. Transitus divus.

Adrastia, 2/4; 12/1.

advenāk, form, specie, s. man, 4g1ss; 5f3; 6b3; 4/9,11; *hypostasis*, 11e3.1.

aegis, 2b6.

aēr, v. air, vapor, 4/9,11.

Aēšma = Ēšm, q.v.

Afrāsyāb (Frangrasyan, "Prior-Mover"), v. Az i Dahāk, 5f2.2.

Agatha Tychē, Good Fortune, v. fortune, 6h7.1.

Agathos Daimōn, v. *daimōn*, snake, Xvarr, 2b6, 8, 9; 5f9.3; 9a16.1; as one's *daēna*, 4i4; a scorpion, 4j3.2.

Agdistis, 8a14.

agdos, rock, 8a14.

Aggressor, s. motion, v. Ahriman, 5h2.1; as Saturn, 11e3.1.

Aghraēratha, "Moving Order", 5f2.2.

agni, fire, 6h2.2, 4.1.

Agnophoros, s. Transitus divus, 12d.

agreement, v. Covenanter, Junctio dextrarum, *mithrem*, *patmān*.

Ahriman (Angra Mainyu, Anghra Mano, the Aggressor, world-mover, v. *ang-*, Deus Arimanius, Xvarr; 2b5; 5e2.4, f1.3s; 6e; 12a4; substance of heat, 5c5.2, h1.1, 2.1, 3.4; 6f1; 4/11; of cold north (Zoroastrian). 4i4; 5f3.2, h3.4; 11e3; pierced a hole in world-egg or mother's womb, 5j5-6; 5/103; attacked world-bull or -man, 5f9.3, h2.1; and set world in motion, 5f2.4, 9.3, h2.1, j5; 8a3.1; 4/11; probable place in the calendar, 11/3; as Hades-Serapis, 6d; 11c; as a creative *vāy-xvarr*, q.v., 6f, 1; 7f1; 11c1; and Ratu, 6b4.1, in a *patmān* with Ohrmazd, 12a4.

Ahu (Ahum, Ahura, q.v.), lordship and principle of life, s. man, Natura mundi, 4f1.3ss; 5h3.3; 9a9,17; 10b2; 12a1, d; often combined with Ratu (Ratum, Judge), rulership and principle of sovereignty, v. *šahr*, derived from the Ahu as a dyad, 5h2.2; 6b1.3ss, h1.2, 5.5, 6.3, 10.1, 11.2, i1.1; 7a, f2; 8a5.1; 9a14, c5.2; 11d4; 12a4; 7/4.

Ahunvar (Ahuna vairyō), formula, most powerful, magic, q.v., 5c5.2, e2.4, f5.1.

Ahura (Asura) of the waters, v. Varuna, Deus aquae, 5f7, h3.3; 9c, 5.2.

Ahura Napāt Apām (=God Burz), Grandson of the Waters, 5h3.3; 6f1 h10, i2; 7a2, c; 10b2; 12a1, b4.

Ahura Mazda, v. Ohrmazd, *mak'd-*.

air (*aēr*, vapor, q.v.), v. elements, moisture, *pneuma*, 5h3.3, 6, j, 1.2, 2, 2.2; 6g1, h3.3; 10b2, f5; 4/8,11.

aiōn (*ayus*, activity), life principle, 5h1; 6h1.1, 8; 4/10; of time and fate, 6g1; 11b4; 5/96.

Aion, offspring of Wind and Night, 5j2, 4; 11e3.

Aiopolis, 3/6.

Airyaman (Aryaman), 6h2.1ss.

aisthēsis, perceptivity, v. *ruvān*, 4g3; 5h1.2, j2; 6g2.1; 4/9, 10.

aither, v. elements, 8a3.1; 4/10, 11.

Aiwisrūthrim, first half of night, 6h10.

akanārak zamān, boundless time, 5f3.3.

akinakēs, dagger, q.v., 4g7; 12a6.

akmōn, v. *āsmān*, sky, 5c; 6c.

akouōn, 4g3; 7b2; 7/12.

aksv-, swift, 6c; *āpa*, *agna*, swift moving, water.

Alborz, v. Harburz.

almond, 5/34, 98.

altar (and base), 6e, h11.1; 9a6, 8; represented, 3f1; 6h6.1, 8, 11.3; 8a1; 9a16.2 11b2, 4, c1, d1; 12a4; in a series, 5d; 9a3.1; 10a2; 11b, e; 12d1; coals on, 9a14; symbol of Ignis vitalis, q.v., 11e1.

Amahraspand (Amesa Spenta), Immortal Expander, 5c3, e2.1, f5.1, h2, 5; 6h4.2; 6/68; 11/3.

amphora, v. bowl, Fons perennis.

Amurdāt (Ameretāt), Mēnōk or Spenta of plants (= life undying), 5h1.2, 5; 6b1.3, 3, h8; of pleasures, 11c1.

Amygdalos, almond tree, Primal Being, 5/98.

anagr-rōšnīh, endless light, 5f; 6g1.

Anāhit (Anāhita, Ardvi Sūr), Righteous Mistress Undefiled, over the pure waters, 4g6,i2; 5h4,5; 6i2.3; 9a9.2; 10f4.

Anangkē, Necessity, v. fate; 12a; 4/9; 12/3.

anathūmiāsis, a rising in vapor, 5f7; 4/9, 10, 12; 6/30.

anchor, 3h; 11c1.

androgynous, 4g1.3; moon and Jupiter, 5/87; 10/4: *physis*, 4/8; tree, 5/98; man, 5/89; v. Hermaphrodite.

anemos, wind, q.v., 4f; 4/9; v. *vāy*.

ang- (*angh-*), move quickly, hotly, v. Ahriman; 5f2.3, 9.4, h1.2, 2.1.

anger, v. *thūmos*, wrath, 5h2.1; 11b1, e 2; seat of, 6g2.2.

Angra Mainyu (Anghra Mano), v. Ahriman, 11/3.

anhu- (*asu-*), lordly life force, 5f7.2; 6b3.

anima, v. *psychē*, soul.

animal, v. Corpus vitale; 5f10; 9c5.1.

animus, v. *thūmos*.

Anšar, 5f7.1.

ant, 2d.

Anthesteria, 2b6; 6/68; 11/3.

anthropomorphism, 6i5.1, j1s.

Anu, Sumarian god of sky, 5f7.1.
Anubis, 2a3.
anvil, 5c.
Apaoša (*apaoš*), v. Vṛtra; Water-Withholder, 2a2.1; 4i2; 5h5; 6h2; 6/33.
Aphrodite, v. Venus s. planets; 4g3,6; 8c4; 4/13; bull of, 4f; 9c5.1; girdle of, 5f1.4, v. Spandarmat; as Tychē, 5f10; 9c5.1.
aphrōn, witless, 4g3.
Apis bull, 2a2.1; 4/13; 5/87.
apogenesis (Apogenesis), v. *phthora*, *genesis*; after birth, bodily life, decay.
Apollo, 1e; 2d3; 4g3; 7b3, c4; 11d1; 5/32.
apostles, 6h5.3.
Apotheosis, deification by an ascending chariot; v. Consecratio, Heliodromus, Transitus divus; 5h6; 6c2.2; 7d, g, 4; 8c2; 9a3.1, 6 (Face, 1), 8.2, b, 5, css, 4, 5; 12c2, 3, 5, 6; of Elijah and Emperors, 9c3.1.
apple, 9a9.
Apsaras, female divinities of water, 5f7.1.
apsu (*absu*), primeval sky-waters, v. *kaša*, *abzār*, 5f6.1, 9.2, j4; 7a3; House of the, 5f9.2, j3; 6h4.1.
āptya, watery, 6h5.1.
Apud deum, s. Transitus divus.
Aqua vitae, water, q.v., of life, 3f1.2; 7c; 9c3.3; 10bs; 11b4, e1, f5; 12b4; from the Deus aquae, q.v.; produced by the Deus sagittarius, q.v., or Theos hekatos, q.v.; as a Bouklopē, q.v.
ar- (*ra-*), set in motion or in order, fit together, 5c5.1, h3.4.
Aramati, v. Spandarmat.
arbor, tree, q.v., 3f1; 8a5.2.
Arbor vitae, tree of life, v. tree; 6h4.1, 6.1; 7c; 9a9.1; 11e1, 2, 3; 12b2-4, c, 3; as Arbor sapientiae, of knowledge, 11e2; 12c2; Arbor genetrix, 5i3; 6h5.1; 7e1; 10b1; 11e3; 12c3; Arbor frugifera, 5i3; 6c2.1, h7; 10b1; 11e3; Nous hylikos, 11e2, 3; 12b2.
archē (*principium*), first principle and beginning, 2b9.1; 5j2; 6c (*archos*); as god and generative, 6/17; 7/11; as change, 5/53; as *psychē*, 5f7; 4/9.
archōn, 5h7.
Archer, v. Deus sagittarius, Theos hekatos, 6a1.
Ares, v. Mars s. planets, Herakles; 2c5, d3; 4g7, h3; 5a1; 6d1, f4, i1-2; 8c4.
Arimanes, v. Deus Arimanius, 7h; 11b6.
Aristeus, 7b1.
Armaiti, Spenta, v. Spandarmat.
arrow, v. bow, 2b2; 5b1, h7; 6f; 7c1, 4.2; 9a9.2; 10b2; meaning of, 7c2; as a dart, 6f1; in quiver, 6c4; 7c1, 4; 11d1.
aršnōtačin, semen-flowing, 5f3.3.
Ārstāt (Āštād, Aštat, Art), Creator of *aša*, q.v., 5f5.1, h4; 6b1.3, g4, h10; 5/68.
Artagnes, v. Verethraghna, 2d3; 6d1.
Artemis, 2a4, b7; 4g6; 7c4; 9a9.2, c5.1; 6/59; 12/2.
artos, loaf of bread, 9b12; 12b3; 5/98; 9/4.
Artvahišt (Aša Vahišta), Heavenly Aša, Mēnōk of fire, an Amahraspand, 5h1.2; 6b1.1s, h2.1, 10; 7f1; 9b12; 12a5; 11/3.
aša (*Aša*=*arta*=*ṛta*), cosmic order, v. *ar-*, Ārstāt, Ašišvang; root of word, 5c5.1, h3.4, 10.2; 9b12, in *fravahr*, 4g2; connected with wind and fire, 5c3,

5.1, j; 12c2, and intelligence, 12c1; heavenly, v. Artvahišt, 6b1, h4.2, 5.1; 11d1; 12a5, c2, d; law of cosmic wheel, 4g5; 6h5.1; 11d1, whose face is the sun, 5c4; revealed by Čista, q.v., 5e2.2; obeyed by Ahura, 5e2.1; origin and reestablishment of, 5j7.2; 7fs, g3; 9c4; 12a5, d; accompanies *hōm*, q.v., 6h4.2; embodied in Ašišvang, 6g4; followers of, 6a3.2, f3, h6.4; 9a14; bond of, 5f1.4.
asar karp, endless form, 5e2.3, f.
ašayaonam (*artavan*), v. *sacrati*, 6h6.4.
Ascanius, 6h6.1.
ascent of the soul, s. soul, Telete, v. Apotheosis.
asceticism, 9a18s, c5; as other-worldliness, 9c3.2.
Ašišvang (Aši Vanguhi), Good Aša (embodied), v. Agatha Tychē, 4g2; 5e2.1, h4; 6a3, b, g4, h4.2, 7.1.; 9c5.1.
āsmān, sky of stone or metal, v. egg, sky, First body, 5css, d, e2.2s; f1.5, 3, 9; 12a2; swift, 6c, f1; invisible, 5h6; created by Vāy, 5j1; garment of Mithra-Ahura as Spenta Mainyu, 5h2.2; head of Yima and Gayōmard, 5f9.3s, j2.4; 6h5; assistant of Šahrēvar, q.v., 6h5.4; 9a13; path of Heliodromus, 9a16.
Astarte (Anath, Aphrodite), 5g6, i2; 6c; 4/12.
Aštāt, v. Ārstāt.
asthma, fiery breath, 4f7; 9a8.3, 14; 11b3.
astrochiton, 6i1.
astronomy, Iranian, 5b3ss, c1, d; 6h1.
astvantem, physical being, 5c.
Ašur, Assyrian sky-god, 5b1, h3.3; 7c4.
Asura, v. Ahura.
Ašvin, twin horsemen, 5f7.1.
ašyo, 6b1.
ātaxš (*ātar*), v. fire, Ātur, 5f4, h10.
ātaxšōmand vāt, fiery wind, 5f7.2.
Athena, divinity of *phronēsis*, 2b6; 6g2.1; 11e2.
Āthwya, v. Abtin.
Atlantes, 6b4.
Atlas, 6d3.2; 12a2, as embodied mind, 5h4.1.
Atrahasis, v. Kothar, 5j6.
Attis, 3c; 4g3, h3; 5e; 3/5, 6; 7/12; as Mēnotyrannus, 6h8; as Mithra tauroctonos, 3f1.2; as multiform and incomprehensible, 5/98; as Wise Logos and Great Helios, 5/74; 7/12.
Ātur, divinity of fire, 6b1.1.
autokinētos, v. *mēnōk*, *ruvān*, 4/9, 11.
āvartakīh, hollowing out, 5f1.
axe, 6i5.1; pt 7, c4.2; 9a9.3.
Āz, Lust, v. Ahriman, 2b5.
aži (*ahi*), v. *ang-*, snake, 5f9.3.
Az i Dahāk (Aži Dahāka), v. Zohak, 2b5; 5f1.3, 2.2, 9.3s, h2.1; 6e; 12a5.

Baal Aliyan, Mighty Lord, 4i2; 5j6.
baetylion, s. Natura dei, 8a3ss.
baetylos, v. *bethel*, post; 3h2; 6b4, c5, d2, 3, 3.2; 11e2.

balances, 12a3.
ball, v. sphere.
baodhō, v. *ruvān*.
baptism (*lavacrum*, *tinctura*), 9a4.1, 8, 8.3, 10.
baresman, bundle of foliage, v. branch, foliage.
Barren One, revolving cosmos of Ophites, 3/6.
bavišn, life progression into physical being, v. *genesis*, 5f3, 3, 10.1, j4; 12a3, d; in three stages, from warmth and moisture (*garm-xvēt*) through separating motion (*ravišn*) of elements, to combining of elements (*ēstišn*) and of *fravahr-ruvān*, q.v., 5f3ss, h3.3; 6f3.1, h6.3; 7a4.2; 12a3, d.
baxt (=*afzonik*, productive), fatal combination of soul and body, 4i5.1; 5h2.2; 6h11.2; 11e3.1; v. fate, fortune.
beard, 9a17; 11c; 12b3.
beasts, wild, v. Corpus vitale, 11e2.
becoming, v. *ēstišn*, formation, *genesis*.
Beelsamēn (Baal Hamon), Lord of the Sky, 5j4; 8a3.1.
bees, 7b1; 8d5; 9a14; beehive, 11b4.
beginnings, v. *archē*, *genesis*, *mēnōk*, 4g5, j3.2.
Being and Not-being (*sat*, *asat*), 5f7.2, h1.1; 7g6.
Bel, mysteries of, 5a.
Bellerophon, 4i5.2.
berez- (*burz*, lofty), v. Harburz, 6b1.3, f1.
bethel, house of god, v. *baetylos*, 6d3.2; 8a3.
birds: *dalman*, 2c6; *kahrkatās-parōdars*, 2c6; *karšipta*, 5f5.2; *syenah*, 6h4.1; v. eagle, raven, cock.
birth, finite progression into light, v. *bavišn*, *genesis*, Natura dei; 5/28.
blade, v. knife.
Blessed Man (*nar i ahrov*), v. Gayōmard, 5j2.4; 12b3.
blindfold, 9a7.3, 8.2.
blood, 2b5; 5h3.3; 6f4, g2.1; 7a2; 9b12, b3, c4; eternal, 7g6; principle of life, 7g3; substituted for seed-semen, 4j3.1s.
blow on head or shoulder, v. Purgatio; 12/1.
boar, 6a3, c3, 4, d1; 8a1.3, d4.1; 9b5; 11b.
boat, v. ship, Scapha lunata, 5f6.1; 7c6; 12a2.
body, v. *tan*, man; 4g3.3, h; 5f3; 6c2.2, g1ss, h6.1; 8a5, d4; 9a8.1s, 14, c5; 10d, f3; 11e2, 3; 12a, 3, b4, c1, 2; 12e2; made alive by *J̌ān*, q.v., 5f7.2; of Ahura Mazda, 5h3.3; Māthra, 6b1; Xvarr, 6b1.2, f3.1, g1s; of cosmic fire, 6b4.1; 9b12; 11e1; of life, 6b4.1; 7g4; souls, 6b3, d3.2; 7c7, g3, 6; 8a1.1, d3; 9a8.2, 14; 10f4; 11b5; 12c2.
Body, First and Final. q.v.
book, scroll, 6b3; 12a3.
Boreas, erotic wind, North, 5f7.2, 11s, j1.2, 8; 12b2; 7/4.
bougenes, cattle generated, 7b1s; 9a14.
Bouklope, Cattle theft, v. Apaoša, s. Aqua vitae, 10b3.
Bouklopos, Cattle thief, s. Mithra, Transitus divus, 1e; 4i6; 5h2.2; 7b3.
boundless time, 5f3.3.
bow, 2c3; 3f1.2; 5b1, c3; 6c3; 7c1; 6/38; and arrow, q.v., 6c2, h3.1; 10c; 12c5; of Eros, 7c3; 8b2.

bowl (*amphora*, *krater*), v. Aqua vitae, Fons perennis, 2bs; 4i1; 6i3.1; 7g3; 8a1.3; 9a8, 8.2, 11, b10; 11b4, c2; urn, 5h7; 6c2, i3.1; 8d5; 9b6, 9, 10; spilling rain, 3h2; 7c1; of fired clay, 6i3.1; of sky and earth, 2b2; 6h5.4; 9c5.2; 6/45.
branch of foliage, q.v., 3f1; 6h7; 7g6; 8a5; 9a17.1; 11e3; of palm, 11d1.
bread, v. *artos*.
breast, 11b2, 4.
breastplate, 11e2.
breath, 5f7, j1s; 6c2.2, g1; 8a3.2; from the mouth, 8a5; 11b2, as *asthma*, q.v.; *J̌ān*, q.v.; *pneuma*, q.v.; *spiritus caloris*, 12a, b2; *thūmos*, q.v.
bride, v. Nymphus, s. membership.
Bridegroom (*sponsus*), 9a12, 18.1; emasculated, 9a18.
Bridge of Separation (*činvat*), 2a4; 4i4; 5c; 6b1,3, h8, 10; 11c1; 6/7.
bronze castle (=*āsmān*), 5f1.5.
bucranium, bull's skull with horns, 2d1; 4i3; 6h9.1; 8a5.2; as sign of royalty, 4/13.
bull, v. Deus taurus.
Bull of Aphrodite, 5f; 9c5.1.
Bull of Heaven, v. Ğōšurvan, Hadhayoš, s. sky; as thunder and lightning, 4a; 5c5.1, f9.1; attacked by Ahriman, q.v.; as seed of man and all life, 5f9.1, j5; 7a2; 7/4; source of *haoma*, 6h4.2; 9b12; 12b4; called Sarsōk or Srēšak, q.v.; as source of the Aryan *xvarr* fires, 5f1; cf El-Kronos, Jupiter Dolichenus.
bull's boat, v. Scapha lunata; blood, q.v.; color, 7g1; ears and eyes, 5f8, h; fat (*pīh*), 6h4.2; 9b12; flesh, s. Elementa sacra; forepart, 3h2; head, v. *bucranium*; horn, v. *rhyton*, 5f8, j7; 6d1, h5.5, 9.1; 7d, g3; 8a5.2, c4; 9a2, 4.1, b6-10; semen, q.v.; shank or leg, 9a4.1, 13, 16.2; skin, v. Trapeza taurika; slaughter, v. Mithra tauroctonos, 4h1; 5f10s; 6h5.2, i4, 5; 7b2, g3; 9c4; 12b3, c2, e2; soul, v. Gōšurvan, Transitus dei; tail growing grain, 2c; 4j3.1s; 6c2.3; 7a2, e1; 8e; 9b7; theft, v. Bouklope, 4i6; voice, 5f1.2, 9.1.
Burz, the Lofty God, v. *berez-*, Harburz; related to Ahura Napāt Apām, q.v., 6f1, 10.
Burzēn Mihr, Lofty Fire of Aša, especially for farmers, 5h2.2; 6f3.1.

Cacus, cattle thief, 1e.
caduceus, v. Hermes, magic, staff, 6b3, h3; 9a9, 11; 11b3; 12a.
Caelus, god of sky, s. Principia mundi, 3h; 5i7; 11c, e3.
Cain and Abel, 4/26.
Calathus (*kalathos*), fruit basket, 6d; 9a16.1; 10f3; 11b2, c; 11/2.
calendar, v. month, week, 5/68; 6/68; 11/3.
camel, 2c5; 6f.
candle, 9b10.
canopy, v. veil, 9c2.
cap, Phrygian, 2c3; 3gs; 6c2.2, h11.1; 8a4; 9a, 7ss; symbol of sky, 5f10; 6b4, j; 7c1, 4.1; 8a5.2, b2; 9a17, b5s, c3; 11e; 12a2; radiate, pt 7; with stars, 2c4; 5a1; 9a11; 12a2; on a tree, 11e2; on a head in a tree, 11e3; meaning of, 5j7; of the Dioscuri, 9a11, 17.1, c5; 5/97.
cape, v. mantle, 5j7.

Cappadocia, "mountain domain", 5j7.

čašmanem, eyes, 5c4.

Castor, v. Kastor, 5j7.2.

Castores, 3c.

cattle, v. clouds; creation of, 5h2; lord of, 5h2.2, 3.1; seed of, 4g1ss; 5j1.1; slaughter of, 6h5.2, i2; theft of, v. Bouklope; thieves of, v. Bouklopos, 1e; 12b3.

Caucasus, 5h4.1, j7.

causation, v. *kār*, *mēnōk*, 5f3.3; 7h (*aition*); 4/8; 6/31; 7/11.

Cautes, Cautopates, s. Torchbearers.

cave, pt 1ss; 2c; 5d, j7; 8a3.1; 9a8.2; 10e1; small caves, 2c1; 6d3.1; 7e; 8a1.1ss; 9c3.1; color of, 3g; as material and noetic essence, 4d1; 12c2; as world body, 5c; 7a2, f3, g4; 8b; 9a18.2, b, c1; 11e2; 12c2, d; as vestment of the soul, 7g4, 6; 9c4; 7/12; rites in, 9a13; of Colonus, 5h4.1; v. Templum caeleste.

Cerberus, 2a4, b9.2.

Cernunnos, Celtic Mercury-Wotan, 6h3.3.

Chaldean mystagogue, 7/12.

change, v. fortune, Transitus divus, 5/53.

chant, v. magic spell, 5e2; 6h2.2, 3.3.

chaos, v. *asar karp*, matter, 5f7, 10; 11b1; as *apeiron*, 5j1.3,2; 5/95, 96.

character, 6g2, 2.2; determined by *xvarr*, q.v.; as fate, q.v.

chariot, v. Apotheosis, Heliodromus, Luna, Sol; of the cosmos, 5h7; 7e1; 9c5.1; of cosmic god, 5h6; 6i2.2; Anāhita, 6i2.3; Mithra, 6a3, g4; Roman emperor, 9c3.1; for Elijah, 9c3.1; ancient symbol of speed and victory, 6c, i5.

Charioteer of the World, v. Heliodromus, 9c5.2; cf 5h6.

Charities, Graces, 4h2; 11/2.

Chimaera, 4i5.2.

Chrysor (Chrysaor, Chusor, Ousōos), the Piercer and Energy of the World-egg or -mountain, v. Kothar, knife, 5j6s; 5/100.

čihrem (*čithrem*), appearance, specie, 5e2.1; 6b.

čihr nērōk, visibility power, 5c5s, e2.2, 2.4, fs, 3, 6, j2.1; 6a3.3; 12b4; 4/10, 11; as the Deed, 6c2.2.

Činvat Bridge, v. Bridge of Separation.

circle of cosmos, s. cosmos; of fate, 2/4; 8/1, 7.

circular Mithraea, s. Mithraeum, 4d.

Čista, Revealer, v. *čihr nērōk*, *dēn*, Phōs, 5e1ss.

City of cosmos, 5h7.

cloak, v. mantle.

clouds, as cattle, 7b3; a pillar, 10e1; rocks, 6h3.3, 4.1, 5.3; 7c1; 9b6, c2; 10b1; 11c1.3; 12a1, 6, b3; vapor, q.v., 6g2.1, h4.1; 7c5, 7.

club, v. scepter, 6a3, b1, i1.

cock, 2b4, c1, 2, 3; 3f1s; 6h3s, 6.3, 10; 8a3.1, b2; 9b9, 10, c5.1; 11b3; creature of Ohrmazd, 2a2; meaning of, 6h10; 8b2; 9a8.2, 9.3.

cold of Ahriman, Zoroastrian concept, 4i4; 5h3.4.

cold as generative principle, 5/96; 6/30.

color symbolism, 3gs; 5c2ss; 6h8; 7g1; 8a3.2; 9a7.2, 8.1, 13, 14, 16, b10; 11c; 12c; 5/21,100; 8/7; 11/2; 12/2.

columns, 9c5.1; inverted, 3f1.2; 5g7; v. post, prism, cone.
communion, v. Societas divina, Trapeza Mithrou.
compact, v. *mithrem*, s. Ritus.
Companion (*socius*) of Mithra, v. Sol, 4b5; 6is; 9b11; 11d4; 12c6.
completions, v. *fraškart*, Final Body, 4g5, j3.2.
compass, boxing of, 4i3; 5i6.3.
conception, v. separation; 5f1.
cone, 4j2; of pine tree, 3f1.2; 11b4; 11/2; of rocks, v. Natura dei, 3h2; 8a3.1; 11b4, e3; meaning of, 8/7.
consecraneis, 6i.
consecrati, s. membership.
Consecratio, coronation of solar charioteer, s. Telete, v. Heliodromus, Apotheosis, 9a4, c.
contest, 6h7; with bull, pt 7, c7, d, e1, f, g6.
continentes, celibates, s. membership, 9a18.
contract, v. Covenanter, *mithrem*.
corners of heaven, 4i2; 5i6.
cornucopia, 5h7; 6h9.1; 9a16.1, 17.2; 11cs; 11/2 v. Tychōn.
Corpus vitale, animate body, symbolized by animals, v. Vita mortalis; 6c3, 4; 9b7; 10d1.
Corvus (Korax), s. membership.
cosmic bull, or ox, v. Gōšurvan, Bull of Heaven, 5f9.3; 6g5, h5.4; 7d, g3, 6; 9b12; 12c-d; chariot, q.v., 5h6, 7; 6c, h6.3; 7d, e1, f, g5; 9a3.1, 14, 16, 18; 9c3; 11e; circle or wheel, v. Agathos Daimōn, *ras*, 2b8, 9.1; 5c2, h6, 7, i6; 6g2.2; 2/4; 8/7; egg, q.v.; man, v. Gayōmard, Yima, 5f9s; 6f, j; 8a1, 3.2; 6/30; matter, q.v.; Mithraeum, 4d; post, q.v.; seed, 4/10; ship, v. Scapha lunata, 5f1, j6; sphere, q.v., 5f9.3, generated by flame, 5/96; cf 5/67; tree, q.v., 5f1.5, 9.1s; 6f3.1, h5.4; 12c; 5/98.
cosmology, 5e2.3, f, j2s, 4; 6h8; 7c3, f; pt 12, a, e1.
cosmos, v. First Body, sky; shape of, 8/7; origin of, 5f, j5; 5/32, 67; 9/4; 10/4; set in motion, 5f9.3, h2.1; *noetos*, 5/51; super and sub lunar, 5b3; 7/12; 10/4; 12/1.
courage, v. *thūmos*, *fravahr*.
Covenanter, s. membership, Ritus; by a *mithrem*, 2c2; 5e2.2; 6a4, h6.4; 7f, 4, g1-5; 9a6 (Face, 3), 14, c4, or *syndexios*, 1e; 6h6.4; 9a16.2, c3.3, or Junctio dextrarum, 7f2; 12c3-5, d.
creation, s. cosmos.
creativity, v. *dahišn*.
Creator, v. Demiourgos; Zoroastrian, pt 1; 5e2.2, f2; 10f3; of the sky, 5h3.2, 5; as father and mother, 5h5.
crocodile, 11c2.
cross, sign of, 9/2.
crow, v. raven, 2c2; 7c1.
crown, v. tiara, wreath, *calathus*, *polos*, 5b2; 6h5.5, 6.2, i3.1, 5.1; 8a3.1; 9a6 (Left, 5), 8.3; 9a13, 16s, b7; 11c; 12c3.
Cryfios, s. membership, 9b10, 12.
cup, 2b; 5f1.4; 9a6, 11; 10e2, f5; 11c1; meaning of, 9a17, 18.2.
Cupid, v. Eros, Pothos.
Cybele (Kubebe), v. Humbaba, 4g6; as Great or Mountain Mother, 5/74.

cyclic progression, s. Telete, 3f1.2; 9a18.2; 4/14; 8/7; 10/4.
cypress, s. tree.

dadv, dadhv, creative, 5e2.2, f2, h4; 5/68; 6/68; 11/3.
daēna, v. *dēn.*
daeva, v. *dīv.*
Dagan, god of grain, 5h1.2; 6d3.2.
dagger, v. knife, sword; 2b4, c3; 6b4, c2.1, d3.1, h3.1; 8a1, 5.2, b2, c4; 9a6, 8.2, b7; 11b, 2, e, 2; with meat on blade, 9a16.2, v. spit; under a Phrygian cap, 6h11.1; 8b2; *akinakēs,* 4g7; 9a13; 12a6, c3, 4; *gladius,* 9a8.2s, 13; god of, v. Ares, Deus genitor, 6i1, 2.3; 7c4.1; 8a5; meaning of, 7c4s; 8a5, 5.2; 9c5; 10c.
dahišn, theistic conception of *bavišn,* q.v., as creativity by a Creator-Ohrmazd, 5c5, e2.2, h1.2, 3.3; 6c; twofold in original *abzār,* q.v.; as self-moving energy (=*mēnōk,* q.v., and *vāxš nērōk,* q.v.) and as material being (=*gētēh,* q.v., and *čihr nērōk,* q.v.). From *mēnōk* creativity the gods as beginning- and completion-causations were separated as word-powers. In *gētēh* creativity the sovereignty (=*šahr,* q.v.) of the Word-power was united with the Visibility-power in the First Body, q.v., from which comes all *bavišn,* 5fss.
daimōn, v. *fravahr*; an immortal ruling power or being, 4g2, 3.2, i3; 7c6; 12a; 4/12; 12/1; toward the west, 4g4; sublunar, 4/12; 5/87; as a god, 8a1; hero, 4/12; mediator, 4/10; of man's character, 6/31; 12/1; hissed at, 9/2.
dāmi dātem, by creation created, of Mithra, 5c4.
Dāmōiš upamanō, aggressive creation, 6a3, b, c, 3; cf 5e1; 6h10.
Dancer of bodies, as Luna-Tyche, 12a.
darkness, v. Ahriman, matter, 6h7.1, 10.
Dea triformis, v. Hekate, triplicity, 1e; 4i6; 12a3; 12/1.
death, s. Telete, water.
Deed, v. Ārstāt, 5e2.4; 6c2.3; 12c, 4.
deer, 6c3, 4.
Dei mundi, s. Deus mundi.
Demeter, 2b6; 7b1; 6/59.
Demiourgos, World-creator, s. Principia mundi, pt 1; 2b7; 4f; 5f5, h2.2, j; 6b2; 7a, c3; 8c4; 11a, b5; 5/67; 95.
dēn (*daēna*), wisdom of religion and creation, 5e1-2, h2, 4; 6c2.2, g4; 9a9.1, 18; 11e2; 12e; girdle of, 5f1.4; progression of, 5f3.3, 4-5.1; 6b; prepares road for Mithra, 6a3; receives rulership of life; 6b2; as soul, 2a4; 4i4; 4/9, 11; from Zoroastrian boundless light, 5e2.3; as *ǰān-gnōsis,* q.v., 4g1.2; 9a18; 12b2; under Saturnus, s. planets.
dendron, v. tree.
derang xvatāy, enduring self-creation, or sovereignty, 4i4; 5e2.2.
dēsak=*karp,* q.v., form, 5f3.
dēsakōmandīh, formation, growth, 5f1.
descent of soul, s. soul.
Despoina, 4g5; 7c3; 9c5.1; 6/59.
desire for birth, v. Pothos, Eros, 7c2.
devoted (*pius*), v. Miles, 9a18.1.
devout (*eusebēs*), v. Stereōtēs, 9a18.

Deus aeternus, god of life and time, v. *aiōn*, Kronos, s. Principia mundi; 2a3, b1, 3, 9.2; 3g1; 4h1; 5f1.3; 6e, f, g5; 7c; 9a7.2; 11bss, 6, c, e, 1; with human breast, 11b1, and head, 11b1, or lion's head, 6d1.1; 8a1.1; 11b1; 11/2; with signs of zodiac, pt 4, a2; 7g1; snakes, 11b2, 4, c; wings, 11b3, like Kneph, q.v.; stands above a bowl or sphere, 7g1; 8a3.2; 11b4; holds keys and lightningbolt, 11b5; meaning of, 9a8.1, b5; 11c3, e3.1; 11/2.

Deus aquae, god of generative water, s. Aqua vitae, 10b2, f5; 11c2; as Ahura Napāt Apām, Oceanus, Vayu, q.v.

Deus Arimanius, s. Principia mundi; as Ahriman, Hades, Serapis, 2a3.1, 4; 4i4; 6e; 7h1; 8a3.1; 11b6; as vital heat and motion, 5h1.2, 2.2.

Deus Cautes and Cautopates, s. Torchbearers.

Deus fortunae, v. Xvarr, 11c1.

Deus invictus, v. Sol, Varhrān, s. Mithra; 6c2.2, hs; 7b; 8a5.2, c, 1, e; 9b7, c4; 10a2, b1, d2; 12c1.

Deus invictus genitor, god of finite being, of separations, v. Deus mundi, Verethraghna, s. Natura mundi; 6h5.1, 6.1, 11.1, i1; 7c4s; 8a1.1, 5, b1; 9a3.1; 11c2, 3, d, e2, 3; 12a, 6, b1, c, 2, d, e2; 4/8; 12/3.

Deus mundi, god of world-mountain, sphere, order, s. Principia mundi; 2b9.1; 6c2.1; 7c; 9c2; 10e1, 2, f5; 11b, 4, 6, c1, e3; 12b1, c; as Saturnus, 9c4; as Dei mundi, for separate functions, 9c3.3; 10a3, f3; 11d, e1, 2; 12a, b, 3; as Logos, q.v.; origin of, 5f.

Deus sagittarius, the Archer, s. Aqua vitae; 6h3.3; 7b, c, 1s, 3, 5ss; 10b1, 2, cs, d2, f5; 11d1; 12b3, 4; meaning of, 10d3.

Deus saxigenus, s. Natura dei.

Deus taurus, v. Gōšurvan, s. Principia mundi; 10a, e1, f3; 11e1; 12b, 3, c; as Deus mundi, 10a3; in Scapha lunata, q.v.; in Templum caeleste, q.v.

Deus triformis, 12a3.

dha- and *dhi-*, 5h4.

diadem, v. tiara, crown; 9a12; 12a4.

dik- 5c5.1.

dikē, *dikaion*, v. *aša*; 4g5; 5c3s; 6b1; 7f1; 5/87.

Diomedes, 6i2.2.

Dionysos (Bacchus), v. Haoma; 6h3ss, i3.1; 7c1; 8a3.2; 9c5.1; 12b3; 4/13.

Dioscuri, v. twins; 3c; 5j6, 8; 6i2.1; 9c5.1; 11b4; as two hemispheres, 5/97.

discipline, 9a18s.

disk, v. circle, sphere; 5b1; 8a3.1.

disorder, v. *druj*, giants.

dīv (*dēv*, *daeva*), *daimōn* of heat and drought, 5f2.2ss; 6f3.1; 11/1.

division, v. progression, separation, 5f3.3.

dog, 2ass, b5; 4j3.1s; 6c3; 7g3; 8a1.1; 9b5; 10d2; with penis erect, 2a; 4j3.2; with Cautes, 3f1.2; Deus aeternus, 11b3; Silvanus, 6h8; at Natura dei, 6d3; Trapeza Mithrou, 9b8; meaning of, 2a3; 5j1.2; 12e2; 2/5; 5/86; 6/59; three dogs, 2a1; 6c2.

dogma and hypothesis, 4/30.

Dog Star, v. Sirius s. stars.

dolphin, 3f2; 11c2.

donkey, 6h3.2.

door, v. gates.

dough, clayey mass of world stuff, v. *kōt, mōt, srēšak,* 5f1, 3.2, 9.2; j2.1; 9b12.
dove, 5f6.
dragon, v. snake, 2b9.1.
drakōn of Sabazius, 2b6; 8/1.
drama, v. imitative ritual.
drastēria, energy of causation, 2/4; 12/1.
Dravāspa, divinity of horses, 6i2.
drinking, v. horn, *rhyton,* Posis; 6b3; 9a8.
drōn (*draona*), sacred cake, 5f1; 9b8, 12; cf *artos.*
drought, v. Apaoša, Vṛtra; 12a6; 6/33.
druj, Zoroastrian conception of disorder as a lie of Ahriman, 2b5; 5c3s, h2.1.
dualism, 5h, 2.1; 11d4; cf 7a2; cosmic, 6c2.1; v. Mediator.
duraoša, 6h5.2.
dyad, 5f3.1, 10.1; 7h; v. Ahu and Ratu, Torchbearers, twins; 5/87.
Dyaus Pitṛ, Sky-Father, v. Tvastar, 5f2.4, 7.1.
dynamis, power, potential, 5h7; 6g2.1; 4/8.
dynamism, 6j; 7a3; 12e2.

Ea, v. Enki.
eagle, v. birds; 2c1; 3f2, h; 5f6; 6h6.3, 9.1; 7c1; 9c3.1; bringer of *haoma,* 6h4.1, 5.3; manifestation of *xvarr,* 5f6.
ear, v. hearing, 5c4.
earth, v. matter; origin of, 5j1.3; 7c4.2; separated from sky by Ahriman, 5j5; shape of, 6a3.1; 5/95,96,97; divinity of, 2b; 8d2; 12a2; 5/95.
ebony couch of Kronos, 7/12.
ēchos, v. voice; 5c5, j3.2; 6h5.3.
eidōlon, image, 6g2.1.
effort, v. force, motion.
egg, s. sky, Natura dei, v. *āsmān*; 5g5; 6i2.1, j; 8a3.2, 5.2; as the *āsmān,* 5css, f8, j7, or world-mountain, 6f2; bounded by the zodiac, 6d3, h3.3; cosmic and fiery, 5c1, j1.3, 2, 5, 8; 6e; 8a1, 1.4; 11c1; 12b4; 5/67; 8/1.
El-Kronos, 5j4; 6d3.2; 5/67; 7/4.
Elementa sacra, v. Ritus; bread, 9b7, 12; grapes, 9b7; *haoma,* 9b12; meat, 2c2; 4j3.1; 6h5.2; 9a16.2; 12c4; water, 5f4.1; 6b3; 9a2, 8.3, 11, b7, 8, 10, 12.
elemental gods, v. dynamism, magic, 7a3; 8a4.
elements, v. *aēr, aithēr,* fire, matter, water; 5f3s, h1.2, 8, j, 3; 6b, f4, g4; 7c4; 8a1, d2, e; 9a17.1; 12a3; conflict of, 7c7s, f1; 9a14; gender of, 5h6; 7a1; harmony of, 7g5; as generative, 4i5.2; 5f3.2, 7; 7e1; as *gētēh* and *mēnōk,* 5h5; 6g1ss; 7a1, c4.2; separation of, 5f3.1; 8/1; shape of, 8/7.
elephant, 6f.
Elysium, 7g2,3.
emasculation, v. Attis.
embodiment of soul, v. body, s. *gētēh.*
empsychos lithos, v. *baetylos,* 6d3.2; 11e2.
energy, v. *mēnōk,* motion, heat.
Enki, 5f6.1, 7.1.
Enlil, 5c3.
entaphiastai, dogs as entombers, 2a2; 5/86.

entelechia, potentiality, 6g2.1; 4/9.
Epaphroditos, 4g3.
epēkoos. v. hearing, 6h7.
ephippos (of Mithra mounted on horseback), v. Deus invictus, s. Mithra.
Ephor of fire, 6h4.
Epimetheus, 5h4.1.
epithūmētikon, 4g3.
Ērānvēz (Vara of the Aryans), 7g1.
Erebos, premodial and material darkness, v. chaos, 5j1.2s, 2.
Erexša, 10b.
Eros, generative love, v. Pothos, 3c; 5j1.3; 7c3; 8b3; 9a9; 10f4; 12a; and Psyche, v. Theos psychopompos, 8b3, 7/7.
Erotes (Cupids), 3c.
eschatology, v. Final Body, *fraškart*, Societas divina, 7g1s, 5, 6; 9a9.3, 16.2; 12d1.
Ēšm (Aēšma), wrath, q.v., v. *ang-*.
ēstišn, combining, becoming, v. formation, 5f3, 10s, h8, j4; 6c2.1, h1.1; 12a3.
eternity, v. infinite.
Europa, 4g6.
eusebēs, v. Stereōtēs, 9a18.
exorcism, v. magic.
expansion, v. *spenta*, formation, growth.
expando, 5h3.4.
eye, 6d1.1; fiery, 6h4; of Mithra, Ahura, v. Sol s. planets; sign of royalty, 5h1.2; of perceptivity, q.v., 11b1, 5-6.

face, of sky, 4i; of *aša*, 5c4.
farmer, husbandman, 6h5.2, 11.2; 11c; bound by fate, 5h2.2; 6h11.2; blue garments of, 5c3.
fate, v. fortune; 6f, g1; 7g1; 8a3.2; as Anangkē, 12a; *baxt*, 4i5.1; 5f3, h2.2; character, v. *xvarr*, 5f2.1; 6g2.2; elemental structure, v. *advēnak*, 5f3ss; 6g1; 6/31; energy, 2/4; threefold=Moirai, 12a3; 12/1.
Farnbag, *xvarr* fire of priesthood, 5f6, h2.2; 6b4.1.
feet, 5/100.
fellowship, v. Societas divina.
female, receptive of *genesis*, 4/13; v. sex.
Feridun (Thraētaona), 6h5.
fermentation, v. dough, *sēpsis*
fertility, v. seed.
Fidius Sancus, v. Airyaman, 6h2.2, 6.4.
Final Body (*tan i pasēn*), Zoroastrian perfected world, which will be drawn back up again into the First Body, q.v., at the *fraškart*, q.v., when *aša* is completely reestablished by the Saviors-Sōšyans, q.v., 5e2.3, h.3.4; 6g1; 7f3, g3; 12c5; cf Societas divina.
finite, v. knife, separation.
fire (*agni*, *ātaxš*), v. Ātur, Xvarr; origin of, 5f1, j2; 11b5; as *aithēr*, 3h2; 5h6; 8a3.1; 4/9; cosmic stuff, 2b9.1; 5f7s, h3.3; 6b4.1, e, h5, i3.1; 12a4; 4/9; 5/53/ 6/30; like a chariot, 9c3.1, a pillar, 8a3.1, tongues, v. halo, 8a1.4, 3.2; destructive, v. wrath, 6b1.2, h5; 9a14; 6/30, 38;

Dionysiac, 6h4, i 3.1; fashioning, 4/8; 5/95,96; 6/31; 10/3; female, 1e; 5h2.2; 7a1s, d; 11b3; 12a3; flaming, 5j4, 7.1; 6a3, h4, 5.5, 6.1; 6h8; 8a1.4, 3.2; 9a16.2; 12b1, a flashing light, 5f2.4, j2.4; 6f3; generative, v. Ignis vitalis, 1e; 2c6; 4f2; 5f7, 10, j4, 5, 7.2; 6d, g2, 4, h, 4, 6.1, 11.2s; 7f, 1; 8a1; 9b12, c5; 11b2, 3, e1; 12b2, 4; 6/38; heavenly or pure, v. Artvahišt, 7g4, 6; 9a4.1, 18.2, b12, c3, 5; 11b1, 5; c2; 5/100; male, 1e; 5h2.2; 6c2.3, d, 3, f1; 7a1s, d; 8a1; 10a1, f1s; 12b1, c4, e2; manly-kingly, v. Neryōsang, 6h2.3; ordering-sovereign, v. *aša*, 4i4; 6b1.1, 2, g3, 4, h, 5, 10.2, 11.2; 7a, 2, c4, 7, f1; 8d3; 9a14; 12a2, b2, c2; 4/10; 5/95; solar, v. *xvar*, 4i1; 6i2.1; 7g5; 9a18.2; 12b2; visible or invisible, v. *xvarr*, 6b, 1.1, g2.2, h, 4, 10; 7c3; 8a3, 3.1; 9a17, b11, c5; 12c2; victorious, v. Varhrān.

fireplace, v. hearth, 9a18.1.

fire-temple, 4i2.

Fires (sacred) of Iran, 5f6, h2.2; 6f3.1.

First Body (*fratom tan*), Zoroastrian world enclosed within the *āsmān*, q.v., which heat generated in the original septic mass, called *kōt*, q.v., expanded like a shell or wheel-*ras*, q.v., and illuminated with stars and the planets, 5f1s, 2.4, h3.2, 8, j4; 7f3; 8a3.2; 9c4; 11b2, 6.

First, or Primal, Man, 5j2.4; 3/6.

fish, 5f10, h7; 9c5.1.

foetus, 5f3.2.

foliage, 2b2; 3f1, h2; 4j3.1; 7g6; 8a5; 9a17.1; 11e, v. branch.

Fons perennis, v. bowl; 8d5; 9a8.2, 9.1s, 16.1; 10f4; position in the Mithraeum, 9a8.2.

footprint, 9a9.3.

force, v. strength.

forests (*silvae*), as material mind, 11e2.

formation, combination and expansion, v. *ēstišn*, growth, *spenta*; 5f1.2, 4; 6c, e, f1, 3.1; 12a3; by wind, 5j1, 2.2; of earth, 7c4.2.

formula spoken, v. Ritus, 9b12.

Fortuna, v. Xvarr, 4g3; 6h7.1; cyclic, 8/7, v. Agathos Daimōn.

fortune, v. Ašišvang, *xvarr*; change of, 6f, h8; god of, v. Deus fortunae, 11c1; as productivity, 6f, g2.2, 3, h, 1.1, 5.5s, 9.1; 7f3; 9a16.1; 10f2; 11c1; Tychē, q.v. and Tychōn, q.v.; cf fate.

Frangrasyan, v. Afrāsyāb.

fraškart, perfecting of the Final Body, q.v., in Zoroastrian thought; 5e2.2, f5, h2; 6c2.2s, f, g, h2.1, 4.1, 10.1, i 3; 7g2, h; 9c4; 12a5; accomplishers of, v. Savior, 6g1.

fravahr (*fravaši*), undying and ruling principle of finite being, s. man; 4g1-3.2; 5f3, h6; 6b2, 4; 7f4; 9a9.1; 10f1; 11e2; 12b3, c5; of the *ašavan*-righteous, 5f2; 6a3.1s; 4/12; as *daimōn*, 4/12; 6/30; 11/3; *spenta*, 6e; *xvarr*, 6g; of Ahura Mazda, 5c5.1; of Zarathustra, 6h5.2; an assistant of Hurdāt, 6h2, 10; the god of, 9a9.1, 13.

fravoiš, 6a3.2.

Fraxkart sea, 5j4.

frenzy, 5h3.1; 5/74.

friendship, v. *mithrem*, *socius*.

Frugifera, fruit-producing, s. Arbor.

frugiferius, 11/2.
fruits, or flowers, v. cornucopia, 5h7, i6; 8c4, d2; 11c1, e2, 3; 12a2; gods of, 6h4.1; 3/5; guardian of, v. Perses, 9a14-15.

gabrīh, conception, Avestan equivalent of *nōk* (?) *kys-ič* appearance, in which *nōk* (?) may correspond to the *neikos*, q.v., of Empedocles, 5f1.
Gaia, 5h4.1; 6d3.2.
gall, for bitterness and physical life, 6g2.1; 7b1.
Gallus priest, 5/74.
Gandarewa (Gandharva), causes the sea to boil over, 5f7.1; 6f3.1, h5; 7/2.
gaočihr, the Moon as a manifestation of the bull, 4g1.1s; 9a15.
gaokerena, ox-horn tree in the Vouru Kaša, 4g1.3; 5f1.5; 6h4.2, 5.1.
gaošem, ear, 5c4; like a bull's, 5f8.
Garden of Eden, 5f9.2; 11e2.
Garden of Hesperides, 4h2.
garm, heat, q.v., and *xvēt*, moisture, q.v., in the wind, the first motion of *bavišn* or *genesis*, 5f3, 10.
garment, v. mantle, s. sky.
garōdmān (*garō-demāna*), Zoroastrian heaven of blissful souls, 5c1s; 6c2.2, h2.3; 7g2; 9c3.3; 4/14.
Garšāh, Mountain King, 5f2.2.
gās (*gāh*), space or time period, 5e2.2, f1.4; 6h10.
gate, door or portal, 9a9, 9.2s, 18.
gav-, *gay-*, 5f2.2; 12b3.
Gauš (Kauš, Uša, Uš), cf Gušnasp; 5f2.2, 9.3; 6f3.1, h5.1.
Gayōmard (Gaya Maretan, Blessed Man = Bull-Man), a Zoroastrian substitute for Gōšurvan, the cosmic bull, and for Yima, the cosmic man; 2a2; 4g1.3; 5f2.2, 9, 9.3, h2, 2.1, j2.4; 6j; 7b2; 12b3.
gazelle, 6c3.
Genea and Genos, 5j4; 11e3.
generation of the living world, v. *bavišn*, *genesis*, First Body; 5/96.
Genesia, 4h2.
genesis, s. *mēnōk*, *gētēh*, v. *bavišn*; 4g4; 5f10, j1, 2, 4; the First, 12a1; 5/32, 58, 96; 10/4; and/or *apogenesis*, v. *phthora*; 4f, h, i4, j3.2; 5h8.1, i2ss; 6c2.3; 7b1; 8a5.2, d, e; 11b4, c1, d1; 12a, b4, d1; 6/6; 10/4; gods of, v. Torchbearers; 6b3; 12d1; 5/32; of equal periods, 10/4; the Third and Fourth principles of life, 12/1.
Genetrix, v. Petra, s. Arbor.
genitals exposed, 2d; 3f1.2.
Genitor, v. Deus invictus genitor; 1e; 8a2; 12a6; *luminis*, v. Logos, 8a2.
Genitura, 8a2.
Genneas, 6d2.
Geryon, Thief of cattle, v. Vṛtra, 1e; 7b3.
gestures, v. hand.
gētēh, material cause, twin of *mēnōk*, q.v., in the *abzār*, q.v., characterized by *čihr nērōk*, q.v., and ruled by *šahr*, q.v., in *vāxš nērōk*, q.v., of *gētēh dahišn*, q.v.; 5f; 6b2, g1, h10.2, j2; 7f3, g1ss; 8a3.2; 10f6; 12b1, 3, css. Gētēh beings, 5f3, 7.2; 6h10; 8b3; birth and death, 7g1; pt 10; body, v.

tan, s. man, 4i5.1; 6g2.2; 7g1; pt 9, c5.1; 12c6; elements, q.v.; *xvarr*, q.v., 6g2.1.
ghna (*ghan*, *gan*, *han*, *kan*), slaughter, 6c, i2.
Ghu, *daeva* of destructive heat, 5f2.4.
giants, 12a5, d.
girdle (*kestos*, *kostīk*, *hūš* ?), worn by faithful Zoroastrian; as the circle of the sky, 5f1.2, 1.4, 2.3; 8/1; as origin of life, 5f8; 5/67.
gladius, s. dagger.
globe, v. sphere.
gnōsis, v. knowledge, 4g3.3; pt 12, e1.
goat, v. Corpus vitale; 6d1.1, h3, 3.2; 8b1; 10d1; 11b2, e2.
god, as *logos*, q.v., 5f; as *mēnōk*, 4g2; 5h1.2; gods of the week, q.v.; of the world, v. Deus mundi; of Samothrace, 9a16.3; 3/6.
Goitosuros=*gavyuti sura*, lord of cattle-land, v. *gōyōt*.
gōhr almāst, substance of the *āsmān*, 5c.
goodness, 5h1.2.
Good Thought, Word, Deed, 5f2.4; 6c2.2; 12d; 6/7.
goose, 6c2.3.
Gōpatšāh, Bull-Lord-King, 5f1.5, 2.2; 7/4, 11.
Gōšurvan (Geus Urvan), world-ox as soul-or plant-form as origin of all life, including that of man, 7b2ss; v. Deus taurus, Hadhayoš; 2b7; 4g1ss, j3.2; 5f9.1, h2; 6c2.3; 7g1; 10a; 12b3.
gōyōt (*gaoyaoitiš*), of cattle land, frequent epithet of Mithra, v. Goitosuros, 5h3.2; 6a4; 6/5.
grades of initiation, s. membership, v. Telete, 9a3.1, c4; 12d; number of grades, 4g3.1; 9a10; under the protection of the planets, q.v., 4g3ss; women excluded, 9a18.2.
grain stocks, 2c, 3; 3f1.1s; 5i7.1; 7e1, g3; 8c3; 9a6 (Left, 5), 15, 17.1.
grapes, 6h3s, i3s; 9b7; 6/68.
groom, 12c5.
growth, v. formation, *physis*; 4g3.1, i3; 6h6.3, i2.3; 7c4.2; governed by the moon, 4g4; 10f6; 10/4; product of fortune, q.v.

habros, tamed, of Leo grade, s. membership, 4g3.1; 9a14.
Hadad (Haddu, Adad), v. Baal Aliyan, 4a; 5j6; 6b4.1.
Hades, v. Ahriman, Serapis; 2a4; 6d, h7.1; 11c; 2/5; 5/53; 10/4; 12/1.
hadhanaēpata, pomegranate, 5f1.5.
Hadhayoš (Hatayoš, Hadayaš) bull, v. Bull of Heaven, Gōšurvan, 5f1.5s; 6h4.2, 5.2; 12b3.
hagos, *hagnos*, holy, dangerous, 4g3.1; 6h2.2.
halo, s. fire, head, *xvarr*, 6f, h6.1; 8a1, 3.2; 9c3.
hammer, 11b3.
hand gestures, 5f8, 10; 6b4; 9a5, 6 (Right, 7), 13, c1; 12b3; closed fist, 5f8; 6b4; open hand, 5f8; 6h11.2; 9b10; pointing toward sky, 5f8, 10, j4; 6h6.1, 11.2; 7d; 8a1; 9a16, 17, b9, 10, c2, 3.3; 11b5, and earth, 12c3; meaning of, 9b12; supports sky, 6d3; 12c3; held before mouth, 8a3; 10e2; on top of head, 8a1.1, 3.2; on shoulder of companion, 9b6, 8, 9; 10b2; on head of initiate, 9a1; behind head of companion, 6b4.
hands bound, 9a8.2, 8.4.

haoma, v. *hōm*.
Haošangha (Hušravah, Khošrav), v. Hošeng.
hara (=*oura*), lofty, 6f1.
Harburz (Hara bereza), the Alborz, Elborz, Mountains, the world-mountain in the midst of the world-sea, or that surrounds the inhabited earth, v. Kaša, Kuš; 5c, f1.1; 6b, f1, h4.2, i2.3; 7/4.
harpé, pruning knife, v. knife.
Hasis (Hazzi, Khasis, Kassion), Great Mountain of the north, 5j6.
hat, v. cap.
hava- (*hū-*), 5f1.4; 6h10.
hāvan, morning period, 6h3.3, 10.
hāvana, bowl, 6h5.4.
hawk, 2b7, 9; 5f6, 9.3.
head, 5j7.
head, v. crown, nimbus; radiate, pt 6, b3, 4, c1, d, 2, e (snake), f, g2.1; 8a1.4, 3.2; 9a4, 16; 11b1; of harbor, 11e2; of horse, 6d1, i2.3; of sky, 5j7; 6d; 8a3.2; 9c2; 12a1; of thunderbolt, 12a4; triple, 7e1; 9c4; 11c.
health, v. *xvarr*, 6d1, h2s, 5, 5.5, 6.3, 8, 9.1; 10f2; 12b2.
hearing, v. Srōš, 6h7s; 7b2; 7/6.
heart, v. *phrēn*, 6d1.1; 11e2; 6/30.
hearth, v. Varhrān.
heat, invisible fire, v. *garm*; 5f3, 7.2, j2.1; 6f2, h1.1, 3.3; 7f3; 8a1.4; 11b2, 5; 12a; solar, 6g3, h5.3, 10; 8a3.2; generative, 5/96; *thermon*, q.v.; as *dīv*, q.v., and *xvarr*, q.v.
heaven, v. *āsmān*, sky, 5f1.1s.
Hekate, 2a4; 4g6; 7c4; 12a3; 12/1; v. Dea triformis.
hekatos, shoots from afar, s. Theos.
Helen, 6i2.1.
Heliodromus, s. membership, 9a16ss; cf King Helios, Mesotēs, 7/12.
Helios, as Sol invictus, 6h1; as threefold, 7/12.
helmet, 9a3.1, 13; 11d.
Hephaistos, v. Chrysor, 5j5; 5/53, 67, 100; 11/2.
Hera, 5h6.
Herakles, v. Ares, Artagnes, 1e; pt 2, d3; 4g7, h3; 6d1, f3.1, i1; pt 7, b3, c4; 11d4; 7/2; as Fidius Sancus, 6h2.2; as Invictus, 6h7; as King, 6i1, and Melqart, 5a2.1.
herds, 6h5.
Hermaphrodite, 4g3; as Primal Being, 3/6; 5/95.
Hermes, v. Mercurius s. planets, and Tištar s. stars; 2a2.1, d2-3; 3f1.1; 5a1; 9a9, 11; 10b3; 11d; 11/2; v. Psychopompos; as Invictus, 6h2, 3.
hero, as *daimōn* and *fravahr*, q.v., 4/12.
Hesperus, evening star, 12b3.
Hilaria, 7/12.
Hipta, Mistress of horses, v. Dravāspa, 6c.
Hestia, 5h6.
hissing, 9/2.
hoe, 9a15.
hole, of Ahriman in sky-egg, 5j5-6; for lamp, 8a3.1; 11b1; for snake, 2b3; 11b4.

holiness, v. *hagos*, *xvarr*, 6h2.2, 4, 5.3, 6s, 9.1; 7g6; 9a11; 11b4.
hōm (*haoma*, *soma*), sacred drink, 4i4; 5f1.4s; 6h4.1s, 5.4; 9b12; 12b3; preparer and offspring of, 6h5, 5.2, i2.3.
Hōm, Assistant of Šahrēvar, q.v., 6h5.4.
Homo renatus, ritual rebirth, s. Telete, 12c3.
honey, symbol of physical birth, v. bees, 5h1; 7b1; 8d5; 9a14, 18, 18.1; 6/68.
hope (*elpis*, *spēs*), 6h.1; 9a18; 8/7; 9/3; 11/2.
Horai, Keepers of the cloud-gates, v. seasons, 3h1.
horse, v. chariot, Apotheosis, Heliodromus; 5h6, 7s; 6h6.3; fiery, 6c, f, 4; 7f; 9a7.2, 8.1; 12b3; solar, 5h2.2; 6c; wild, 9b7; watery, 4i5.2; 6f1, 3.1, h2; white, 5h5; winged, v. *aksv-*, 9c3.1; a twin, v. Ašvin, 5h8.1; 6c2.1; 9a9; 12a2; symbol of seasons, 5h7; 9c3; of speed and strength, 6a4, c, f1; sacrifice of, 4g7; 6f4, i2s, 4; gods mounted on, v. Mithra ephippos, Deus invictus, 6c, d2, i5.
Horus-Apollo, 5/32.
Hošeng (Hošroy, Haošangha, q.v.), Mover of the world-mass, 5f2.3, 9.3, h3.3; 6h5.1, i2.3; 6/71.
House of Anagrān (Endless Light), 5c3; of Apsu, q.v.; of god, v. *baetylos*, Domus divina; of Mithra and Srōš, v. *maēthan*, s. sky; 9a18.
Humbaba, Humvava (cf Kybebe, Kybele), Chaotic world, 5f1, 10; 8a1.4.
Hukairya, world-mountain, v. Harburz, 6b; 10f2.
Hurdāt (Haurvatāt), Mēnōk of water, 5h1.2, and Wealth, 6h2.
husbandman, v. farmer.
hūš, v. girdle, 5f1.4; 9c5.1; 4/11.
Hušravah, v. Hošeng, 5f1.4.
Huštāspa (Guštāsp, Gušnāsp, Hystaspēs), parallel of Hušravah, 5h3.3; 6f3.1.
Hvanant, Mountain of rising sun (?), 7c1.
Hvarenō (Kwarenah), v. *xvarr*, 5c4.
hylē (=*silva*), "tree-stuff", v. matter; 11e2; 12b2; 4/9; 5/32; formed by *logos*, q.v., 6/30; root of word, 11e3.1.
hymns of the Magi, 5e2; of the mysteries, 5/98.
Hypēretēs, s. membership, 9c5.1.
Hypnos (Somnus), sleep, 3c.
hypostasis, fundamental substance, 4g3; 6g2.1; 7h; 11e3.1.
Hypsouranios (=Samēmroumos), world-mountain, 5j4; 6b4.1; twin of Ousōos, v. Chrysor.
Hystaspēs, v. Huštāspa.

Iacchos, 6/44.
Ignis vitalis, 11e1, s. fire v. generative.
ilun, mud, world-stuff, 5j2s; 5/95.
image, of Isis as cow and earth, 4/13; of the resurrection, 9a8.3; 12c3.
imitative ritual (*mimēsis*), v. Ritus, Telete; 9a8s, 10, 13, 14, b11; 12e1; 5/98; 7/12.
immateriality, v. *mēnōk*, Natura mundi.
immortality, 6b1.3, 3, h4.2, 5, 8; 9c3.2; v. Amurdāt.
incantation, v. magic spell.
incarnation, v. body, *metempsychosis*; planetary god of, 9a9.
incense, 6b4; 7g6.

incest, 5h4.1s; 5/74; 86.
incomprehensivilis, 11b6; cf 11e3.1; 5/95; 98.
increase, v. *spenta.*
Indra, or Indra Vṛtrahan, 1e; 4i2; 5j; 6h2, 5.4; 7b3; v. Verethraghna.
infant, 11c2, c1.
infinite (*akanārak*), sameness, time, 5f3.3, j2; 9a17, 18.2; 9c5; 5/96; 7/12.
Infusio, pouring on of water, s. Telete.
Initiatio, v. Telete.
intelligence (*phronēsis*, q.v.), v. Arbor sapientiae, Nous hylikos, 11d, e2.
Intermediate, as Second Mind, v. Mediator, 5f10.1; 7h; 7/12; 12/1.
intestines of a fowl, 9a8.2.
intoxication of the soul, 5h1; 6g2.1; 5/74; 6/6.
investiture, 9a14.
invictus (*anikētos*), v. *verethraghnem.*
Ishara, 2d2; 4a.
Ishtar, 4a, g6, i2; 7c4; 4/17.
Isis, 2a3; 4g6; 4/13; 5/32, 87; 6/68; 7/11.
ithyphalic, 3/6.

J̌ān, as wind and breath, s. man, v. *pneuma*; 4g1ss, i5.1; 11e2-3; 12b2; as desire, v. Pothos, 5f7.2, j1.1; of men, 4g1ss; 6f; 8d3; 9a9.1; as hot wind, 5f7.2, h6; 8d3; 9a17; 12b2.
Janus, image of, 2b9.1.
Jaribol, 6b4.
Jemšed, v. Yima *khsaēta.*
jewel, 6b4.
Judges at the Bridge of Separation, 6b1.3; 5/68.
Junctio dextrarum, s. Covenanter, v. *syndexios.*
Jupiter, 5f7.1; 9b12, c5; s. planets; Dolichenus, 3c; 6h6.2, i5; 9c5.1; Heliopolitanus, 5f7.1; 6d2, h6.2, 9.1.
justitia, 4g5.

Kabiros, 3/6.
Kadmos, 5j7.2.
kahrkatās, s. birds, 2c6.
kai, v. *kavi.*
Kai Kobad (Kaiumers), v. Kavāta.
kalathos, v. *calathus.*
kamara, vault, round boat, v. Templum caeleste, Scapha lunata; 5f1.2, 2.3; 10a1, 2.
kāmīk, v. Pothos, 5e2.2; Zoroastrian equivalent of Eros, q.v.
kanārak zamān, finite time, 5f3.3.
kap-, v. *k'va-*, 5j7s.
kār, cause, 4i5.1; 5f, 3.3.
Karneia festival, 6h7, i3.
karp, body, form, v. *dēsak*; 5e2.3, f3.
karšipta, s. birds, 5f5.2.
kart, achievement, 5f.
kaša (Kaša), world-sea, called *vouru* (wide), v. *apsu*, ocean; surrounds the

world-mountain, 6f2; 7c1; 8a4, or tree, 6h4.1; source of female waters, 5h5; 6h5.1, which are white, 5c2; home of Napāt Apām, 6f1, 12.1; where white horse fights with black, 6h2, and Keresāspa with Gandawera who causes it to boil over, 6h5; also called Kasāva, 5f2.1; 6f2, and Fraxkart, 5j4.

Kasāva, s. *kaša.*

Kasmilos (Camillus), 5j7.2; 3/6.

Kassion, world-mountain, of the north, 5j4, 7; 6b4.1; v. Hasis, Harburz.

Kastor, 5j7.2; 9a16.3.

kataskopoi, eyes of Great King, 5c4.

katēkooi, ears of Great King, 5c4.

kathodos, descent, 4h.

Kavāta, the Kavi, q.v., of the world-mass, v. *kōt*, 5f2s; 6f2.

Kavi, *kavi* (*kai*), the manifest, king, hero, v. *k'va-*, 5f2s, 4.

kayan race, of the *kavi*, 5f2.1, 6.

Keresāspa, Iranian Herakles, 6f3s, h5, 7; 7/2.

kestos of Aphrodite, 5f1.4, v. girdle.

Kēvān, planet Saturnus, q.v., 4i2.

key, 3h1; 11b5.

Khošrav (Haōšyangha, Hušravah), v. Hošeng.

khšaēta, shining, gleaming, of Yima (Jemšed), q.v., 4g1.3; 6h5; 5/97.

Khšaothra, Mountain of rulership, 7c1.

k'va- (=*khva, ksva*), 5f1.1, j7s; 6b4.1; 5/34.

khvar-, hvar-, svar-, 6g3; 7/4; v. *xvar.*

khwēskarīh, character, as fate, 6g2.

Kingdom of God, 7g2.

King of All, Great King, as cosmic law, 6h; 7h; 5/21, 98; 7/11, 12; cf Gōpatsāh, El Kronos.

Kišar, 5f7.1.

kiss, 5f1.3; 12a.

kistē (*cista*), 6/59.

klimax, planetary ladder, climate, 2c5; 4i; 9c4; 12d1.

knapsack, 9a13.

knee, kneecap, 6d1.1; 11b1; 12a6; 4/10.

kneeling, 12a2, c3.

Kneph, Egyptian Agathos Daimōn, Demiourgos, 2b8; 5/67.

knife, harpé, sickle, v. dagger; 9a9.2, 9.3, 12, 17; for pruning, 2a3.1, 64; 8a5, 15; 10f; 11e1; 12a4; for producing water and plants, 6h5.1; of Deus genitor, 6h6.1, 8; 12a6; of Marduk, 7c4; of Yima, 7c4.2; meaning of, 7c4; 9a17, v. separation.

knot, 12a.

knowledge, v. *gnōsis, nous, dēn*, 6g2; 11b1; 12b4; of *aša*, 6a3.3; god of, v. Saturnus s. planets, 9a9.1, 17, 18; 10f5; 11b6; tree of, v, Nous hylikos, s. Arbor vitae, 11e2; 12b2.

kōf (*kaofa*), mountain, 5f1.1.

koilos, hollow, fold, v. *pīlos.*

Kolpia, Enfolding wind, 5j4; 6h1.1; 12b1.

kolpos, bosom, 2b6; 12b1.

Korax (Corvus), s. membership.

Kore, Persephone, 7b1; 2/5.
Korybantes, 5/98; Korybas, 3/6; 5/98; 7/12; cf sky s. head.
Kosmokrator, pt 1; 6c5, d3; 8a3.2; 9c3; 11e2.
kostīk, v. girdle.
kōt (=*kaota*, *kavāta*), world-mass, 5f1s, 3, 4, j2.2; 6b4.1, f2, 3.1; v. dough, *mōt*, Kuš.
Kothar, v. Chrysor, Ousōos; creative energy, 5j6; 6b4.1, d3.2.
krater, v. bowl.
Kronos (Saturnus, q.v.), 2a3s; 5f7.1, h1.2; 11b; 5/95, 98; religion of, 10/4; as Anubis, 2a3, Deus aeternus, q.v., El-Kronos, q.v., Nemesis, 11/2; *noetos cosmos*, 7/12, in repose and activity, 5h1.2; 11e3.1.
kšans- (*chant-*), 6h2.2.
kšathrō, v. *šahr*, 6a3.2.
kšr, fit, 5j6.
kšvan- (=*khvan-*, *span-*), 5h3.4.
kši, burn, 6h10.
kunišn, accomplishment, v. progression, 4i5.1; 5f3.3.
Kuš (Hindu), World-mountain, v. Harburz, 5c; 6f2,3.1.
Kūš, brother of Az i Dahāk, q.v., 6f3.1.

ladder, symbol of grades of initiation, 2c5; 7g4; 9c4; 12d1; v. *klimaks*.
lamb, 12d.
lamp, v. candle, 4a; 5g5; 8a3.1s; 9a11, 12; 11b1; 6/59.
lavacrum, baptism, q.v.
lasso, 6c4.
law, v. *aša*, *dikē*.
left hand, toward *gētēh* genesis= Apogenesis, q.v., 11b3, d3.
leg-, v. *dik-*, 5c5.1.
Legio II Adjutrix, 6h9.2; IV Scythica, 6a; V Macedonica, 1f2; VI, 8a5.2; VII Gemina, 8a2; XI Flavia Firma, 6a.
Leo (Leōn), lion, s. membership.
leopard, 6h3.2.
Lethe, 5h1.
lie (*druj*), v. Ahriman.
libation, s. Ritus, 11d1.
life, as physical existence, 6h3.3, 5.5, 9.1, i3.1; 7b1, g3; 8a5.1, b3; 6/38; v. *ahu* s. man; future, 6i3.1; cycle of, 9a7s, c3.2, 4; 11b, d4; god of, 6h3.2; 12b1, c4; totality of, 5e2.4; 6c2.3; ruling principle of soul, 4/10; 12/1.
Life and Not-life, as bodily life and soul-life, 5h2.1.
light, v. Phōs, self-lighted, visible s. *xvarr*, 1e; 5f2.4, j2.4; 6f3; from moon generative, 5/87; of Kronos invisible, 7/12; as cosmic stuff, 4/9; motion of, 5e2.2.
lion, s. Principia vitae, 2b, 2, c3; 5f10; 6d2, h6.1; 7c4.1; 8a1.1, d4; 7/9; on an altar, 9a16.1; crushing an animal, 7g6; 8d4, 4.1; 9a14; in a cave, 2c1; 6d3.1; 9b5, c2; near a tree, 11e3; 12c2-3; with Mithra ephippos, 6c5, d1; in the place of a boar, 6c3; at the Trapeza Mithrou, 9b4, 8, 9; head of, 9a8.1; skin of, 6d1; as a horoscope, 8d4.1; as embodied fire or life, 4g3.1, i1; 8a5, c3, d3; 9a14, b4s, 8; 11e3; meaning of, 4g3.1; 8d3; 9a14, 16.2; cf 7/12.

lithos empsychos, v. *baetylos* (living stone), 6d3.2; 8a3.
liver (*iecor*), 11e2.
lizard, 2b3.
loaf (*artos*) of god, 9b12.
lobster, 11c2.
logia, 7h; 5/98; 7/11.
logistikon, 4g3; 4/9.
logos, v. *dik-*, 5c5.1; 4/9.
Logos, creative activity of *nous*, v. *vāxš*, voice, 5c5.1, f; 12b, 3, c, 4; essence of fate that penetrates the universe, an ethereal body and seed of *genesis*, 6/31; imparts understanding to the *psychē*, moves the body without words, 12/1; as animate fire, v. Theos ek petras, 6g2.1; 12b1; as animate mind, v. Theos ek dendrou, 12b2; 5/98; as Dei mundi, s. Deus mundi; as Stoic *physis*, 5/32; as wind, 5f; 4/10; as Wise Attis or Second Helios, 5/74; 7/12; of *daimones* is perceived only by holy men, 12/1.
loins, 11b4.
lordship, v. *ahu*, *pat-*.
love, cause of *genesis*, v. Eros, Pothos, Venus, 5f7.2, j2.2; 6g1.2s; 9a9,12.
lu- (*ru-*), v. *rav-*.
Luna, moon, q.v., s. planets.
lungs, v. *phrēn*, 6d1.1, g2.2.
lyre, 6h3; 11d1.

madness, 5c5.2.
Maenad, 6h3.2.
maēthan, mansion of Mithra, Sraoša, 5c; 6b1; h5.4; 10f2.
Magi, 2a2, b7.1; 5c2, h6; 6b3; 7f, g5; 9a14, c5.2; 4/8, 12.
magic, 5c5.2, e2.4, f1.3; 6b3; 7a3; 9a17; spell, v. Ahunvar, *māthra*, 5f9.3, h4.1; 6h2.1, 7; *caduceus*, q.v.; leaf or herb, 6/54; wand, v. staff; sign, 9/2.
magos, v. Magi, 6j2; 4/12.
Magousai, 5/86.
Māh, moon, q.v., 5h3.1; 9a12, c3.3; 5/74.
mainyu (*mano*, *mēnōk*), mind, self-motion, v. Ahriman, Spandarmat, *mēnōk*, 5c1.2; substance, 5c1.
mak'd- (*mah-*, *maz-*, *mag-*), 5h3.1.
male, as *noetos* and father, 4/8; and female from primeval tree, 5/98; v. sex, twins.
man, s. cosmic, generation of, 5f3s; 7b2; 10c3; 11a; 12a, 3c; 5/96, 98; five parts of, 4g1, 3; 4/11; v. each part: *fravahr*, Zoroastrian immortal first principle substituted for *mēnōk*; *advēnak*, structure, seed-form, specie; *ruvān*, fiery motion of the senses, perceptivity; *ǰān*, inspiration, knowledge, intelligence; *tan*, body as a covering of the other parts; Avestan equivalents, 4g1.3.
man-, 5c5.2, h4.
Manes, for Masdes, the Mighty One, equivalent of Mazda, the Wise, v. Māh
mang (*bang*), 5f9. 3.
manika, 5h3.1.
manly force, v. strength, *nar-*, 6d1.
mantle, robe, cloak, 2c, 4; 3gss; 5f6, j1.3; 6h9.1, i3.1; 8c3; 9a, 16s; 10b2;

11d1; 12c3; military, 5c3, j7; 9a3.1; 11d; over a rocky mound, 6h3, 6.3; wind-blown, 5j1; as sky with planets, 3g; 5a, h2.2, j7; 6i1.

Manu, 6j.

Marduk, 4g7, i5.1; 5c3; 7c4, f7.1.

marriage, 9a8.3, 18.1; 12c4; 5/74, 86.

Maruts, 6h4.1.

masks (*simulacra*), v. imitative ritual, *metempsychosis*, 9a10, 14, b8, 10, c5.1.

Mašyē and Mašyānē, primeval twins, 2a2; 4g1.3, i4; 5f7.1, 9.3, j2.4.

Mātarisvan, 6h4.1.

material world, v. First Body; pure and impure, 7/12; v. matter.

Māthra, magic, compelling, or divine Word, v. *vāxš*; 5c5.2; embodied in Sraoša, v. Srōš, 5e1; 6b1; as Spenta (Mahraspand), 5c5.2, h4; 6b1, h2.3.

mati, 5h4.

matter (*mātay*), 5f3; called refuse, 4g3; as *gētēh* part of *abzār*, or *kōt*, 5fss, 3s; 12b; as *xvēt* (moisture) or the four elements, 5f3s, 7, h3.3, j1; 11b6; as stone and cave, 8a1.4; 11c3, or tree-stuff, v. *hyle*; as vestment of souls, 7g3; 12a3, or body of Cautopates, 6h11.3; as substance of wealth, 11d; its darkness, 6h7.1, 10, and motion, 6c2.1; 12a1.

maz- (*mah-*), v. *mak'd-*.

meat, s. Elementa sacra, 4j3.1.

Mediator (Mesitēs, Mesotēs), v. Logos, *ravišn*; 5f10.1; 6h2.2; 7h; 12c4; 7/12; 12/1; as Daimōn, Fravahr, or Hero, 4/12.

Medusa, 2b6.

megara, pits of Demeter, 2b6.

Mehrkan, Mihrgan, 6i2; v. Mithrakana.

Melqart, 5a2.1.

membership (*cultores*, 9a10), 2c5; 3i; 4g3; Pt 7, g2, 4, 6; 9a3.1, 9, 10-18; 11e1; characterizations, functions: Antistes (Prosedens), 6b3; 9a10; 11b6; Antipater, 9a17.1; Cryfios, v. Nymphus, 9a10, 12; Consecrati, 6i; Continentes (v. Stereotēs), 9a8.3, 18s; Hypēretēs, assistant, v. Corvus, 9a17.1, b7,11; Liberator, 9a8.2; Magister, teacher, 6h10; 8a3.1; 12c2; Mimus, actor, 9a10; Mystagogus, guide in initiation rite, pt 1; 9a5, 7s, 8.4, 17.1; Petitor (Quaestor? Ratu), 6a, b3; Pontifex, v. Pater, 9a8.3, 18.1; Sacerdos (Hiereus), priest, 6h8, 10; 9a, 10-11, 17.1; Sacrati, 5e; 6h6.4; Sophistēs (Magister?), 9a18; Stereōtēs (Continens), ascetic, celibate, v. Heliodromus, 9a18; Virgines, v. Nymphus, 9a8.3, 18.1; Syndexios (Covenenter, q.v.), v. Junctio dextrarum s. Ritus, 1e; 6a, h6.4; 9a16.2, 18, c3.3; 12c4. Grades; q.v.; Corvus (Korax), raven, 2b7, c2; 4g3s; 9a18.1, b8, 10, 12, d1, as an assistant, 9a17.1, called holy, 4g3.1; 9a11. Nymphus (Nymphos), 4g3; 9a12, 18.1, as betrothed bride, 9a12, 18.1. Miles (Stratiōtēs), soldier, 4g3; 9a3.1, 8.3, 13, b5, 7; 10f1, called pure and devoted, 9a13, 18.1. Leo (Leōn), lion, 2b7; 4g3; 5e; 6h6.4; 7g6; 9a9.2, 10, 14, 18.1, b8, 10; 10f3; 12d1, called tame and gentle, 4g3.1; 9a14; 7/9. Perses, 2c2; 4g3; 5a2; 9a14, 15, called keeper of fruits, 8e; 9a14. Heliodromus, Sol as sky-charioteer, 4g3, h3; 5h6, 7; 6c5, h6.3, i3.1, 5.1; 7f2, g; 9a4s, 6(face 1), 13, 16s, 18.1s, b7-10, 12, c3.3, 4-5, as cosmic charioteer, 9b11, c1, 5; 11c, d1; 12c2-5, path of, 9a13, as Stereōtēs? 9a18. Pater, perhaps equivalent of Zoroastrian Ratu, s. Ahu, 2b7; 4g3, h3; 5f1.4; 6a, b3, h7s, 10.1, i4; 7g6; 8a3.1; 9a, 3.1, 8, 8.4, 9, 9.2, 11,12,

16s, 17; 11b6; 12c2-4, 6, d1; leonum, sacrorum, patratus (nomimos), 9a10, sanctus, 7g6; as bridegroom, q.v.; as Mithra pater, 9b11; 10f pt 12, c3. Pater patrum, perhaps equivalent to the Zoroastrian Ahu, q.v., 4g3.2; 9a17.1, 18.2. For rites v. Ritus, and Telete.
Mēn, v. Manes, 5h3.1; 9c4; 5/74.
mēnōk (*mainyu*, *mano*), immaterial self-moving mind, or energy, v. heat, motion, *nous*, opposed to *gētēh*, an invisible power, 4g1; 5f7.2, j2.1; 6j2; 7f3, a *dynamis autokinētos*, 4/8; creativity, v. *dahišn*, 4i5.1; 5f, 10; 11b3; 12a1-6, d1; elements, 6g1; 7a1, c4.2, fire, 5j2.1, 7f3; wind, 5f7.2, water, 5f3; sacrifice, 6h10; of cattle, 4g1, like *fravahr* of man, 4g2, 3; of the Amahraspands, q.v., 5h5; of word-power (*vāxš nērōk*), v. voice, 5c5, f, 3, like wind-motion, v. *vātomand*, 5f3; 11b3, 4, the essence of god or *logos*, q.v., 5f; 6a3.2, g1; 11b1, 4, d3, 4; of visibility power (*čihr nērōk*), v. Phōs, 5f; cause of beginnings (Genesis) and completions (Apogenesis), 5f; 6g1; 7f1; 8e; 12a, b1; as not-life or being, q.v., 5f7.2, h2.1; 8b3, in time-activity, 6g1; the Expander (Spenta), 5h2, j1, or growth-imparting *ruvān*, 4/11; the soul in the process of becoming and passing away, 7g1; 8b3, v. *psychē*.
Mensa, communion table, s. Trapeza Mithrou, 9b11.
Menzana, 6i2.1.
Mercurius, Mercury or Hermes (q.v.), s. planets.
Mercurius invictus, v. Theos bouklopos, 5a1; 6h2s; 11bs.
Mesites, Mesotēs, v. Mediator.
Messapian Zeus, 6i2.1.
metempsychosis, transmigration of soul, v. incarnation, 2b7, c5, 6d1, f; 7g2; 9a8.1, c3.2; 12b3.
Mihrgan, 6i2.
Miles, s. membership, cf. *artēštar*, 9a5.1.
milk, 4i4.
mind, v. *mēnōk*, *nous*, *phrēn*, 4g2.3, 3.3; 5h5, 6, j2.4, 7.2; 12c1, 2.
Mithra (Mithras, Mitra, Mythra, etc), *mēnōk* of fire and life, 1e; 12c2, 4; lord of wide cattle land, 5h3.1-2; 6a3.1; his soul a guarantee of Religion, 5e2.1; 6b. As bouklopos, cattle thief, v. Theos bouklopos, 1e; 4i6; 6c2.3; 7b1, 3, f1; 12d; demiourgos, q.v. and creator, pt 1; ephippos, 5h8 6a, c2, d3; 11e2; 12c5, cult of, 6a2, c1, meaning of, 6c; 7g6; invictus, unconquered, v. *Verethraghnem*, 6a2s, c, f, hs, 2, 7.1, 9s, 10.2, 11, 11.3, i1.1; pt 7, c3, g5, 6; 9b7, c4; 12c5 ,mounted on a bull, 6i5; 7b, c5, d, 1, f1; g5, standing on a bull, 6d3.1, i5.1; pt 7; on horseback, v. ephippos, 6i5; 7b, c3, g5, 6; 9b7, c4; 12c5, as Mercurius invictus, q.v.; Helios, the sun, 4g4; 6hs, 4, i2.1; 7d; 8a3.1; 9a17; 12c3, 7/12, rising, 6h10, setting, 6h10.1; kosmokrator, q.v., world-ruler, v. *šahr*, pt 1; 6c5, d3; 8a3.2; 11e2; month, q.v., at autumn equinox, 2d3; 4j3.2; 6i3; Mesitēs, mediator, q.v., between the two worlds, or Second Mind, v. *nous*, Logos, 6h2.2; 7h; Pater, s. membership, pt 1, e; 5f5; 9a16.2; 12c2, 4, 6, d1, 9/3; as bridegroom, 9a18.1, and lord of cosmic chariot, 9cs; tauroctonos, bull slayer, 4i6; 6c2.3; 7c5, g5,6; 9a8, position in Mithraeum, 9a8.5, 16.2, meaning of, 5j1.3; 7b2; gss; 11d4; 12e2; taurophoros, v. Transitus divus, 6h7.1; 7b, c7; 8a1.1; 12d.
Mithraeum, a cosmic cave, pt 1; 4d; 5f5.2; a divine house, pt 12; having

orientation, 4d2, e, i1-4, according to Porphyrius, 4f; stations for the torchbearers, q.v., 3i; 4i5.1, and a symbolic ritual circuit, s. Telete, 9a7s. For particular M., v. Ind. 4.
Mithrakana, 6i2s.
Mithrem, compact of friendship, s. Covenanter, 6/68.
Mithro, angel at Činvat Bridge, 6/7.
Mitraphata, 6i4.
Moira, v. s. fate, 12/1.
moisture (*xvēt*, q.v.), v. *anathūmiasis*, breath, clouds, vapor, s. water.
monad, unity, principle of dyad and multiplicity, 5f10.1; 5/87; 7/11, 12; joins Life to Motion, 12/1.
month, days of, 5h1.2; 5/68, 74; 11/3.
moon, v. Luna s. planets; of powers androgynous, 5/87, kingly, 5h3.1, and trimorphic, 12/2; people of the m., 5/95; called Manes=Mēn, 5h3.1, and Isis, 4/13; 5/87.
morphē, shape, form, 4g1; v. dynamism.
mōt (Mōt, Mouth), self-generated heat, v. *kōt*, or cause of fermentation, 5h3.3, j2.1, 5; 8a1.4.
Mother of the Gods, 5/74; 7/12.
motion, v. *ravišn*, 5h5, 6; 6c2.2, h10; 11b4; as intermediate causation, 4g3; 5f10.1; of anger, 4g3; 6d1.1; of the cosmos, 5e2.2, initiated by Ahriman, 5f9.3, h2.1, j5; 8a 3.1; 11b4; 12a1; of courage, 6d1. 1; of desire or love, v. Pothos, 4g3; 6g1; of fire, 4g3; 5h2.1; 7f1; 8a3.1,4; of generation, 5f3, h8, 8.1; j2; 6a3, c2.1s, ds, e, f1, h6.3, 8, i3.1; 7c3, e1, f3, g3; 8a5.2, c3; 11b4, c3; of light, 5e2.2; of religion, 5f, 5.1; 7f3; of the soul, 9a18.2; 11b6; of thought, v. Logos, *mēnōk*, 4g3.
mound of rocks, s. cloud, 6h11.3; 7c1.
mountain, as the material world, v. cave, Harburz, *āsmān*, 4i2; 5cs, f1s, 8, h7; 6a3.2, b4.1, d3, f4, h6.3, 11.1, i1; 7c1, 4.1; 8a3.2, 5; 9c2; 10a2; 7/4; also "of the north", v. Kassion, 5j6s.
mouth, 11b1, 4.
mud, v. dough, *ilun*, 5j2; 8a1.4; 5/95.
Mummu, 5f6.1, the *noetos cosmos*, 5/51.
mundus, originally an underground vault having a world-column or post, q.v., 3c; also represented by a Janus headed *drakōn* devouring its tail, 2b9.1; 5/87; v. cosmos, circle.
Mundus redivivus, salvation of the world completed by Mithra invictus, q.v.s. Mithra, 12c5, d; s. Natura viri.
mural crown, 9a16.1.
music of the spheres, 10/3; 12/1, cf 5/98.
mystai of Zeus, 6i3.
mystēs of Mithra pater, 1e; v. Telete.
mysticism and mystery religion, 12e1.

Naas, Ophite serpent, 2/4.
nail in the middle of the sky, Pole star, 4i4.
naire ham-vareitiš, manly valor, 6b.
Nairyō Sangha, v. Neryōsang.
naked, s. Telete; Apollo, 11d1; Deus genitor, 12a6; Deus saxigenus, 8a2, 4;

Mithra tauroctonos, 2b; a torchbearer, 2b; cf 8c4; the *mystēs*, 9a, 6, 9.2, 16.1, 18.2, c5.1; 12c3.

names of Phrygians, 6h9.2a.

Namni (Nammu), 5j7.2.

Nanna, 4g6.

Napāt Apām, v. Ahura.

nar-, man, hero, 6h2.2; 6/35.

narthex, "container of *nar* (vital juice)", a reed or wand, 9a4.1.

Nasātya, Twins, 5f10.

natura, vital force and principle of life, v. *physis*, more specifically, physical birth as a process, and all physical existence.

Natura dei, the *natura* of divinity, s. Natura mundi, Principia mundi; monuments of, 2a1; 3h, j; 5j7.2; 6c2.1, h3.1, 6.1, 11.2; 7g4; 8a, 2s, 5; 9b5; 11b6, c1, d, e, 1, 3; 12b1; their position, 9a8, 9, 16.2, b5; 11d4; with a lion, 8d4, a ram, 8a5; within the zodiac, pt 4, b2; 5c1, 8a1.4; represented by a Baetylion, q.v., 8a3s; a Deus saxigenus, the rock-born god (=Theos ek petras), 4i6; 6f2, h11.2; 7a3, c4; 8a1s, 4, 5.2, e; 9a3.1, b5, 9; 10f5; 11c3; 12a6, c3; a Petra genetrix, q.v., 2b1; 3h2; 4i6; 6e, h11.1; 7a3; 8a2; 9a8.3, having a *numen*, 11c3; a Theos ek dendrou, v. *nous hylikos*, 11e3; or a Theos ek petras (= Deus saxigenus), 4i6; 8a1; 11e3; 12b1, 4.

Natura mundi (*mēnōk dahišn*, q.v.), first motion or principle of life and order in the cosmos, q.v.; as a primeval Lordship of life, 5f7.2, j4, v. *ahu*, *aiōn*, arising out of original matter, q.v., 12a1, from which came a living world of sky and time, q.v., as *Āsmān* and *zamān*, 12a2, or as Ahura and Zurvān, 5c3, f9s; 6h10, v. Principia mundi; a cyclic progression, q.v., of life, q.v., through becoming, q.v., and passing away, q.v., 12a3, cf 7g3; 4/44; a ruling intelligence, 12a4, v. Logos, of sovereign power, v. *šahr*, which was coeval with the motion of becoming or creativity, 6d, cf 5f; 6h11.2, that established world order, 12a5, v. *aša*, coeval with the motion of fire (light) and religion, 5e2.2, v. Artvahišt, *dēn*; and a fashioning of finite beings, 12a6, v. knife, through separations of life-engendering matter, v. bull of heaven and Petra genetrix, by a Deus genitor, q.v., or Mithra tauroctonos, 5j1.3; 7h; 11d4; 12e2, which culminated in man, q.v., as divinity incarnate, 7e, cf 2b7; 8b2s, v. Transitus divus and Deus saxigenus, s. Natura dei.

Natura viri (*gētēh dahišn*, q.v.), emergence of perfected man in the material world; as a descent of the soul, q.v., 7g3, by a Transitus divus, q.v., 10e, through Mithra tauroctonos and taurophoros, 7e, 1, into the cave, q.v., of the world which is the source of Aqua vitae, q.v., 12b4, and Corpus vitale, q.v., 7c3, 5; as a divine potency (v. *nous*, *mēnōk*) incarnate like the Taurus vitalis, 12c1, that must be tamed as in a lion, 9a14, or full grown youth, q.v.; as a rulership of solar mind, v. *xvar*, and religion, v. *dēn*, 5f5s, over man and the material world, 12c2, cf 9a16s, v. Leo and Heliodromus s. membership; as an individual acquisition of solar power by the rites of religion, 12c3, v. Consecratio and Telete, in agreement with Mithra Sol Invictus, 12c4, the essence of the sun in the material world, 6h10.1, or the Logos of god, 12b; to perfect the world as a Deus invictus, 6hss, for the final victory of Mithra invictus, 12c5; and establish

a society of perfected men in communion with Mithra Pater, 12c6, cf 7gss.
Navarzes, a name for Mithra invictus, 6h9s; 6/56.
neikos, or *stasis*, strife, separation, a causation principle of Empedocles, 5/87; 6/38.
Nemean lion, 6i1.
nemesis, Nemesis, 4g5; 5a2.1; 9c5.1; 11/2; 12/3.
Nephthys, Egyptian Venus, 2a3.
Neptune, v. Poseidon, Oceanus, 3/6.
nērōk, power, virile force, 5c5, f.
Neryōsang (Nairō Sangha), 6b, 1.1, h2.1, 2.2, 7.
Nestis, 5/53.
neusis, inclination of soul to birth, 6g2.1.
Nike (Victoria), 5h7; 8a5.1; 12e2.
nimbus, 5g, h7; 6d, 1.1, g5; blue, 2a3.1; 6h8; 9a4, b6, and/or radiate, 9a16, b6-10; as a half sphere, 12a1.2; cf 11b1, c.
niptron, 9a14.
Nisaean horses, 5h6.
noetic, intellective, cave, 4d1; 12c2; cosmos, 5/51; 7/12; v. *nous*.
nōk (?), separation (?), 5f1.
north, for Ahriman, 4i4; 11e3; gate of birth, 4f; v. orientation.
nous, mind, intelligence, v. mind; of the cosmos, 4/8; of solar essence, 10/4; of Socrates, 12/1. The First, 7h; 7/11; 10/4; 12/1; as First God, male and monad, 5/87; as first cause, 4/8; as motion rather than intellect or reason, 4/9; 5/32; v. mēnōk; The Second, 7h; 12c4, v. Logos; joins Motion to Genesis, 12/1; intermediate between Unity and Physis, 12/1; cf 7/12; most ruling principle, 5h1.2.
Nous hylikos, material or incarnate mind, s. Arbor vitae; 11e2.
numen, v. *daimōn*, *fravahr*, *xvarr*, 2b2; 4g2; 6h1.2; 11c3.
nymph (=*naiad*) of flowing water, 7b1, c6; 8d5; as a bee, 7b1; as a bride, 9a18.1; 7/12; as soul attracted to water, 7b1, c6; 10f4.
Nymphos, s. membership; cf 6/68.

obedience, v. hearing, Srōš, 6b1.
oblisk, for fire, 9a16.2; 8/7.
ocean, v. *kaša*, Oceanus, 3h; 7d; of the sky, 4i5.2; 7a2; of lunar power, 9c3.3; as a world sea, 5c2, f9.2, j4; 8a3.2; 9c2; swift flowing, 6f1; both *mēnōk* and *gētēh*, 11b; origin of, 5j1.3.
Oceanus, 2bs; 5f7, h3.2; 6f1; 9c2; 10a2; 11/2; as Ahura Napāt Apām, 10a2; as cosmic substance more than cosmic motion, 9a18.2; 11b; 7/12.
October-horse, 6i2.3.
Odysseus, 9a18.2; 11e2.
Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazda), Mighty or Wise Lord, v. Oromasdes; compact with king, 5b2; 6c, with Ahriman, 12a4; as father and mother, 5h5; day of, v. calendar; Dēn of, 5e2.1s, f1.4; fires of, 5f1, j6; *fravahr* of, 4g1s; garment of, 5c1; origin of, 5h3ss, v. *mak'd-*; powers of, 6b, d, h10.1, 11; 10f3; solar eye of, 5c4; substance of, 5f3.2; 10f3; symbol of, 5b1; Word of, 5c5.2, f5.1, h2.
Olympian gods, cult of, pt 1.

Olympos, 5c; 7/4.
ōmophagos, 9c5.1.
Ophion, 2b8.
Ophite sect, 2/4.
order, cosmic law, intelligence, v. *aša*, s. fire.
orientation, of the Mithraeum, 4d-i5; of the cosmos, 4/14; of the zodiac, 4c; 5i6s, and seasons, 5i7s; of Genesis and Apogenesis, 4fs; 11b3, d2-3; of Telete rites, 9a7s.
Orion, 4i5.2; 4/7.
Oromasdes, v. Ohrmazd; inscription, 6g2.2; puts Dog star over all stars, 6/33; as sky globe thrice enlarged, 5/104; as threefold King of All, q.v., 7h; as Zeus Hypsistos, q.v., or Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 6h6.3; 11d1, 4; chariot of, 5h6; creatures of, 2a2; statues of, 2d3; 11d4; thrones of, 9c5.
Orpheus, 4/12; v. Orphic s. philosophy.
Osiris, v. Isis, 4/13; 5/87, 98.
Ošnar, Ostanes, 2b8; 5f2.2; 6b3, f3.1.
other-worldly, 7g1; 12d1; v. Orphic, Neoplatonic, Pythagorean s. philosophy.
our-, lofty, 7/4.
Ouranos (Uranus), v. sky; 5j; 6d3.2; 7/4; 10/4; s. Principia mundi.
ousia (*essentia*), first substance of things, 7h; 4/8; 6/31; determines *logos* and fate of universe, like seed in generation, and of stars a fashioning fire, 6/31.
Ousōos (Chusor), v. Chrysor; like Hephaistos, 5j4-6; 6b4.1.
ox, v. Bull of Heaven; wild, 6c4; 7/4.
Oxhorn tree (*gaokerena*), s. tree, 5f1.5.

padak, lordship, region, 5c1, 5.1, j7.
Pandora, 5h4.1.
paradhāta kings, 5f2.
paradise (*pairidaēza*), 5f9.2.
Parendi, 6b.
parōdars, s. bird, 2c6; 6h10.
parthenos, 9/2.
Pasiphae, 4g6.
passage, v. Transitus.
passing away, v. *phthora*, *apogenesis*; following birth, q.v., or youth, q.v.
pat- (*bat-*, *pad-*), *paiti*, lord,4g5.
Pater, s. membership, Mithra.
patmān, agreement, v. *mithrem*, 5e2; 12a4.
pedum, v. shepherd's crook.
Pegasus, 3f2; 4i5.2; 5/100.
Pentacost, 6h5.3.
Peratae, Gnostic sect, 5/95.
perceptivity, v. *aisthēsis*, Nous hylikos, *ruvān*, 11b4, e2; 12b2, 4, c2; 4/9; 7/12.
Persephone, 2b6, c6; 10/4; 12/1.
Persian gods, as *demiourgoi*, 2b7, and *logoi*, 5f; without sex, 5/87.
Pēšyotan, Pēšdādyan (Paradhāta) kings, 5f2, 2.3.
Petra genetrix, Life-producing rock, s. Natura dei, v. *lithos empsychos*.

Phaethon, 5h7.
phantasia, 4g3.
phengos, flame, 6h4.
philia, combining principle of Empedocles, 4/8; 5/87; v. Pothos.
phenomenal world, v. *čihr*, *gētēh*.
philosophy (incl. cosmology and theology), v. Index of authors.
  Aristotelian, 4g3.3; 5e2.2; 6g2.1; 9a10; 4/9.
  Indo-Iranian, 5b1, c, 2-4, 5.1, d, e2s, fs, 3.3; 6g2.1; 7h; and *passim*.
  Neoplatonic, pt 1; 4g3s, i3; 7g2-6; 9a16.2, 18.2, c3.2; 12e; 10/4.
  Orphic, 2b7.1; 7g3, cosmogony, 5j1.3, formula, 12c3.
  Platonic, pt 1; 2b9.2; 4g3.1; 5h3.3; 6d1.1, g2.1; 7g4s, h; 9a10; 10f5.
  Pythagorean, 2b7.1; 4i3; 6g2.1; 7g2; 9c3.2; 4/12.
  Stoic, 3h2; 4g1s; 5h6; 6g2.1; 7h.
  Zoroastrian (versus Mithraic), 1e; 2a4, b5, 7, 7.1; 4g1.2, 2, i4, j3.1; 5c5.1; e2.2, f, 3.2, 7, 9.3, hs, 2.1s, 3.3, 3.4; 6b1.2s, e, f, g2, h8, 10s; 7b2, f1, 4, g2, 3; and *passim*.
Phōs, Light, q.v., 5j4; 12b, 3; v. Čista, s. Principia mundi.
Phosphoros, 12b3; 5/74.
phrēn (*phrenes*), organ of perceptivity, q.v., 6d1.1, g2.2; 11b1; 4/9; 6/30.
phronēsis, innate intelligence, v. *nous hylikos*, 4g3; 6g2.1s; 9a18.2; 11d, e2; 10/4.
phthora, decay of life, v. *apogenesis* s. *genesis*, 5/43, 53, 66; 10/4; long preceded *genesis*, 5/96, cf *sēpsis*, fermentation.
phūsa, breath, 4/8.
physis (*natura*), principle of growth, v. *natura*, *spenta*, both divine and mortal, 5/66, cf 5/21; having three parts, 4/8, cf 5/32; as a First cause, 5/21; 12/3, without *logos*, 5/32; a fashioning fire, of starry essence, 6/31; as a substance belongs to Jupiter, 4g3s, but as *psychē* and energy belongs to Luna, 4g3s, 4; 6h6.3; 8e; is androgynous, 4/8; 5/87, and moist, 6/17; joins Genesis to Decay in lunar region, 12/1; incomprehensible, 11e3.1.
phytikon, causing growth, of Luna, 4g3.
pius, dutiful, of the Miles, s. membership.
pillar of cloud, fire, 10e1; cf 8a3.1.
pīlos, felt cap with a pointed crown, symbol of sky, 9c5.1, 5/34, 97, 100.
pine cone, s. cone.
pitcher, 5a2; 9b9; v. cup.
planets, including sun and moon, 2b7.1; 4h3; 5as, d; 7g5; 8a3.2, b3, e; 9c4; 11b1, 5, d4, e1; 12a5, d1; 10/4; on the Mithraic cave, 5d; 6d; 10f; within the cave, 5d1; 11d4; on the benches of the Mithraeum, 9a9s; on Mithra's mantle, q.v., and lion horoscope, 8d4.1; on a sphere, 3h; 11b4; related to signs of the zodiac, 4h3, to opposite vital powers, 4h3, to the grades of membership, 2b7.1; 4g3; 12d1; their order in Iranian astronomy, 5c, d; 4/30; 5/17; 10/3; their formation, 5/96; of fashioning fire and intelligent, 6/31; rotated by Mithra, 5c; as islands in the sea, 11c1.1; 12/1.
  Sol (Xvar, Helios), substance of heat and perceptivity, 4g3; 7g5; 10f6; 11d2; 12a, d1; symbolized by a bust, 2b2; 3g; 5g; 6c4, h1; 8a3.2; 11c, 2, of full figure, 9c4; by a chariot (quadriga), 5d1, g6, h6; 6c1, h6.3; 9a7.2; 12b2; sphere (disk), 5g4; 7d, f2; 8c4; 8/7; star, 5a1; torch,

v. Heliodromus; whip, 5g6; 6h11.2, 13.1s, 5.1; 9a16s; 10f; having one long ray, 2c; 3g; 5a1, e, f6; pt 6, b4, c, h6.1, 6.4; 12c2; in nimbus, 5g, 1, h7; looks upward, 3e; 5g; placed at equinox or solstice, 4as, h; 9a17; in reversed position with Luna, 5g4s; omitted, pt 6; removed, 6a1; invisible, 6h10.2; 8a3.1; 11c; rising (*oriens*), 6h10, 10.2; unconquered (*invictus*), 6h10.1, 11.3, i3; 8a3.1; 12c2, d; dedicated to the Torchbearers, 6h11.3; gate of immortals, 4g4; 9a9.2, 16.2, c3.2; 12d1; called a bull, 2b7; 6h5.2, companion of Mithra, 6is, eye of Mitra-Varuna and Ahura Mazda, 5c4, and of Jupiter, 5/25, face of *ṛta-aša*, q.v., 5c4, lord of the sky, 5j4; 6g3, h; 7h, Mithra, 6i2.1, swift-horsed, 5h2.2; 6a3.2, c, and shining (*khšaēta*), 4g1.1, v. Yima; origin, 5j2; path, 11b2; sacrifices to, 6i2s; source of *nous* (intelligible soul), *ruvān* (perceptive soul), *šahr* (rulership) and *xvarr* (spirit or fortune), q.v.; the protector of Heliodromus, s. membership, 9a16.

Luna (Māh, Selēnē), visible cause of growth, v. *physis*, 4g3, 6; 7c3, g5; 9a3.1; 10f6; 12a, c1, d1; symbolized by a bust, 2b2; 3g; 5a1; 6c4; 7b1, g4; 8a1.1s, e; 9c4; 10a2, f6; 11c, 2, d3, e, looking away from dying bull, 3e, having bull's horns, 5g, 3; 6h11; 12b3; 4/13, in a nimbus, 5g, sphere, 5a2.2, g2; 7d, f2, g4; 7b6; 8/7; by a chariot (*biga*), 5d1, g6s; 6h6.3; 9a7.2s, 8.1, b5; 12b3, c2, whose bulls descend into the earth, 12b3; by a crescent, 1b2; 3h2; 5a2.1s, g; 6c3; 8a1, 1.4, 3.1; 9a3.1, b6; 11b4, star in crescent, 5a2s, g4; 8a3.1; 9a15; 8/7; in reversed position with Sol, 5g5; 6c2.3; having a quiver, 7c4.2, torch, 10f, or whip, 6h11; symbol omitted, pt 6, removed, 6a1; represented as a bull's boat, v. Scapha lunata, and as a bull, 7a2; 12b3, c1; as the gate of birth, 4g4; 7g3; 8a1.2; 9a9,9.2, c3.2; called bull-manifestation (*gaočihr*), 4g1.1, h1; 5f9.3; 7b1, c5; 9a8.1, 15, androgynous, 5/87; 10/4, or male, 9a12, the eye of Horus-Apollo, 5/32, mediator of *psychē*, 7/11; 12/1, and source of *psychē*, 10/3; equated with Isis, 4/13, or Venus, 4g6; her color, 3g3, origin, 5j2, mixed powers, 12/1; ancient gods of, 5h3.1; 9a12, c3.3; the cause or *mēnōk* of *physis*, 4g3, associated with Deus saxigenus, 8a1.2; 9b5, and Trapeza Mithrou, 7g4; 9b5-6; presides over, or protects, the Perses grade, s. membership, 2c2; 4g3.1; 9a15.

Mars (Verethraghna-Artagnes, Ares, Herakles), substance of lusty, 11e3.1, or courageous soul, v. *thūmos*, *fravahr*, 4g3; 9a13; 10f1; 11d4; symbolized by a dagger-sword instead of spear, 4g7; 5a1; 8d4.1; 9a9.1, c4; protects the Miles, s. membership, 9a13; v. warriorhood.

Mercurius (Tīr, Apollo, Helios, Mithra), moving cause of mental imagery and understanding, v. *ruvān*, 4g3, 3.1; 5a1; 6h2; 8d4.1; 11b2; unconquered god, 6h2s, of magic power, 6h2.1, 7; 9a3.2, v. *caduceus*, and wealth, 10f4; as Cattle thief and Psychopompos, v. Hermes, 2a2.1, b6; 8b3; 9a9, c3.3; protector of the Corvus grade, s. membership, 2c2; 4g3s; 9a11, c3.2; 10f2.

Jupiter (Ohrmazd, Zeus-Oromasdes), substance of *physis*, vital power and activity, 4g3s; 5a1; 8d4.1; 9a9s; 10f3; 11b; as Ratu, 12a4; protector of Leo, s. membership, 9a14.

Venus (Anāhita, Artemis-Aphrodite), substance of generative water and motion of desire for birth, v. Fons perennis, 4i2; 9a9.1, c4; 10f4; over the seed-form (*advēnak-urvan*) of life, 4g3s; 12a; 4/17; akin to Luna as cause of growth, 9a9.2; protector of the Nymphos, s. membership, 9a12.

Saturnus (Kēvān, Kronos), substance of *logos*, *gnōsis*, rational power, 4g3s, 12; 9a9.2; 10f5; 11b; over region of winter sun and moisture, 4h3, i2; 11c3, called Mithras Helios, 4g4, and Nemesis, 11/2; as Ahu, 12a1, 4, Lord of *jān* and *dēn*, breath and wisdom of life, 4g3; protector of the Pater, s. membership, 4i3; 9a17, c3.2; 10f5; 11b6; pt 12, d1.

plants (*urvar*), v. Arbor vitae, foliage, 4g1.3; 5j3; 6a3.1, h4.2, 5s; juice of, v. *hōm*, 6h4.1; 9b12; Amurdāt, Mēnōk of, q.v.; the androgynous rhubarb, first *gētēh* form of mankind, 5j2.4; 5/98; as gods of life, 5j3.

plēroma, 3/6.

plow, symbol of Perses, 9a15.

Pluto, 2/5; v. Hades.

pneuma, Pneuma, moving air, 5f6.1, j2; 4/9; 6/30, or the lungs, 4/8; life-giving breath-soul, 4f; 5f3, j5; 6g1, 2.1s; 7a1, c3s; 9a8.3, 17; 11e3; 12b3; a divine or holy power, v. Vayu, 5j, h5.3, 6.4, 7; 7c6; 11b2; 12a1-2; as being, causation, 6/31, and life, 12c4; represented as a serpent, 2b8; 4j3.2, 8a1, d3, v. snake.

pneumatikotaton, characteristic of the snake, 2b8.

Pole star, 4i4.

polos, 6d, v. *calathus*.

polychroniotaton, characteristic of the snake, 2b8.

Polydeukes (Pollux), 5j7.2; 9a16.3.

pomegranate, 5f1.5.

poppy, symbol of fertility and city, 12/2.

Poseidon (Neptune), 4g6; 5h3.2, 6; 6f1, i2; 9c3.3.

Posis, drinking the Aqua vitae, 7c6; 10c1s, 3, d2, e1; 12b4.

post, pillar, for world-column, 5f10; 6d3, i3.1; 9c3.1, 5.2; 10e1; set up to wind and fire, 5j5; as a pedestal, 5h4.1; 6h9.1; 8d6, v. cone, prism.

potis, 4g5.

Potnia thērōn, 9c5.1.

Pothos, thirst for Aqua vitae and physical birth, 5f7.2, h1, j2; 6g2.1; 7c3ss; 8a1, d3, 5; 9a9.1, 12, c3.3, 4; 10b1, 2, c2, 3, f4; 11b3, e2; 12b4; 4/13; v. Eros, 7e1; 12a, Isis, 4/13; Venus s. planets.

pragmata, active parts or elements, 4/8.

Principia mundi, produced by self-motion of cosmic stuff, v. Natura mundi; as rational being, v. Logos, to control progression, q.v., and order, v. *aša*, in the material world, v. Principia viri, of Genesis and Apogenesis, q.v.; as Ignis vitalis, q.v., and Phōs, q.v.; as Nous hylikos, q.v., and Logos, q.v. As gods of sky and time, 11cs, Deus and Dei mundi, 11ds; as Demiourgos, 11a, Deus aeternus, 11bss, or Arimanius, 11b6; or as Deus genitor and invictus, q.v., 12a6.

Principia vitae, represented by a bowl, snake and lion, 9c5.1, often placed beneath the bull, 4i1; 8d-d6; 9a3.1, 9.2, b4s, 9; 11b4, c2, d4; the bowl, q.v., as Aqua vitae, q.v.; the snake, q.v., as *pneuma*, and the lion, q.v., as fullest physical life, v. Corpus vitale, youth.

principium ignis, 4i1.

Principium naturae, as primary substance of physical life, 10c3.

prism, as a pedestal, 6h9; 8a3.1; 11b6.

progression, v. *kunišn*, *ravišn*; of creation, 7f3; 12d1, Genesis, 5f10s; 6/59, Wisdom and Time, 5f3.3, h7; in three stages, 5fs, h3.3; 6f3, h6.3; 7c4.2; 12a3, d, especially by separation, q.v.; of the seasons, 4i3, sun, moon, or stars, 5h; 11b2; 12d1; of the Initiation rites, s. Telete.

Prometheus, 5h4; 9a4.1.

Protogonos, 5j4; 6h1.1.

psychē (*ǰān*, *anima*), soul as fire in moist breath or vapor, v. *pneuma*, 2b9.1; 4f2s, g1ss, 4; 5f7.2; 6g2.1; 7b1, c5s; 4/9, v. soul; as *daimōn* and hero, 4/12; with butterfly wings, 8b3; parts of, 4/9, 10; 6/30; substance of, 4/10, from water, 5/53; attracted to water, 5f6.1; 6g2.1, v. Pothos; visible in vapor, 6g2.1; 4/9; of starry essence, 4/8, a fashioning fire in living bodies, 6/31; 10/4; produced by *nous* and the moon, 10/4; joined with *nous*, 7/11; same as *nous*, 5/95; an *archē*, 5f7; 6g2.1; a living image of life, 5h1, v. *advēnak*; selfmoving, 5/53, or compelled by words, 12/1; drawn upward by spring sun, 7/12.

Psyche, 8b3; of the cosmos, 5h6; 7h; 11e3.1.

psychology, 11b1, e2; 4/9-10.

Psychopompos, Guide of souls, 6b1.1, 1.3, h2.3; 9/3; v. Transitus divus.

Ptah, Egyptian Hepahistos, 5/67, 100.

Purgatio, by blow on head with a bull's shank, s. Telete, 9a3; cf 12/1.

purity, characteristic of the Miles, s. membership.

Puruša, 4g1.3; 6j.

pyramid, symbol of fire, 8a3.1; 8/7.

pyrodēs, fiery, characteristic of the snake, 2b8, cf 6d3.

python, 9c2.

quadriga, v. chariot.

rabbit, 6c2.

radish, 9b12.

Raēvant, mountain of peasant fires, 5h2.2.

rain, s. bowl, water.

rājan (*rēx*), 5c5.1.

rajas, moist air as passionate soul, 5j1.2.

ram, v. goat, Aries s. zodiac; 3f1.2; 5f9; 6h3, i2.3; 8c3; meaning of, 8a5; head of, 9a16.2.

Rām (Rāma Hvastra), pleasing, erotic wind, v. Boreas, 4g1; 5j1.1; 4/10; 6/8.

Rapithwin, 6h10.

Ras, cosmic wheel, q.v., 5f4, 9s, 10, and sound, 5f2.3; source of Genesis, 5f1, 3, j1; related to *aša*, 5e1, h3.4; 6h5.1; cf 4i5.1, and Rašn, 6b1.3.

Rašn (Rašnus), companion of Mithra, as a Ratu, 6a3, b1.3, h10.1; related to Čista, 5e1; clothed with the *āsmān*, 5c1; as energy more than substance, 6b4.1; 6/6.

Raspi (Rathwiskar), priest associated with Srōš, 5f1.4; 6h10.1.

rational power, v. Logos, Nous hylikos.

Ratu, Judge and Orderer, rational-ruling power derived from the Ahu, q.v., 6b3-4; s. Natura mundi.

rav- (*ru-*, *lu-*), strike apart, cause to move, in *ravišn*, q.v., 5e2.3, f2.3s, 5.1, 6.1.

raven (*vāregan*, *korax*, *corvus*), or crow, as Verethraghna, q.v., the destroyer of drought or drought demon, 2b4, cs; 5f10; 6d3; 7e1; 8a3.2, b2; 9a11, b9, c4; corresponds to hawk, 2b9.1; black, 3g3; 5f6; sits on face of cave or Mithra's mantle, 2c, on bull's tail, 3f1.1, or tree, 11e2; holds edge of mantle or leaf in bill, 5f6; 6h9.1; pecks at bull's flesh, 9a16.2; a sky messenger, 9a8; 10f2; 11e2; 12a4, b, c4; the invisible word, v. voice, 5c4, f6; 6g; 7e1; 9b9, c4; 12b3, c2, e2; voice imitated in the rites, 9a8.2; waits eagerly for dawn, v. Varhrān, 5h3.3; flies forth from rising sun, 2c; a bearer of *xvarr*, q.v., 6h5.3.

ravišn, v. *rav-*, the second stage in the generation of life, as a separation of the elements, the first stage being the selfmotion of warm moisture, v. *bavišn*, and the third being a combining of the elements, v. *ēstišn*, 4i5.1; 5f3s; 10, j4; 12a3.

razista, most in accord with *aša* or the *ras*, characteristic of Rašn and Čista, 5e1; 6a3, 3.2, b1.1, 1.3.

rebirth, v. Telete, 7g1, 12c, 3.

reed, 9a2, or *narthēx*, 9a4.1.

regeneration, v. *metempsychosis*, s. Telete.

religion, creative wisdom and its revelation, v. *dēn*, 5e2s; 7g2; ordering words of, 5f5.1.

resurrection, v. ritual birth s. Telete, 6i3; 9a8.8.3.

revelation, v. Čista, *dēn*, 5e2s, f5.2; 6b1.

rēx, *rix*, king, 5c5.1.

rhabdos, v. staff.

Rhea, as matter, 5/32, 98.

rhubarb, an androgynous plant q.v., 5j2.4; 9b12.

rhyton, v. bull's horn, 6b3; 9b8s.

right hand, 11b3, d2; of cosmos, 4/15; of god, 6/59.

ring, 6j; 7c4.2.

rišis, 4g2.

rites, Persian and Semitic, 4j3.1.

Ritus, rite, ceremony, v. imitative ritual, pt 1; 7g1, 6; 9a10, 17.1, 18.1; 12c3, 4, e1; at stations in the Mithraeum, 9a8; at the Trapeza Mithrou, q.v.; with a bull's shank, 9a13, or flesh, 9a16.2; candle light, 9a8.5; crown, v. Heliodromus s. membership; cup, 9a16.1; 11d; elementa sacra, q.v.; hand, v. Devotio s. Telete; honey, 9a14; a reed, v. Infusio s. Telete; sword, v. Miles s. membership; torch, 9a13; water, v. baptism; v. Covenanter.

robe, v. mantle.

rock, v. clouds, sky; symbol of rigid matter, 4d1; as first *ousia*, 11e3.1.

rock-born, Deus saxigenus s. Natura dei.

rock-mother, Petra genetrix s. Natura dei.

rosette, a solar symbol, 5b1.

royal standards in Mesopotamia, 5c3.

royalty, v. *šahr*, 6b1.2.

ṛta = *aša*, q.v., 5j.

rulership, v. *šahr*.

ruling principle of the soul, 4/10.

ruak, breath, 5f6.1.

ruvān, perceptive soul, power to make distinctions, v. *rav-*, *aisthēsis*, of solar essence in Zoroastrian thought, 4g1, 3; 5h6, j2.2; 6b1.3, 3; 11e2; 12b2; 4/10; akin to Avestan *baodhō*, perception, 4g1.2; 4/9; an embodied *xvarr*, q.v., 6g2, or *vīr*, understanding, 4/10, or material *mēnōk*, 4/11; v. *psychē*.

Sabazios, 2b6; 9c3.3; 5.1; 12b3.
sačišn, transition, v. Transitus divus, 5f3.3; 6c2.2.
sacraments, v. Ritus, 9a18.1.
sacrati, 6h6.4.
Šahrēvar (Khšathra vairya, favorable sovereignty), Mēnōk of metals and sky, 5h1.2, 3, 5; 6f1, h, 5.4.
saints, 6h6.4, 9, i.
šahr (*Khšathrō*, *kšatra*), conquering force, rulership, sovereignty, of self-moving essence, v. *xvatāy*; 5f; 6f3.1, g3, and origin, 5f; 6a3, 7f3; 8d4.1; 9a13; 12a2, but is manifest in the world of radiant light, v. Kosmokrator, Šahrēvar, 2c6; 5c5s; 6a3.2, b, 1.3s, 4.1, i5; 8a1.4, 3.2; 11b5, d; 12c2, d, by word-power, v. *vāxš nērōk*, and creativity, 5h3.3; 6d, h11.2, j; by warriorhood and victory, of kings, v. tiara, wreath, 6c, d1, 3.1, f, 4; 7f1; 8a5.1, d4.1; 9a13, 18, c5s; 12c2; to be united with *dēn*, q.v. in the world-savior, 5e2.4; signs of, 5h1.2; 6g5, h5.5; 12a4; 4/13; the power of the Ratu, q.v.
Šamaš, 4a; 5b1.
Samēmroumos (Hypsouranios), summit and substance of world-mountain, highest heaven-sky, 5j4s; 6b4.1.
sameness, as infinite time, 5f3.3.
sanctus (*hagnos*, q.v.), healthy, holy, safe, 6h6s; v. holiness, *spenta*.
sanga, *sangha*, 6h2.2; 6/35.
Sankunnis, 6h2.2.
sap, 6h5.5; 11e3.
sapientia, 11e3; s. Arbor vitae.
Saranyu, Flowing one, 5f7.1; 6g4.
Sarsōk bull, 5f1.1.
satrap (= *šahrpat*; cf *patšahr*, *pasha*), 4g5.
sattva, being as pure soul, 5j1.2.
Saturnus (Kronos, Zurvān, q.v.), god of epochal time, s. Principia mundi, and Ahu of life, whose planet, s. planets, marks the death and rebirth of the solar year; 4g4, h3; 5f1.4; 6i2.1; 7f2; 9a9.1, c4; 12a1; of Carthage, 8a3.1, having lunar powers, 11c1.1.
satyr, 6h3.2.
saucer, 5a2, g5; 9a17; v. cup, pitcher.
sava- (*hava-*), 5f1.4.
savior, v. Sōšyans, 6h7.1, i1; 7g2, 6; 8e; 9a4.1, c4; 12d5, d.
Savitar, rising sun, 6g3.
Scapha lunata, lunar skiff for bull of heaven, s. Deus taurus, 7c, 5, g4; 10a2.
scepter, v. club, 6h6.3; 8a1.4; 10e2; 11b5, d, 1; 12a4; 5/67.
scorpion, v. Scorpio s. zodiac, 2b7, c1; 4j3.2; 9a9.3; 12e2; in a wreath, 2d3; with Cautes, 4i5.2, Cautopates or a tree, 2d1; 10f6; in the place of the raven, 2/12.

scroll, book, 6b3; 12a3.

Scythian kings, 5h3.2.

seasons, 3h1; 4d, f1, h1ss; 6h9.1; busts of, 3g; 4i5.1; 5a2.1, d1, 1ss; 6a1; 7c5; 8a1.2, c4; other symbols of, 5h7; 8a5.1; 9c3s; with the zodiac, 4a; 11b, 2; v. calendar, 6/68.

seed (*tōhmak*, *sperma*, *spora*), v. semen; 5i7.1, j5; a fragment of soul, 4/10; as primary form or structure v. *advēnak*, *urvan*; as being *gētēh*, 6g1, moist in animals, 5/52; of solar essence in Zoroastrian dogma, 4g1.1ss; 5j1.1; 7b2; as seed of seeds, or seed of creation, 5f3, 3.2s, 5.1, j2; 8a4.

Selene (Luna), 7b1.

self-created, 6g1; 9b12; 12a2; -lighted, 5j5; 6b1, 3; -moved (*autokinētos*), 6g5; 4/9,11; v. *mēnōk*.

Semele, 6h5.5.

semen, 2b, d; 4j3.1; 5f9.1s, h3.3; 7b2, 12; 11e2; as primary causation and principle of life, 5f3.3; 7c5; as rain, 7/4; -flowing, 5f3.3.

semno, Semo Sancus, 6h2.2.

separation, as *ravišn*, a motion of *bavišn*, conception and hollowing out, 5f1; of body, soul and mind, 10/4; of the worlds long before *genesis* of life, 5/96; by Ahriman, 5h1.1, j5; by Husravah, 5f2.3; by heat, 5j3.2; by dagger or knife, 6c2.1; 7c4; 8b2; 9a17; 11e1; 12a6; of the elements, 5f3; 8a1, 4; of sky-bowl or -egg, 6h5.4; 8a1, 4; of Yima (Twin), the shining sky, 6f3.1, h3.3.

sēpsis, fermentation, 5j2s; 5/43, 95, 96; cf 5/98; v. dough.

Serapis, 6d, h7, 11; 10f3; 11c.

serpent, v. snake.

Seven-rayed god, 7/12.

sex, origin of, 5f7.1, j2.3; 5/98; of fire and water, 5f3.2, h3.3; 7a1; of parts of cosmos, 5/87; of parts of *physis*, 4/8, 13; should not be attributed to Persian gods, 5/87; v. androgynous, elements, male, female.

shank of bull, s. Ritus.

sheep, 10d.

shell of seed, 4/8.

Shepherd of brilliant stars, Attis, 5/98; cf 3/2.

shepherd's crook, 3c; 11c; 3/2; 5/98.

ship, v. Scapha lunata; 5f1.1, 6.1, j6; prow or rudder of, 11c1.

shoulder, 5f1.3; snakes issue from, 5f1.3; cf 5f8; 5/98; a blow struck on, 8a3; libation on, 9a6; crown on, 9a13; hand on, 9b9; moon on, 7d; 8a1.4; head of snake on, 11b1, 4; sky-mantle carried on, 6h6.3; 10b2.

shovel, spade, 2b4; 9a14; 11b5.

sickle, v. knife.

sign of the Miles, 9a13; 9/2.

Silvanus, 6h8; 9a9.3.

Sirius, s. stars.

sistrum, symbol of physical motion, 9a14.

sky (*āsmān*, *ouranos*, *caelum*), q.v.; creation of, 5f, 6.1, j1.3; 6h5.4; color of, 3gs; 5c2; face of, 4i1; god of, 2a2; 4g7; 5h3.3, 6, 7, j, 4; 6a2, b3, 4.1, d, g2.2, 5, h7, 8; 8a1.1, 3.1; 9a17, b12, c3; rotation of, 10/4; supports of, 5f7.2, j7.2, as Atlantes, 6b4; voice of, v. raven, 5f6. Enlarged by Ohrmazd and removed from the earth, 5/104; divided into hemispheres, 4f; 5f8; 6h3; 8a4.1; 5/97; 8/1; pierced by Ahriman, v. hole; sacrifice thrown into, 2a2; 4g7. As a boat, v. Scapha lunata; bowl, 6h5.4; 6/45; Bull of Heaven, q.v.; cap, q.v.; chariot, q.v.; dome or vault, 5c, f1.1s, h7; 6h4.1; 12c3, that may fall, 5/38; egg, q.v.; shell, 5c, f1.1, j2, 4s, 5; 6h5.4; 8a3.2; 5/96; garment, q.v., or veil, q.v., 5a, b2, c3, f1.4, h1.1, 2, 2.7, j1, 7.2; 6h11.2, 11, 5.1; 9a18.2; 5/100; globe or sphere, q.v., 3h; 5b3s; 7c4; 8a1.4; 9a16; 5/96,100; 10/3, or winged disk, 5b1, f8, 10, or wheel, v. Ras; house, v. *maēthan*, Templum caeleste, 5c, 3, j5, 6; 6b1, h2.1, 4.1; mountain, q.v., 5f1s; 6b4.1, h4.1; post, q.v.; vaporous ocean, 4i5.2, v. *kaša*. As the body of Zurvān, 5e3, or head, 5j7; 8a3.2, of cosmic man, q.v., 5/97.

sleep, "a repose of the creator", 3c; 5f9.3; 11c1, and not-sleep, 5h1s; cf 6a3.2, b1; 11/3; v. Hypnos.

smell, 4i4; 10/4.

snake (*aži, drakōn*), 2bss, c3; 3f1.2; 4a, j3.1; 5f1.3; 6e; 7g3; 9a8, c5.1s; 11c1, e1, 2; 12e2; drinks blood or semen, 2b; 4j3.1; Meaning of, 11b3, e1; 2/4, as beginning of life, 5f9.3; most pneumatic of creatures, 2b8; 8a1, d3; 11b2, 3, an Agathos Daimōn, q.v., of the fiery sphere or circle, 2b9.1; 4j3.2; encircles a bowl of water, 6d3, or cosmic egg, 8/1, having a hawk's head, 2b8, ram's head, 5/61, solar head and lunar tail, 2b2, 9.1; 6e, or three heads, 2b, 9.2; 4j3.2; 7a2; surrounds the Deus aeternus, 4j3.2; 11b2; 12d1, Deus saxigenus or Petra genetrix, 4j3.2; 8a1s, and Dea triformis, 1e; 4j3.2; 7a1; associated with Ahriman, q.v., emerging from the world-stuff, v. hole, 2b3; 11b4; with infant Dionysus, 6h3; the earth giants, 12a5; Mithra ephippos, 6c3, 5, e; 8d4; and Transitus divus, 7e; 8b2. Removed from the relief, 6a1.

Societas divina, a divine society, after Consecratio, s. Telete, 12c3, and Apotheosis, 12c2, in a covenant with Mithra, 12c4; at the Trapeza Mithrou, 12c6, after the complete conquest of the world by Mithra Invictus, 12c5, cf 7gss.

Socius, v. Companion.

Sol (Helios, Xvar, q.v.), sun, s. planets.

sōma, body, 4g1.1.

soma (*haoma*), v. *hōm*, 6h4.1.

Sōšyans, savior, q.v., of the world, 5e2.4, f1.4; 6h2.1s; 7f3, g5; 6/68; especially Mithra as Deus invictus, 12c5.

soul, v. *nous*, *psychē*, *thūmos*, and s. man, 4g1.3; 5h8.1, j1.2; 7g1s; 9a14, c3, 3; 10c1; 12b4; in descent and ascent, 1e; 4h1; 7g3; 9a8.1s, 14, 16.2, b5, c3.2, 5; 11e1; 10/3, v. ritual progression s. Telete; threefold powers of, 11e2; 12a; cf 4/9; 6/30.

Soul of the World, 7h; 4/10; as dyad and mother of *dikē*, 5/87.

sound, v. *vāxš*, 5f3.2.

south, gate of immortals, 4f.

sovereignty, v. Ratu, *šahr*.

space (*gās*, *gāh*), 5e2.2, h4.2; 6h2; 9a17.

spade, 9a9.3.

Spandarmat (Spenta Armaiti), the Vedic Aramati, 5h4; *mēnōk* and *spenta*, q.v., of the earth, 5f1.4, 9.3, 10, h2, 2.2, 4; 9c5.1; clothed with the *āsmān*,

5c1, as a girdle, q.v.; her assistants, 5h4; 6g4; cf Anāhit, Aphrodite, Ašišvang, and Ārstāt.
spasāno, 5c5.
spear, v. Ares, 9a9.2.
species, appearance, specie, 4g1.
speed, quality of warriorhood derived from wind and *xvarr*, 6f, 4, i2.2, v. *aksv-*.
spenta (*spand-ksvan-*), causing increase, expansion, growth, v. *k'va-*; 5c5.2, h.1 2, 3.3s; 6c, h5, 6.3; in Vayu, 5j1.
Spenta Armaiti, v. Spandarmat.
Spenta Fravašayō, the *fravahr* as Expander, 4g2; 6e; cf 6b.
Spenta Mainyu (Vohu Mano), v. Vahuman; Expanding Self-Motion, becomes Vohu Mainyu, the Good Mind, and Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord.
sperma, 6g2.1; 4/8, 10; 5/52; v. seed.
spermatikos logos, 6g2.1; 4/10.
sphere (ball, globe), v. Ras, *spihr*; 2c; 3h1; 5b, 1, c; 6c5, d2, 3s, h3, 3.3, 11.2; 7c1, d; 8a3.1s; 9a9, 16, c3; 10e2; 12a1s, c3; blue, 6h11.3; 7g1; 9a4, b10; 11b4, c; veiled, 5b2; winged, 5bs; pt 7, c4; with *templum* or planets, 3h; 8a3.2; held by Mithra, 3e; 6c5, i5.1; 7d, or Heliodromus, 9b10; under feet of Deus aeternus, 11b4, e3; generated by fire, 5/96; meaning of, 8/7.
spihr (*spahr, thvaša*), swift moving cosmos, or cosmic wheel, v. Ras, 5c3, f1, 4, 9, h2.2, 3.4; 6h11.2; 9c4.
spinal cord, 9a8.
Spiritus caloris, v. breath, 12a, b2; cf *xvarr*.
spit, v. dagger, 9b8, 12; 12c4.
Spityuria, brother of Yima, 5i5; 6f3; cf Kothar.
splēn (*phrēn*, q.v.), 6g2.2.
špn (*zaphn*), 5j5.
sponsus, betrothed, bridegroom, q.v.
spring, v. bowl, Fons perennis.
sprinkling, v. baptism.
Sraoša, v. Srōš.
srēšak, yeast, v. dough, *kōt*.
Srišaok ship or bull, 5f1.1, 2.4, j6.
Srōš (Sraoša), the Hearer or Obedient, divinity of the Word incarnate, v. Māthra Spenta, 5e1, 2.2, f1.4; 6a3.1, b1, 4.1, h2.1, 7, 10-11; 12a5; 6/6.
staff (wand, *rhabdos*), v. *caduceus*, 3c; 6b3; 9a5, 6, 17; 10d2, e1s; 11d; 12a1.
stag, pt. 7.
stall, v. Templum caeleste.
stars, v. planets, zodiac, 5as, f8, 10; b63, h4.2, 5.4, 11 ;8d4.1; 9a7.2; 11e1; Canis Major, Dog star, Sirius, 2a3; 3f2; 6h2; 4/13, 17; Orion, 4i5.2; Pegasus, 3f2; 4i5.2; 5h6; Tištrya-Tīr, either the Dog star or Mercury, 2a2.1; 4i2; 5h5; 6h2; 7c1; 10b1, f2; 12b4; 6/33; Ursus Major and North star, 4i4; of the *āsmān*, q.v.; of Spenta Mainyu (Ahura Mazda), 6h2, 11.2; in ascent, 5a2s; with seven rays, 2c3; on Mithra's cap, 5a1; represented by jewel insets, 5a1; origin of, 5/96.
Stereōtēs, the ascetic and devout, 9a18, s. membership.
stone, v. *baetylos, lithos empsychos*, rock, 6d3.2; brimstone, 8a1.4.
Stratiōtēs, v. Miles s. membership.

strength, or force, v. health, speed; power of the soldier and of wind, 4h3; 5f3; 6d1, h3.3, 8; 7d; 8a1.4, 5; 11b1, c; 12b2, c1.
stuff, v. *gētēh*, matter.
sun, v. Sol s. planets.
Surya, sun, 6g3, h10.
svar, v. *xvar*.
swastika, 2/12.
sword, v. dagger, 6i3.1, j; 9a8.2, b7, 13.
Syāvakhš (Syāvaršan, Syāmuk), Dark Bull, or Dark One, 5f2.2, 9.3.
syenah (*saena*), eagle, 6h4.1.
symbolism, problem of, 9a8.5, 14; use of, 8/7; 9/2; 12/2.
Syndexios, s. membership; v. Covenanter.
Syrictas, Attis as musician, 5/98.

tables, v. Trapeza Mithrou, 9b11, c5.1.
Takmuras (Takhma Urupa), Fashioner of Finite things, 5f1, 2.4, 9.4, h5; 7f; 5/97.
taks- (*tvaks-*), swift, 5h3.2.
tam, darkening of soul by desire, 5j1.2.
Tammuz, 4i2.
tan-, stretch, 5h3.4.
tan, body, s. man, 4g1; 5f3.3, h3.4; 6b2, 3, c2.2; under Jupiter, 4g3; v. Final Body.
Taranis, 5f10.
Tarpeia, 6g2.2.
Tartarus, 12/1.
Taurophoros, passage of the bull-soul, s. Transitus divus, and Mithra; 10d2, 3, e; 12c2.3; with a snake, 7e; 8b2.
Tauthos (Tautos), 2b8; 5h1.2.
taxis, v. *aša*, 4/8; 5/87, 95.
Taygetus (Taleton), 6i2.1.
teleology, 5e2.3; v. eschatology.
Telete (Initiatio), perfecting or initiation rite, 7g3, 6; 8c1, d4, 5, 6; 9a; 11b; pt 12, cs; 10/3; in a cave, 9a3s; naked, 9a6, 16.1, 18.2; imagery and meaning, 9a9.2, 10, c4; 4/30; by a rite of Devotio, laying on of hands, 9a1, 6 (Left 4), 7.3, 18; b8; 12c3; of Infusio, baptism by water, 9a2, 6 (Left 5), 8.3, c2; 12c3, or fire, 9a6 (Right 7), 7.3, 9.1, 14, as an illumination, 9a8.5; of Purgatio, a blow on head or shoulder, 9a3, b5, c3.3; 10c2; 12c3, or a ritual death, 9a6 (Right 6) 7.1; of Consecratio, with a solar crown, v. Apotheosis, 9a4, 6 (Face 1), 7.3. A ritual progression through death and birth, 4h3; 7g3, 6; 9a7, 8ss, 9.3, 16.2, c4-5; 11e1; 12c3, d1; cf 4/30; 7/12.
Tellus, 8d2.
templum (*temenos*), sky marked off in quarters, 2c; 3h; 5a, f9.2; 6d3; 8a3.1, 3.2; 9b8; 11b4.
Templum caeleste, bull's house or stall, s. Deus taurus, 6c2.3; 7a2, b, 1, c, 5; 7f1; 8b; 9b8; 10a1, b1.
Tešub, 5b.
Teutates, 5/61.

thabakos (*thakos*), v. *taks-*, 5f2.4, h3.2.
Thalassa, gnostic Hermaphrodite, as Kronos, 5/95.
Themis, 5h4.
theology, s. philosophy.
Theos bouklopos, s. Transitus divus; v. Bouklopē, Bouklopos, 6c2; 7b; 8b1; 10b3, e; 12b3.
Theos ek dendrou, s. Natura dei; v. Arbor vitae.
Theos ek petras, s. Natura dei.
Theos hekatos, s. Aqua vitae, 6a3.3; 10b1; 12b4.
Theos psychopompos, s. Transitus divus.
thermon, v. heat, 4fs; 4/8; 6/30; 10/4.
Theseus, pt 7.
thief, v. Bouklopos.
third part of cosmos, 10/4; v. Thraētaona.
thirst, v. Pothos.
tholeron, 5j2s.
Thoth, v. Tauthos.
thought, as *mēnōk*, q.v., 5e2.4; 6c2.3.
Thraētaona (Thrita, Trita Āptya), the Third (= Feridun), equivalent of Keresaspa, establisher of the waters as the third realm, 6f3, h5, i2; 10/4.
threefold god, v. triform divinity, 9c3.1, phallus, 6/17.
Three Graces, 6/16, Fates (Moirai), 12a3; 12/1, 2, Judges at the Bridge, 6/7.
three virtues, as thought, word, deed, 5e2.4; 6c2.2; 12c4; 6/7.
threptikon, 4g3.
thū-, 4/9.
thūmiatērion, altar of incense, 6b4, c5; 9a16.1.
thūmoeidēs, of Mars, 4g3, as erotic passion, 11e3.1, cf 7e1.
thūmos (*animus*, cf *fravahr*), v. *asthma*, *ǰān*; 2b9.1; 4fs, g3, 5, j2.2; 6g2; 12b3; fiery, 9a14; breath of consciousness, 9a17; 4/6-10; 6/30.
thunder, 6h6.1; 12a4; -bolt or lightning, 2c1; 3hs; 4i5.2; 5h3.2, 7; 6b4.1, d3, f1, h6.3; 7c1, f2; 8a1.4; 9a9.2, 14, c4; 11b5, d1; 12a4, having a human head, 12a4; -stone, 5c; -storm, 5j2.3; 6i2.1; 7f; as the voice of a sky-bull, 5f9.1.
thuradamus, and *thuricremos*, 7g6.
Thvašem xvadātem, 2c5; 6b; 6/6.
Tiamat, 4g7; 7c4; 5/51.
tiara, royal headdress imitating sky as source of *šahr*, 5b2, c5.1; pt 7; 8d4.1; 7/12.
time period, as *gās*, 6h10, and epoch, v. *aiōn*, 6c2.2; 7g5, h; 9c4; 11b, 4, c; 12a2, 4, d; a creator, 5/97; of Artvahišt, 6h1.1, Aphrodite, 4g6, Deus aeternus, 11bss, Mithra, 6a3.2, 3.3, Mithra-Saturnus, 9a17, Mithrakana, 6i3, Napāt Apām, 5h3.3; 6f1, Varhrān and Fravahr, 6b1.1, h2; of the zodiacal signs, 4as; 8a1; 11c3; of birth and death, 9a9.3; of cyclic progression, 5f3.3; 8/7; of vegetation, 4i6; 9c3; and fate, 4j3.2, v. *zamān*.
timelessness, v. sameness, 12d1.
tinctura, v. baptism.
Tīr, Tištar, Tištrya, s. stars.
tongs, 11b3.
tongue, 9a14.

torch, v. Natura dei, Torchbearers, 3f1; of Eros, 8b3, Deus aeternus, 11b5, Heliodromus, 9a16, b9, Luna, 10f, Mithra, 9b6, Phosphoros, 12b2; used in the Telete, 9a6 (Right, 7), 7.3, 13; meaning of, 3h2; 6h3.3; 11e1.

Torchbearers (*dadophoroi*), 2b, c1, d1; pt 3ss; 4g5; 5f10; 6b2, c1, h11.3; 8a1.1; 9a11, 17.1, b9.11; 10a1; 11b; shown with bow or shield, 3f1.2, g5; 7c4.2; bowls of water, 8d6, trees, 11e2, 3s, military mantle, 5c3; without torches, 3a1; nude, 2b; 3f1.2; 6h6.3; types of, 3cs; 4j4; color symbolism, 3gs; 5c3; relation to the seasons, 2d1; 3f; positions at the bull slaying, 3b; 4j4; 5g1; 6c2, confused, 3f2; in the Mithraea, 3i; 4i5.1; at the Natura dei, 3h2; 5j7.2; 6h3.1; 8a2, 5, Trapeza Mithrou, 9b6, 9, 11.

Cautes, Kindler of life, Ratu of Genesis, cf Rašn, 2as; 3h1; 4j2; 5j7.1; 6h11.1; 7e, f1; 8d2; sometimes has two raised torches, 6c2; is naked, 6h6.3; has penis erect, 2a; 3f1.2; 4j3.2; wears a radiate cap, 6a, b3; is associated with a cock, 3f1s; 6h6.3, dog or ram, 3f1.2, eagle, *templum* and sky sphere, 3hs, pine cone, 3f1.2; 4j2; 6d3, stocks of wheat, 3f1.2; 6j1.1; 8c3, Taurus sign of zodiac, 2d1; 4i3, or water horse, 3f2; 4i5.2; at the bull slaughter gazes upward, 3e, f, 6h3.1; presides over right side of Mithraeum, 3i; 9a8.1, near the Fons perennis or water bowl, 3i; 4i1; 8a1.3; 9a8.1; as Ratu of Ignis vitalis, 11b5, and Genesis, 4f2, g5; 6b3, h11.3; 8a1.1; 9a8.1; 10f6; 11c2; provides bread at the Trapeza Mithrou, 9a9. Perhaps a Cattle thief or Deus invictus, 8c3; 10a1, b3, and Shepherd of Souls, 3/2.

Cautopates, Ahu of Genesis and Lord of life, or Apogenesis, symbolized by a lowered torch and elevated foliage, 3f1, h2; 6h7; 9b8, sometimes holds two torches, 3b1; 4j2; 6c2, or is seated and looking away from dying bull, 3e, f; holds bull's wheat-bearing tail, 3f1.2, or a lunar bust, 3h2, or has a Petra genetrix at his feet, 3h2; is associated with snake, 3f1.2, 2, and autumn sign of zodiac, 2d1; 4i3, j2; with sky-key, rain or ocean, 3h-h2; 4i5.2; 5a2.2; 11b5; and with a lion, 4i1; 8d4; presides over left side of Mithraeum, 3i; 9a8 and over Apogenesis, 4g5, f2; 6b3, h11.2, as Ahu of life, 3b1; 11b5 and sleep of soul, 3c; provides water at Trapeza Mithrou, as Substance of life, 6b3; 9b6, 9.

Tragophoros, 10e.

Transitus dei, v. Taurophoros, s. Transitus divus.

Transitus divus, passage of the immortal soul, as divinity, into or out of the material world, 2b7; 7e; 8b2; 9b5; 10e, f1.5; 11b3, 4, e1, in form of bull descending into world cave, 12b3; as a Transitus dei, 6c2.2; 7e, g, 4; 8a1.1, bs, c2, d5, e; 9a8, 9.3, c4; 11c1; 12c2; as a Taurophoros, q.v., on left side of Mithraeum, 9a9, 16.2; as a Theos psychopompos, 8b3; 9a8, 9.2, 15, c3.3; 10c2, e1, f2; 12c3; Ad portam, 10e1; 12c2, and Apud deum, 10e2; 11d, 12c2.

transmigration, v. *metempsychosis*, 2b7; 4/14; cf *pneuma*.

Trapeza Mithrou, the Sacred Meal, or Holy Communion, s. Societas divina, 2c2; 3j; 6a1, b3, c4, h5.5, i3.1, 4, j2; 7f4, g3, 4ss, 6; 9a6 (Face 2), 8.3, 11, c1, 3.3; 10a2; 12c5, 6; as a Triclinium, 9b1, 9; a Trapeza taurika, 6c2.2; 7f2, g3; 9b3, 6-8, 11, c3.3, 4; with a Mensa, table, 9b2, 7-9.11; observance of, and meaning, 9bss, 11, 12, c3.2, 5.1; cf 9/3; places of honor, 6/59.

Traveler, as soul, 10e1s.

tree, v. Arbor vitae, 2a3.1, b2; 3d, f; 5f1.5, j2.4, 3; 6c2, h8; 8a4, d4; 9a3.1, c3; 10b3, f6; 11e1; branch, q.v.; stump, 6c3.2, 4.1, 5.2, 8; in triple form, with human heads, v. Theos ek dendrou, 6c2.2; 7e1; 9c4; 11e3; as first form of life, 4g1.3; 5/98; cypress, 5e; 6c5, h6.4; 8d4; 12c3, d, 1, with a snake, 11e2; olive, 9a18.2, meaning of, 11e2; Oxhorn, 6h4.2, 5.1, 5.4; 8a4; 9b12.

triad, for multiplicity, 5f3.1, 10.1; 5/87; 6/17; 7/11.

triangle, 8a3.1; for *genesis*, 8/7.

Triclinium, s. Trapeza Mithrou.

triform divinity, 1e; 2a4; 4j3.2; 7a1; 9c3.1; 11d4; 12a3; 12/1.

triplicity, 4j3.2; 5f3.1, 3.2; 7h; 11c, e2, 3; 12a3; 5/87; v. triad.

Trita Āptya, v. Thraētaona.

Triton, 6h5; 10/4.

tube, 8a3.1.

tunic, 3g2.

turtle (tortoise), 2c3; 4a; 6h3; 8b2.

Tvaštar Visvarupa, v. Takmuras, 5f2.4; 6h5.

Twin gods, 9c5.1; 3/6; v. Hermaphrodite, 5/74.

twins, v. Dioscuri, Torchbearers, Yima, 3f1.2; 4g1.3; 5f7.1s, 8-10, g5, h, 4, j2.4, 4, 8; 6b2s, 4, f3, g3, h5.4, 11.3, i2.1; 7c5; 8a5.1; 9a17.1; 5/66.

Tychē, v. fortune, Xvarr, 9c5; 12a, c1; cf 6h7; 6/17; 7/11; 11/2; 12/1.

Tychōn (Hermes); a *gētēh hypostasis* of *mēnōk* fate, ,4g3; 9a17.2 11e3; 12a.

Unity, joins life to motion, 12/1.

upamanō, v. Dāmōiš.

Uranus, v. Caelus, Ouranos.

urn, v. bowl.

Urvākhšaya, 6h5.

urvan, soul-form, seed or plant, s. man, 4g1, 1.3, 3, v. Gōšurvan.

urvar, v. plants, 4g1.3.

Uš (Gauš), 5f2.2.

vac, vaça, vak, 5c5.

Vahrām, v. Varhrān.

Vahuman (Vohu Mainyu, the Good Mind), v. Spenta Mainyu, 5f2.4, 9.4, h1-2.2, 3.3, j1; 6b4.1, f1, h2; the Mēnōk of cattle, 4g2; arose from the motion of light to be the motion of creation, 5e2.2; 11e3.

vapor, air moist and warm, breath, q.v., 10f5; 4/10.

vara, varena, enclosure of Yima and of Iran, 5f6; 7g1; 7/4.

vāregan, vāraghna, v. raven, 2c6; 5e1, f6; 6f2, g; 9a9.2.

Varhrān (Vahrām), victorious fire of hearth or home, 2c6; 6b1.1, g4, h11; 8a6; v. Verethraghna.

Varuna, Asura of sky and water, 5c4, f7.2, 10, h3s, j; 6h2.1; 12a1; 7/4.

vāxš nērōk, voice power as *mēnōk* causation, v. voice, 5c5, e2.4, fs, 3,5.1, 10; *vāxšōmand*, 5f; 12b.

vaxsāk, growth, *physis*, q.v., 5f7.

vāt (*vata*), v. wind; as *vātōmand*, 5f3, v. *pneuma*.

Vāy (Vayu), Wind god, a cosmic creator and orderer, 5e2.2, f7, 7.2, j; 11e3;

a bearer of *xvarr* and moisture, 6h5.4; 7c, 7, f; imparts strength and speed to the warrior, 2c5; 5j3; 6f, 4; 7f.
veil, as the vaporous sky, q.v., 8a4; 9a9.1, 12, 18.2, c2; 10f4, 5; 11d1.
Venus, s. planets, 4i2; 12a; v. Aphrodite.
Verethraghna (Artagnes, Ares, Herakles), the "drought-destroyer"; as victorious fire, v. Varhrān; as begettor of vital beings v. Deus genitor invictus; akin to Vāy as bearer of *xvarr* in many manifestations, 2b7, c5; 4g7, i2, 5.2; 5e1; 6a3, b2, c, 2.3s, d1, f, 4s, g3, h1.2, 2, 9, 11.2, i1s; 7d; 8a6; 11d4; 12a6, b1; v. Varhrān.
verethraghnem, victorious, *invictus*, 6h11.2, is; 8a6; 11d4; 12a6.
Victoria (Nike), pt 2; pt 7; 11d1; 12e2; v. Nike.
victory, s. *šahr*, 6f3.1, h6s, 7, i2.3, 5; 9a9.3, b7; 10f2; 12c1, 5.
viper, v. snake, 5/103.
viraj, lightning bolt, 6h10.
virgines, s. membership, 9a18.
virility, generative force, 6d3.1, e, f3.1, g1; 10f3; 11c1.
visibility, v. *čihr nērōk*.
vision, 4/10.
vistah, cf *vistartakīh*, expansion, formation, q.v., 5f1, j1.
vitality, as life force, lordship, v. Ahu, 9a14; 12a2.
Vita mortalis, v. *apogenesis*, Natura viri, 10d, f2.
Vivangvant (Vivasvant), 5f2.4, 7.1; 6f3, h5s.
Vīštāsp (Gūštāsp), v. Huštāspa, 6f3.1.
Vohu Mainyu (Mano), v. Vahuman.
voice, v. *vāxš nērōk*, *logos*, 5f5.1, 10; 6c2.2s, f; of the raven, 5f6; 7e1; 9a8.2; 10f2; 11e2; 12b, c4; creative, 5f6, j, 2.3, 7.2; 7e1; 8b2, e; 9c4; 11e3; 12b; 5/95; incarnate, 5f10; 8e; loud, 6h4.2, 7; sovereign, 6h3.3; 12b, c.
vox, voice, 5c5.
Vṛtra, "coverer", thief of rain-cattle, *deva* of drought, v. Apaoša, 1e; 4i5.2; 6c, h2.
vyāne, of Mithra, 5e2.1; 6b.

wallet, of Mercury, v. wealth, 6h3; 7f2; 9c4; 11d.
wand, v. staff.
warriorhood, 6c, h2.2; as "order-establishing" (*artē-stārīh*), 9c5.1; fire of, 6b1.2, f3.1; robe of, 5c3; virtues of, 5j1s, from Vāy 5j3.
water, v. Aqua vitae, Deus taurus, moisture, vapor, 3h; 4i4; 5h4, 6, j5; 6a3.1, g2.1, h5, 10s; 7g6; 9a8.2, 14, b12; 12b4, c2; gender of, 5h3.3; 7a1; gods of, 5h3.2s; 6i2.1, 2.3; 7a2; 9a9.3, c3.3; 10f5; 11b6, c2, d1; 12b2-3; origin of, 5f7.1, h1, 4, 5, from Bull of heaven, 5h2.1; 7c5; as rain, 3h2; 4i2, 5.2; 5f9.1, 10, h4-6; 6f1, h2; 7b, 3, c1; 8d5; 9c3; 10b2; 12a1; brought by the wind, v. Vāy; as primeval stuff, 5f6.1, 7, j3, 7.2; 6f1, h5.4, i2.1; 7c5; 8a4, b2; 9a17.1, c2; 10a2; 11b5, c1; 5/95; 6/17, boiling over in the world sea, 6h5; the death of souls, 5h1; 9a18.2; life-producing, 4i2; 5f6.1, 7, h3.3; 6f1; 7a, 2, b1s, c1, 6, 7; 8a1.2, 4, d5, 9a3.1, 8.3, 9.1; 10f2, 4; 11c3, e3; 12b2, c; 5/53; 87; 7/4; source of knowledge or wisdom, 5h3.3, h4; 11e3; s. *psychē*.
wealth, v. wallet, 9c4; 11d; 12c1.
week, days of, 5a2.1, d; 8b3; gods of, 6d; 10f, v. planets.

wheat stock, v. grain, 5i7.1.
wheel, of birth, 7g3; 9c5.1; 11/2; of heaven, v. Ras, 5f3, 10.
whip, of Sol s. planets.
whorl, 12a3.
window, of sky house, 5j5.
wind, v. *vāt*, Vāy, *anemos*, 5e2.2, js, 1.3, 3.5; 6b1.3, h2, 5.3; 7c5, f; cold, 5h2.1, 3.4; 11e3; erotic, 5j1s; 6g1; 10f4; hot, 4i4; 5f7, j1.1; 6f2, h4.1, 5.3; 8a3.2; god of, 6f4; importance of, 6g5; substance of, 5f3, 7, j2; symbols of, 5h7, 1s; 6d3; 8a1.4; as *J̌ān*, 5f7.2, h6; as motion, 5f3, 6, j2; 6f, g1; 7c7. Boreas, 4i4; 5f7.2, j1.1, 8; 11e3; Kolpia, 5j4; 11e3; Zephyros, 4h2; 5i6.1.
wine, s. Elementa sacra, 9b12; from roots, 6/44; cup, 6h3.2, 5.3.
wing, 5b1, f10, h12; 7e, f, g5; 8a1.4; 9a8.1; 10b2; 11b2, 6; meaning of, 5h1.2; 11b3, 5; 5/67; 7/4.
winged Eros and Psyche, 8b3; Mercury, 9c3.3; Phosphoros, 12b2; Victoria (Nike), pt 7; 8a5.1.
wisdom, v. *dēn*, knowledge, 5e2.2, f3.3, 10, h2, 3, 4; 9a9.1; 11e2; pt 12; of Mithra, 12e1.
women excluded, 9a18.2.
word, v. *logos*, voice.
world, v. cosmos.
Wotan, 6h3.3.
wrath, v. Ēšm, destructive s. fire, 6b1, 1.2, h4.2; 12a5.
wreath, v. crown, 4j3.1; 6d1, h7, 9.1; 8a4, 5.1, c2; 9a5, 8.4, 9.3; 11e3.

xvan āhēn, 5c.
xvar (*khvar, svar*), solar heat, ruling force of sun, the sun, v. Sol s. planets, 5c, f3.2, j7.1; 6g3, h1, 5.4.
xvarr (*khwarenah, hvarenō*), 2c6; 5e2.4, f2.1, 3.2, j2.4, 7; 6a3s, f, hs, 5.5, i5.1; 12a; of various powers, 6g, 2, 4, h5, 9.1, 11.2; 12b1, expanding, 6f1, i2.1, heat generating, 6f2; 8a3.2; invisible, 9a17; 12b1; visible, 9a18.2; 12b, 1, about the head, 6h6.1; in bodily form, 6g4, h4.2, of raven and seized, 6f3, h5s, i2.3; of the Farnbag fire, 6b4.1; of the house, 6g4; of force and victory, 7d, f; 8a5.1, v. Verethraghna; of souls, 6b1.3, f2s, g, h8; 9a4.1; at Bridge of Separation, q.v., 6/7; as embodied in Ašišvang, q.v., and *ruvān*, q.v., imparts character and fortune, q.v., 6f, g2, h1.1; 9a16.1; 4/12; 6/31; as seed, 5f2.1.
Xvarr, v. Fortuna, 4g3; 10b2; 11c1, e3; 5/98.
xvarōmand, 6g1.
xvatāy, self-created, sovereignty, called *derang*, enduring, 4i4; 5e2.2, j1; 6b, f; as ruler, 4g1.
xvēt, moisture, a primary cause of *genesis*, 5f3.

Yama, Yami, the Vedic Yima, Yimeh, 5f7.1-2, 9; 6j.
Yazad, Yazdān, god, gods, the "worthy of praise". 4i4; 5f; 6h2.3; 12b.
Yima, the "Joined" or twin, called *khšaēta*, q.v. (= Jemšed); whose sister was Yimeh; as sky or sun, 5f9.4; 6h5; the cosmic man, 5f2.4, 9, j2.4; 6h5, j, like Gayōmard, q.v., 5f9, 9.3, j2.4; inventor of the cosmic ship, 5j6; keeper of the *vara*, q.v., 5f6; an offspring of *xvarr*, q.v., 6h5, which

he sends forth three times in raven form, 6f3, g; enlarges and shapes the earth three times, 7c4.2, cf 5/104; with Yimeh, the twin powers of life, 5f7.1, j5, v. Spityuria.
Ymir, 6j.
youth, as a sleep of the soul, 5f9.3, most fully achieved at fifteen years of age, 2c5; 8d4; 12c3; as a Leo *mystēs*, 9a14, a lion, 8d4; kneeling, 12a2; standing, 8d4; head of, 12a1; with horse, 5h7.

zahak, element, 5f1, 3, f3.
Zalmoxis, 5h3.1; 6j2; 9c3.2.
zamān, time, 4i4; 5e2.2, f3.3, h4.1; 6h10; 12a2; world of, 9a8.1; from the boundless, 5f3.3; 12d; activity of, 6g1s; equal to *mēnōk* gods, 6g1; progression of, 5f3.3; decrees destiny, 5f9.3; regulates *xvarr*, 6g1.
Zāmdāt, 6b1.3; 5/68; 6/7.
zaotar, chief priest, 5f1.4; 6h10.1.
Zephyros, s. winds.
Zeus, v. Oromasdes, 5/53.
Zeus Hypsistos (Jupiter Optimus Maximus), the lofty sky, v. Hypsouranios, Ohrmazd, 7/4, 12.
Zeus Ktesios, 2b6.
Zeus Pistios, 6h2.2.
zīndakān, animate beings, 5f3; 7h.
zodiac, 2b7, d1; 3g; pt 4ss; 5ass, c1, 15s; 6a, b3, c5, d3, e; 7g1; pt 8, a1, 1.4, 3.2, b1; 9a9, 16; 11c; 12b3, c3; circuit of, 10/3, as opposed halves, 4a2; eastern and western order, 4b; typology and primary signs, 4a; northern and southern signs, 4fs, h3; watery signs, 4g4; 11c3; placed around tauroctone cave, 5d, cult shrine, 4d, 6a, benches of Mithraeum, pt 4, d, Deus aeternus, 6g5; 11b, 2, 5; as houses of the planets, 4g6, h3. Aries to Leo, northern but for heat at south; Libra to Pisces, southern, but for cold at north, 4f1. Aquarius, for water, v. bowl, Fons perennis, 3f2; 4a, h3; Aries, for beginning of life, 4a1, c, g8; Cancer, for gate of birth, at north, 4c; Capricornus, for ascent of soul, at south, 4g4; 7c3; 8b1, d5; Leo, for maximum vitality, at north, 4a, g4, i1; 7g6; 7/12; 10/4; Libra, for physical decay, at west, 4a1, c; Sagittarius, for bringing of rain, 3f2; 7c3; Scorpio, akin to Libra and Sagittarius, 2d1; 3f, 2; 4a, g8, j2; 7c3; 10f6; 11c3, at Mithra's genitals, 2a, d; 4j3.2; Taurus, for source of vitality, akin to Aries, 2d1; 3f, 2; 4a, 1; 4f, g6, h3; 7b2. Origin of signs, 4/3.
Zohak (Aži Dahāka, q.v.), 5f1.3; 6h5.
zōon, animate creature, 5j2; 4/9.
Zophasēmin, watchers of the sky, 5j2.1, 8.
Zoroaster (Zarathustra), reputed founder of Zoroastrianism, 5c5.2, f7, h2.1s; 6b3, h5.2, 6.1.
Zoroastrianism, s. philosophy.
Zoroastrian rites, 6h5.2; 9a17.1; of special days, 5h1.2, 3.1; 5/68, 74.
Zurvān, of enduring self creation, v. *xvatāy*, identified with the blue or dark sky and the world of fate and time, 4i4, 5.1; 5c3, h2.2, 4; 6g1, h10; 11c.

TRANSLATIONS AND CITATIONS OF ANCIENT AUTHORS

(For reference form see under General Index)

Acta disp. Archelai cum Manete, p. 134, 9a8.2.
Acts of the Apostles, cit. 6h5.3, 7.
Aeschylus, *Oed. Col.*, 5h4.
Albiruni, 6i3.
Anaxagoras, cit 4/8.
Anaximander, cit 5/17, 96.
Anaximenes, cit 4/8.
Apar čim i drōn, 5f1.
Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, cit 6/54.
Archelaus, cit 5/95.
Aristotle, *De anima*, 405B, 5/53; 433B18, 4/8; 403B26, 404A26, 408B19, 412A28, B10, 4/9. *De caelo*, 268A11, 7/11; 278B8, 5b3; 301A5-20, 5/43. *De gen. animal.*, 726A19-32, 736B35, 755A15, 762A35s, B16s, 4/8. *De gen. et Corrup.*, 303A30, 5/43; 329B25, 330A5, 336A15s, 10/4. *Ethics*, 1.13.11s, 4/9. *Magna Moralia*, 1196B12-18, 4/9. *Metaphysics*, 1091A30s, 4/8. *Physics*, 250B24s, 5/32. *Topica*, 112A39, 4/12.
Aristotle (pseudo), *De mundo*, 394A9-13, 4/10; 398A1-24, B20s, 399A1, 9-27, 400B28s, 5/21; 400B8-13, 12/3; 401B18s, 12/1.
Arius Didymus, *Epitome*, excerpts from more ancient authors.
Arnobius, *Adv. nationes*, 6.10, 11/2.
Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.4, 5/38.
Artāy Vīraf Nāmak, cit 4i4; 5c1, 5.2, f9.3; 6/7, 52.
Augustine, *Adv. Jovinianum*, 1.7, 8a1.

Bardesanes, 5/86.
Bundahišn, 1.19, 5/6; 1.29, 32, 35, 5e2.2, f2.4; 1.38, 5/28; 1.49, 7g1; 1.52-60, 11/3; 3.2, 5e2.2; 3.6, 5c3; 4.10, 5f9.3; 12.26, 5h2.2; 14.9, 2b; 26.2, 5h2.2; 29.12, 5h2.1; 181.6, 5f3.2; cit 2a2; 4g1s; 5c, 1, 3, e2.2, 3.4, f1.4, 2.7, 5, 7, 9.3, h2.1, 3.3, 5, j1.1, 2.4, 5; 6b1. 1, d, f1, g2, 4, h2.4, 10, 11; 7c5; 6/31.

Chrysippus, cit 6/30.
Cicero, *Dream of Scipio*, cit 4/9; 5h1.
Claudian, *De Consulatu Stilichonis*, 1.62s, 5a.
Cleanthes, cit 4/10.
Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos*, 14P, 2b6; 59P, 5j; cit 4g7; 5j. *Strom.*, 5.14, 10/4.
Crates, cit 5/17.
Ctesias, 5/74.

Damascius (Mochus), *De principiis*, 125, 5j5; 5/51.
Dātastān i dēnīk, 3.8-9, 4/11; 3.13, 6/7; 37.34s, 5f3, 4/11; cit 5f1.4, 2, 2.2s; 39.11-15, 5/42.
Dēnkart, Madan, p79.21, 5f3.2; p107.17, 5f3.1; p120.22s, 5f3; p124.18s, 5f3; p278.13, 5f7.2; p282.7s, 5f3.3; p342.1-22, 6g1; p349, 5f, 1-3; p873.9, 5f5.1; cit 4g1.2; 5c3, f1, 2.2, e2.3, 4, f7; 6h6.1; 5/92; 6/71.

Dio Cassius, 47.25, 9c5; 68.1.7, 6h1.2.
Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.*, 36.39s, 5h6; cit 6c; 9a14.
Diodorus, 1.11.3, 6h4; 5.70.1, 12a4; cit 2a2.
Diogenes Laertius, 1.7, 5/87; 7.156, 4/8; 8.27, 4/8; 8.30, 4/9, 10; 8.34s, 9/4; 9.21s, 5/95.

Empedocles, 4/8; 5/17, 53, 87, 98; 6/38.
Enūma Elish, 5f7.1; 4/3, 19; 5/51.
Epēeis, 2b8.
Epic of Gilgamesh, 6/54.
Epicurus, 8/1.
Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.*, 1.7.8, 8/1.
Eudoxus, 4/13.
Euboulos, frag., pt 1; cit 2b7; 4d; 7b1; 9a17.1.
Euripides, *Bacchae*, cit 6h4.1; 6/41.
Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, frequent source of excerpts from ancient authors, 4/8.

Firdausī, *Šāhnāmeh*, cit 5f2.2; 6h5.

Gathas (in the *Yasna*), cit 4g2; 5h2, j1.
Genesis, 1.3, 5c5.1.
Gospel According to Mark, 14.12-16, 12,4; 14.22-24, 12b3; 14.25, 12c6; *John*, 1.1-17, 12b1; 12/4; cit 9a8.3, b11; 12b. *Thomas*, 7, 7/9.
Gospels, cit 7b2.

Handarz i Āturpat i Mahraspandān, 5h3.1; 5/68, 74.
Heracleitus, 5c5, f7, h1; 6g2.1; 12a4; cit 4i4; 4/8, 10, 12; 5/53, 87; 6/30, 38, 45; 10/4.
Herodotus, 1.139, 5/26; cit 4g2, 7, i2, 3, 3.1; 5c2-4, e2, h3.1s; 6i2; 9c3.2.
Hesiod, *Theog.*, cit 2a3; 5f7; 12b4.
Hippocrates, *Peri physōn*, 3, 4/8.
Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, 1.4.2-3, 5/87; 5.2, 5/98; 5.9, 5/95; cit 7a1;
Homer, *Il.*, 5.749s, 3h1; 6.403, 6h5; 8.166, 4/12; 12.239, 4i3. *Od.*, 1,52s, 5h4.1; 5.396, 4/12; 8.166, 4/12; 8.340, 6/17; 10.64, 4/12; 11.298-304, 5/97. 13.109s, 4f.

Ion of Chios, 6/17.

Jerome, *Ad Laetam*, 107, 9a10.
Julian, *The Caesars*, 7/12; 9/3; *King Helios*, 4/30; 5/28; 7/12; *The Mother of the Gods*, 4g3s; 7/12; *Letters*, 9/2.
Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, 9b12.

Kārnāmik i Artakhšir, 1, 6f; 3, 7, 5f6.
Kings II, cit 9c3.1.
Kritias Tyrannos, 5/97.

Livy, 1.34, 5f6.
Lucian, *Deorum Concilium*, cit 5j8.

Lucretius, 3.100, cit 4/9.
Lydus (John), *De mensibus*, 3.26, 4/30.

Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.8, 12a; 1.9, 2b9.1; 1.19, 12a, c1; 1.21, 4i2; 3.9.11, 9b12; cit 5b3.
Magical text, 2b9.1; 8d3.
Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 5, 1e; 11e2; 12c4; 19, 9a12; cit 4i6; 5j; 12b1, c4.
Metrodorus of Chios, cit 5/17.

Nonnus Mythographus, *Comm. in sancto lumine*, 17, 6h4.
Numenius, 5h1; 9a18.2.

Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6.21-22, 10/3.
Orphics, cit 4/8.
Ostanes, cit 2b8; 6b3.

Pahlavī Rivāyat, Dhabhar, p56.3. 7, 6/6, 11/7; p127.27, 2a2; cit 5c, d1, h4, j4; 6c2.2, f3.1; 5/33.
Pallas, 2b7; 7b1.
Parmenides, 5/95.
Paul, *Romans*, 1.1s, 6h6.3; cit 9a8.
Pausanias, 4g6; 6i2.
Pherecydes, 2b8.
Philo Byblios, 5j2-4; cit 2b8; 5h1.2.
Pindar, *Ol.*, 7.126, 6c; frag., 5h1.
Plato, *Cratylus*, 419E, 4/9. *Laws*, 376D, 7/11; 717A, 4/14. *Phaedrus*, 245, 4/8; 246C, 5/67. *Repubic*, 617D, 12/1; cf 7/12. *Symposium*, 190A-B, 10/4. *Timaeus*, 41F, 12/1; 45s, 5h1; 48Es, 50C-D, 4/8; 56, 8a3.1; 69-70, 6/30. Cit pt 1; 4g3.1, 4; 5h1, 3.3; 6d1.1, g2.1; 7g2s, h; 9a10, 19.2; 10f5.
Plato (pseudo), *Epist.*, II, 312E, 7/11.
Plutarch, *Moralia*: *Aquane an ignis sit utilior*, 947B-C, 5/43. *De Daedalis*, frag., 5/28. *De defectu orac.*, 414F, 4/8; 415A, 4/12; 416E, 12/1; 429E, 4g3. *De E apud Delphos*, 390F, 4g3; 392A, E-393B, 5/66; 392C, 5/53. *De facie in orbe Lunae*, 926C, F, 5j1.3; 6/30; 935B, 6/38; 950E, 5/95; 943C-945C, 10/4; 11c1.1; *De genio Socratis*, 575B-598F, 12/1. *De Iside et Osiride*, 359B-372F, 4/13; 361A, 4/14; 365B-C, 6/17; 368C-D, 5/87; 369A-371A, 7/11; 370A, 5j6; 373B-C, 5/32; 373F, 4/8; 381F, 10/4; 390F, 4/9; 375F, 5/32. *De primo frigido*, 945F-955C, 5/44; 945C, 12/11; 952C, 6/30. *De sera numinis*, 566A, 6g2.1; *De virtute morali*, 450F-451B, 6/30. *Stromateis*, frag., 5/96. Cit 2a2s, 5b3, h3.1, j1.2; 6d. Frag., 7h.
Plutarch (pseudo), *De placitis* (= *Moralia* 874D-911B).
Porphyrius, *De abstinentia*, 4.16, 2b7. *De antro nympharum*, 6, pt 1; 7-9, 4d1; 10, 5f6.1, h1; 7c6; 11, 6g2.1; 13-14, 6i3.2; 15, 9a14; 16, 12a4; 17, 8d5; 18, 7b1; 22-24, 4f; 25, 4g5; 27, 3h1; 29, 4g4, 32, 11e2. Cit 2c6; 4d, g; 7a, g4; 8c4; 9a15, 17.1, c3.2; 11a; 7/6. *Peri agalmatōn*, 2/5; 3/5; 5/100; 6/7; 12/2. *Peri tēs ek logiōn phil.*, 5/67. *Philosophou historia*, 7h.
Proclus, *In Timaeum*, 348A-B, 4g3.
Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 4g4; 4/17.

Pythagoras (Pythagoreans), 4/8, 9; 5/87; 9/4; cit 2b7; 4i3; 7g2; 9c3.2.

Quintus Curtius, 6c.

Rigveda, 1.51.5, 5f1.3; 10.10, 5f7.2; 10,31, 5f9.1; 10.129, 5f7.2. Cit 1e; 4i1; 5c4, f1.3, 7.2, 9.1, j, 1, 5; 6g3, h4.1, 5.1.

Sanchuniathon, 5j2; cit 2b8.
Scriptores Historiae Augustae: *Commodus*, 9, 9a8.
Selections of Zātspram, 34.50, 5f7; 31.1, 5h1.1. Cit 5c, f1, 1.5, 9, h3.4; 6h5.2.
Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Dogm.*, 1.72s, 4/12; 3.7fs, 127, 4/8; 3A4, 12/1. *Adv. Phys.*, 1A4, 2/4; 1.37, 5/97; 1.103, 4/10.
Shikand Gūmānī Vazār, 8.60, 4g2; 8.128, 5h2.1.
Sophocles, *Oed. Col.*, 5/85.
Soranus, 5/87.
Statius, *Thebais*, 1.719s, pt 1.
Strabo, 11.13.1, 6h5.2; cit 5h3.1; 6i2.s

Tacitus, *Annals*, 6.37, 6i2.1.
Tauthos, 2b8; 5h1.2.
Tertullian, *De baptismo*, 5, 9a8.3; *De corona*, 15, 9a13; *Adv. Marcionem*, 1.3, 9a18; *De praescrip. haer.*, 40, 9a8.3; *De spectaculis*, 8, 9a16.3; 9, 5/21. Cit 9a18, b7.
Thales, cit 5f7.
Theophrastus, 5j; 5/95.

Valens (Vettius), 2.22, 11/2.
Varro, cit 9a14; 5/87.
Vendīdād, 18.23, 2c6. Cit 5c5.2, f1.4, 6, j5, h2. 1, 3, 3.3, 4.2, 5.1, 10; 7c4.1.
Vergil, *Aen.*, 2.680s, 6/47.
Visparad, cit 532.2, f5.1.

Xenocrates, 4/12; 5/87.
Xenophanes, 4/8.

Yasna, 9.4-12, 6h5. Cit 4g1.2; 5c4, h1.1, 3.3, 5, j1; 6b1s, f1, h2, 4.2, 5, 5.2.
Yašt, 10.60, 5e2.1; 10.95-103, 6a3.1s; 13.22, 4g2; 14.19, 2c5. Cit 2a2.1, c6; 4g1.1, g3, 7, 8, i2; 5c, 1, 4, e1, 2.1, f1.5, h2.2, 3.3, 5, j1, 1.1, 5; 6a3, b1s, 3, 4, c3, d1, f1-2, g, h2s, 3.3, 4.1s, i1, 2, 5; 10b3.

Zarathustra, v. *Gathas*.
Zeno (Stoics), 4/8, 10, 12; 6/30.
Zoroaster, pt 1; 2b8; 4i4; 5c5.2, f7, h2.1s, 4-5; 6b3, h5.2, j2; 7a3, h.

PERSONS

Adlectus, 6h11.1; 8a2.
Agatho, s. Marcus.
Amplias, 6h9.1.
Alfenius Ceionius Kamenius, 6h7.1.
Antiochus I, King, 2c4, d3; 4g1.1, 7; 5f10; 6d1, h2; 7d; 8d4.1; 9c5; 11d4.
Antipatros (Gaius) Secundus, 6i3.
Antoninus (Consul), 12c3.
Antoninus, 9a18.
Antonius Valentinus, pt 6.
Appius Claudius Tarronius Dexter, 6h1.
Apulia, 11c3.
Archelaus of Priene, 1a.
Ardašir, 5b2, f6; 6c, f.
Argata, 11d4.
Ariarathes IX, 5b.
Arimanius, 11b6.
Aristeus, 6j2.
Artaphernes, 6b4.1.
Asklepios, 6i4.
Atticus, 6h9.
Aurelius Markos, 6h7.1.

Barnaadath, 6b4s.
Benoustos, 9a11.
Bruttius Praesens, 6h2.

Ceionius, s. Alfenius.
Callinicus, s. Marcus.
Cambyses, 2a2.1.
Caracalla, 6a.
Chrysanthus, s. Marcus.
Commodus, 9a8.

Darius, 4j4; 6b4, c; 5/74.
Deioces (Daiukku), 4g2; 5c2-4; 6b1; 7f1.
Dexter, s. Appius.
Diocletian, 6i1.1.

Eiaeibas, v. Zenobios.
Elijah, 9c3.1.
Ephebianus, s. Titus.
Ethpani, 6a1.
Euchetas, 6h9.
Eupater, 5b.
Eusebius, 6d2.

Felicissimus, 5a2.
Flavius, 6h11.

Gordias, 5f6.
Gracchus, 9a10.
Guntha, 5e.

Hermadio, 6h9.3.
Hermadion, s. Lucius.
Horiens, 11c3.
Horimos, 5g4.
Hyginus, s. Titus.
Hylas, 11c3.
Hystaspes, 5h3.3; 6f3.1.

Irenaeus, 11b6.
Isidora, 6/68.

Januarius, 12b3.
Jaribol, 6b4s.
Jesus, 5f6; 6f, i5; 9b12; 12b.
Julius Caesar, 9c3.1.

Kamenius, s. Alfenius.
Kastor, 9a11.
Keresaspa, v. Hystaspes, 6h5.
Khusrau II, 5b2; 6f.
Kriton, pt 2.
Kyrilla, 6i3.

Libeianos (Livianus), 6a.
Licinius, 6h9.4.
Livianus, 3a.
Lucaius, 6h6.1; 8a1.1.
Lucius Flavius Hermadion, 6h3.1, 9.3.

Marcellinus, s. Placidus.
Marcus Aemilius Chrysanthus, 6h10.
Marcus Aurelius, 5i4; 6i; 9c3.1.
Marcus Lollianus Callinicus, 11b6.
Marcus Modius Agatho, 6h6.3.
Markos, s. Aurelius.
Marinos, 6a, b3.

Marsus, s. Petronius, Publius.
Masades, 5h3.2.
Mettia Lochias, 6h1.1.
Moses, 6h6.1.

Nikomedeus, 5g4.

Octomasades, 5h3.2.
Ostanes, 2b8; 6b3.

Papak, 6f, h6.1.
Petronius Felix Marsus, 11b6.
Philocurius, 6a2.
Phraotes, 4g2; 7f1.
Placidus Marcellinus, 5e.
Pontus Pontianus, 6h9.2.
Pourusaspa, 6h5.
Praesens, s. Bruttius.
Primus, 5e; 6h11.2.
Priscus, s. Tarentius.
Protas, 6h9.1.
Publius Aelius Marsus, 6h9.3.
Publius Aelius Tryfon, 6h8.
Publius Clodius Venerandus, 6h1.2.

Ripanus, 6h9.4.

Sagaris, 6h2.
Šapor, 5b2, f6; 6d1.
Sasan, 6f, h6.1.
Saušsatar, 5f10.
Senilius Carantinus, 6h.
Severus (Consul), 12c3.
Severus (Emperor), 6c1.

Tarentius Priscus, 6h9.
Tarronius, s. Appius.
Theodorus, 6a; 9b10.
Tiberius Claudius Thermodon, 6h1.1.
Tigranes, 6i2.
Tiridates, 6h1.2.
Titus Flavius Hyginus Ephebianus, 6h1.
Trajan, 6c1.
Tryfon, s. Publius.
Turran Dil, 6h9.3.

Valentinus, s. Antonius.

Venerandus, s. Publius.
Verus, 5i4.

Yperanthes, 5e.

Zalmoxis, 5h3.1; 6j2; 9c3.2. v. Gen. Ind.
Zenobios (Eiaeibas), pt 6,b4s.
Zoroaster, v. Gen. Ind.

MITHRAIC MONUMENTS (cited in particular)

(Mons. listed, 3i; pt 4, e, j,; 5e, g1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, i1).

Aequinoctium, 8a2.
Amorium, 6i3.
Angera, 4d, 2.
Antium, 2d.
Apulum, 7c; 8c3; 10b2, 3, d2, e, 2; 11b, e, 2.
Aquae, 4j5; 7a1.1; 8a3.2, 5.
Aquincum, 6h9.2, i, 8a2, 6, b3; 9a8.2.
Aquileia, 11e2.

Besigheim, 8a5; 9b1; 10b1, c, 2.
Bononia, 2d1; 3h2; 4i5.2; 5a2.1, d; 6d; 9b1; 10fss; 11c.
Brigetio, 5i6.3; 8d2.

Camboglanna, 6h9.3.
Capua, 4h; 9a8.2, b5; 10f1, 4;
  tauroctone, 3a, g, 1; 4i5.1; 5a1, c3, i1, 3;
  other paintings, 3f1; 4h; 5f10, h8.1; 7g6; 8b3; 9a6, 7ss, 8-9.3.
Carnuntum I, 6h11.1; 8a2, 3.2, 6, d4.1; III, 2c3; 5i7; 6i1.1; 8a4, 6, d4.1; 11e3.
Castel Gandolfo, 2b9.2; 6d1.1, f; 11c.
Chesterholm, 8a3.1.
Civitas Montanensium, 6h6.1; 8a1.1; 11e.
Cologne, 10e1.
Commagena, 5i4.

Dieburg, 4e2; 6h3; 8a3.2, 6, b2, 3;
  relief, 2a1; 3b1.1; 4j2; 5h7, 8.1; 6c2ss, d, f; 7b, c, d1, e1, g, 5; 8a5, b, d6; 9b3, c3; 11e3; pt 12, a2, 6, c1, 2, 5.
Dura, 2d; 4g8; 6a, 1, h7; 12d;
  I, 2b1, 5, c; 3a; 4a2, b1, g6; 5a1, 2, d1, f10, i4; 6a, b4, d; 7g1; 8a3.2; 9a17; 11c, e1;
  II, 2b4; 3a2; 4b2, h1; 6a, b3, d, 7b; 9a8.2, b6.
  III, 3a2; 4b2,h1; 6a, b3; 6c3, 5, f, h6.1; 7b, d, e, g, 5; 8a1, 5, b2, c1, 4; 9a7, 11-18, b3, 8, 12; 9c4; 11c, e3; 12a5, 6, c1, 2, 3, 6.
Durnomagus, 8a3.2.

Eisack, 6i.
Enstarna, 6i4.

Fiano Romano, 9b6.
Florence, 8a4.
Friedberg, 12a3.

Gandolfo, v. Castel.
Gimmeldingen, 4j1.

Hama, 6c5, d3.
Heddernheim I, 6h7.1, i3.1; 7g; 8a3.2, 6, b2, d4.1; 9b7, c2; 10a1, b1; 11e3; 12a3, 5, 6, c5.
  II, 8a3.2, 6, d4.1.
  III, 3h; 4i5.2; 7c1; 8a1, 3.1, b1, c3; 11e1, d, e2.

Interamna, 6i.

Judovje (Rozanec), 2a; 4d, 2, j3.2.

Kadin-Most, 8b.
Königshofen, 6h11; 8d4.1.
Konjici, 8b2; 9b8.
Kral Marko, 3c.
Kumanovo, 6i1; 11d.

Lanuvium, 2a; 8b.
London, 4b2; 5i1; 6h3.2; 11c1.
Longovicium, 6h11.

Mainz, 4b; 10c2.
Mannheim, 2b; 5g5; 8d4.
Marino, 4/27; 12/5.
Mauls, 7g; 8a5, d6; 9c3; 11e3; 12a5, 6, b3, c2, 3, 6.
Merida, 6d1.1, h3; 8a2, d4; 9b1, 9; 11b1.

Naples, 3a.
Narbon, 2b3.

Neuenheim, 5d1, i3; 7d1; 8a5,b, d2; 9c2; 10b1; 11e3; 12a2, 4, 6, b2, 3, c1, 2, 3, 5; ephippos, 6c5, d3, f.
Nersae, 1f3; pt 2; 4; 4j4; 7c4.2, g5; 8a5; 12a5, 6; 4/27 .
Novae, 3f1.

Osterburken, 5i2.3; 6c5; 7d1, g5; 9c2,4; 10c2; 11d1, 2, 3, e3; pt 12, a-d.
Ostia, 3c, f1.1, h3; 5a; 11b3, 6; Mithraea, 2b3, c3; Animals, 2b4, c2, d1; 9a9.3; Felicissimus, 2c2; 4d2, g3.1; 5a2; 9a10-18; Footprint, 2c4; 9a9.3; Fructosus, 2c3; Painted Walls, 3i; 4i5.1; Palazzo Imperiale, 3i; 6h8; Seven Portals, 9a9.2, 11; Seven Spheres, pt 4, a2, d; 9a9ss, 11, 12,b3; Terme di Mitra, 8a3.1.
Oxyrhyncus, 2b9.2; 6d1.1; 11b2, 3, 4.

Poetovio I, 2b7.2, c3; 7c1,e; 8a2, 6, b2, 3; 9a8, 9, 16.2;
  II, 1f2, 3, 4; pt 2; 7e1; 8a3.1, 6; 9a8.2, b12; 11b, c3, e3; 12a5; c3, 4.
  III, 1f2, 3, 4; pt 2, b; 4j3.2; 6c5, h11.3; 7c1; 8a6; 9a8, 13, 16.1s; 9b12; 10c, 2, e2; 11c, 1; 12c4.
Potaissa, 1f2; 9a2.
Procolitia, 8a3.2, 4, 6; 9a18.1.
Prozor, 8a6.

Quadraro, 1f4; 4b2; 5a, 1; 11e2.

Rome, pt 1; 5a2; 6h6.2s, i2.3; 8a3.1; 9c5; 10f5; altar, 6h10; base, 2b2; 6e; relief, 1a, d; 2b, 3, d; 3a, f1, 2, h2; 4i5.1; 5e; 6h6.4; 8d2; 11b; statue, 3a; 4j3.2; 6h3.1; 7c1; 11b4; Mithraea: Aventine, 9a11; Barberini, 1f3; 3g1; 4b1, 2, d, h1; 5a, e; 7g, 1; 8a5, b3; 9a5, 8.2; 9b1, c3.3; 11b, e; 12a5, 6, c2, 3, 4; Baths of Caracalla, 6h7.1; 11.3; 8c4; 9a8.2; Captoline, 3f1; 12b3; Esquiline, 3d, f, g3; 4g6; 5d1, e, i1; 6h11.2; Museo di Roma, 2b3, 4; 3f1; 5a1, g7; 7e; 8a3.1, 9a8.2; San Clemente, 5h7.1; 8a3.2; Santa Prisca, 2c2; 3f1; 4g3.1; 6h8, 9; 7g6; 9a4, 8.2, 10-18, b10; 12c3; Dolichenum, 3d; 6h6.2; Mithra Dolichenus relief, 2c1, 2; 3e; 4j1; 6c5, d3.1; 6i5.1; 11e2.
Romula, 10d2, e.
Rozanec, v. Judovje.
Rückingen, 6c4, i3.1; 7c5, d1, e1, f2; 9b3, 7, c4; 10c2; 11e3; pt 12, c6.

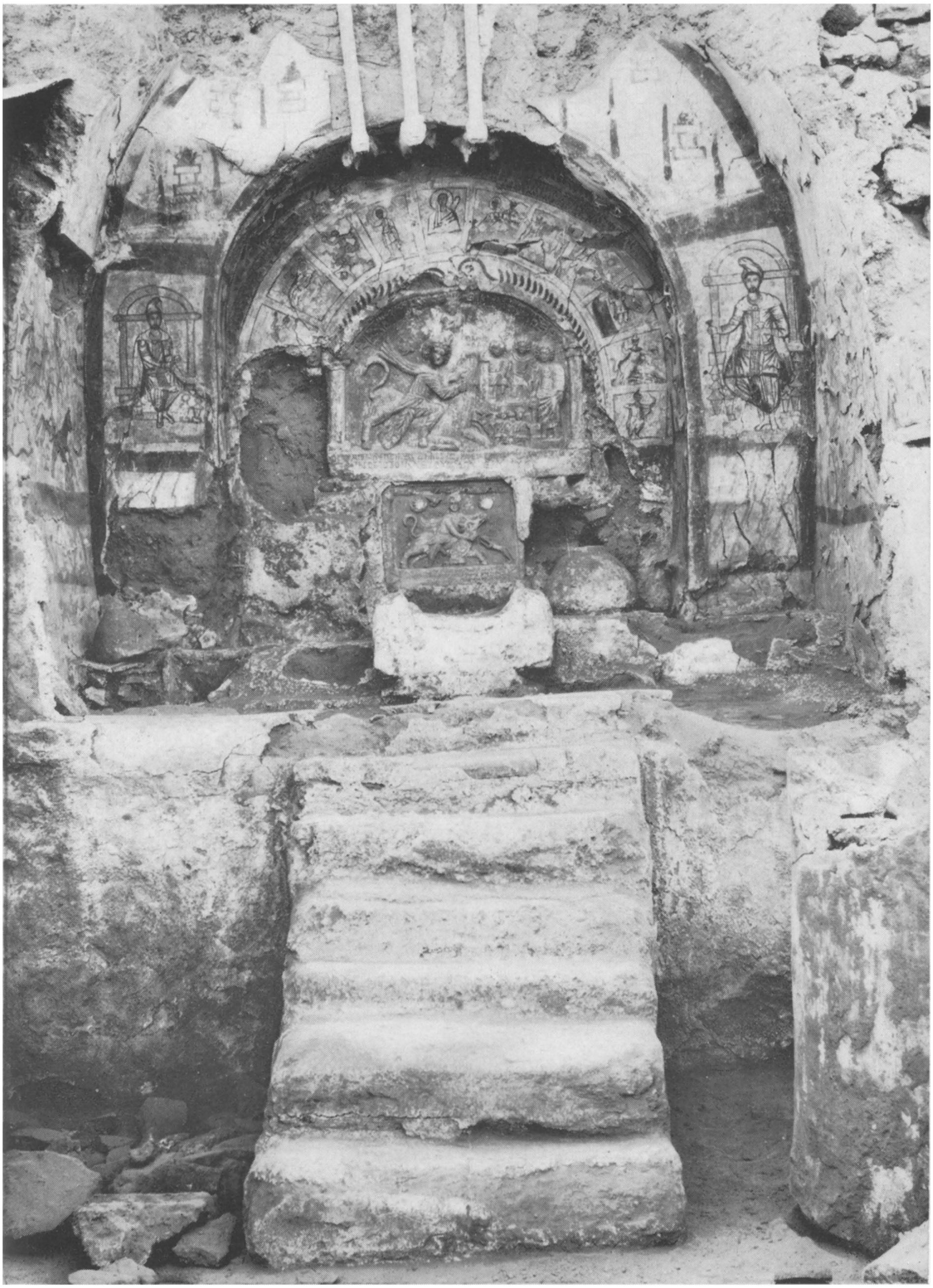
Saint Albans, 6g2.2.
Salona, 2a; 3f1; 4b2, j3.2; 8a2; 11c2.
San Zeno, 12a1, 4, 5, 6, c4.
Sarmizegetusa, 5h3.1; 6h9; 8d4.
Sarrebourg, 8d4; 10a1, b3; 11d1, 2, 3; 12a4, 5, c6.
Secia, 2b; 4j3.1, 4; 5f10.
Serdica, 9b5; 11b.
Sidon, 2d; 4d; 5b; 8b2; 12a3; relief, 2d1; 3a; 4g8; 5a1, i6; statue, 3f1; 5a2.
Sinac, 4j5.
Sinitovo, 9a3.1, b5.
Siscia, 3f1; 4b2; 8b1; 9c2; 11d.
Spoletium, 8a3.1, b3; 9a9.2.
Stockstadt I, 4j1; 6h3; 8b2, d4.1; 9a5, b1; 11d4;
  II, 6h3; 8b3; 9a8.2.
Susa, 4e2; 6c5.

Tibiscum, 6h9.3.
Tirgusor, 4j1s, 5; 6d3.
Tridentium, 8a2.
Trier, 2b2; 4b, 1; 5a2.1; 6c5, d3; 7c1; 8a1; 12c3.
Troia, 9b9.

Utum, 3c.

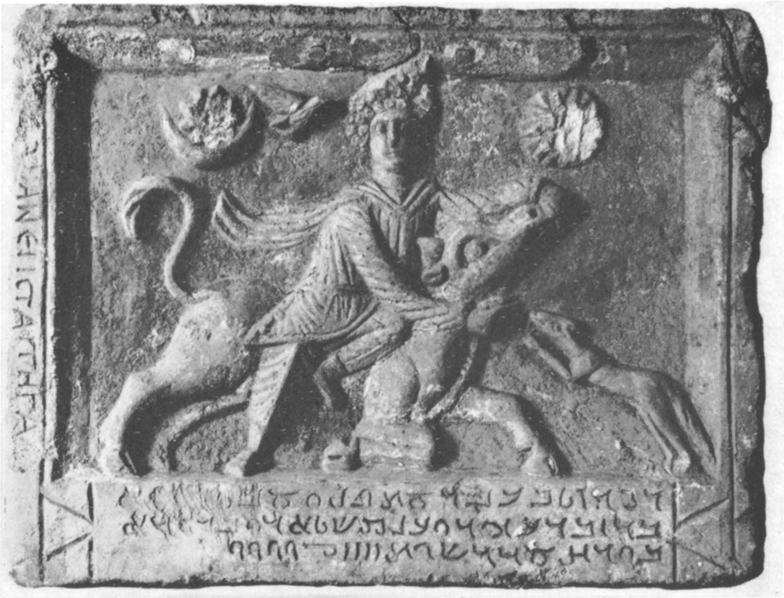
Velletri, 9a6, 7.3, c5.
Vetren, 8a1.3.
Virunum, 7g; 8a5, b3; 10c2; 12a5, 6, c3.

PLATES I-XLV

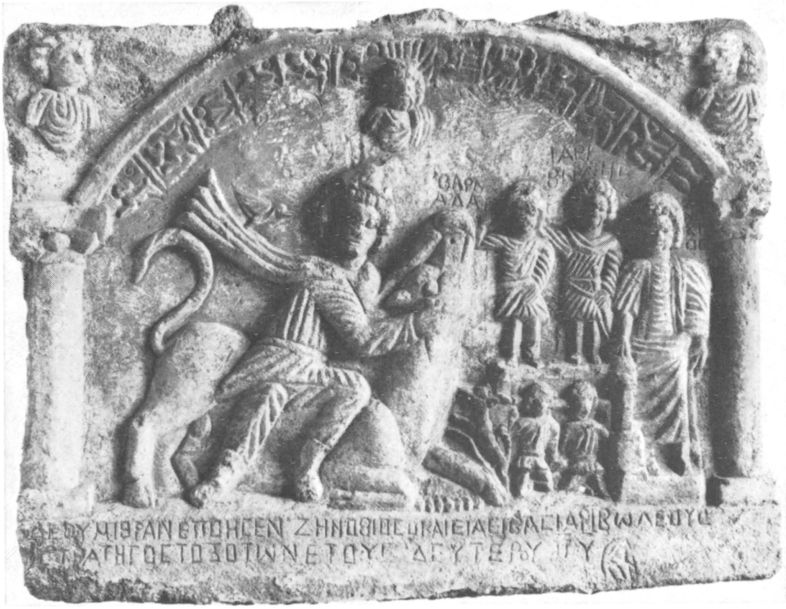


34. Dura III. Front wall and shrine *in situ*.

PLATE II

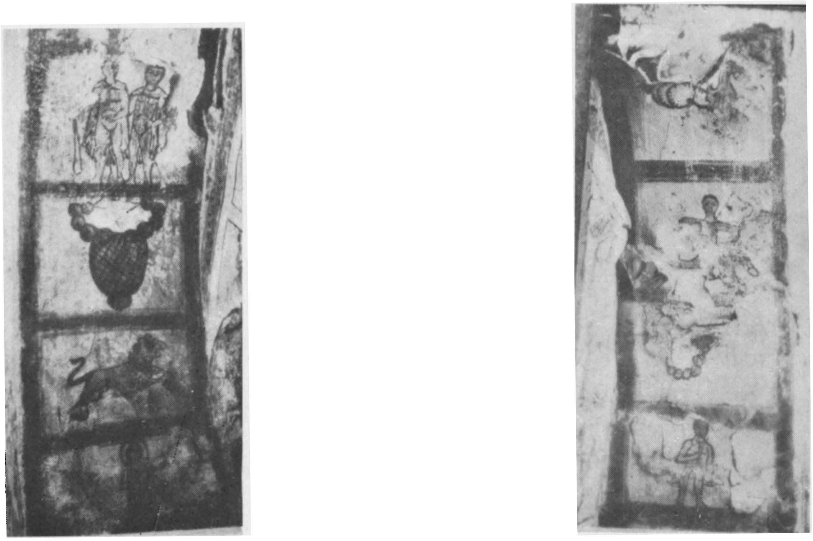


37. Dura. Ethpani relief.

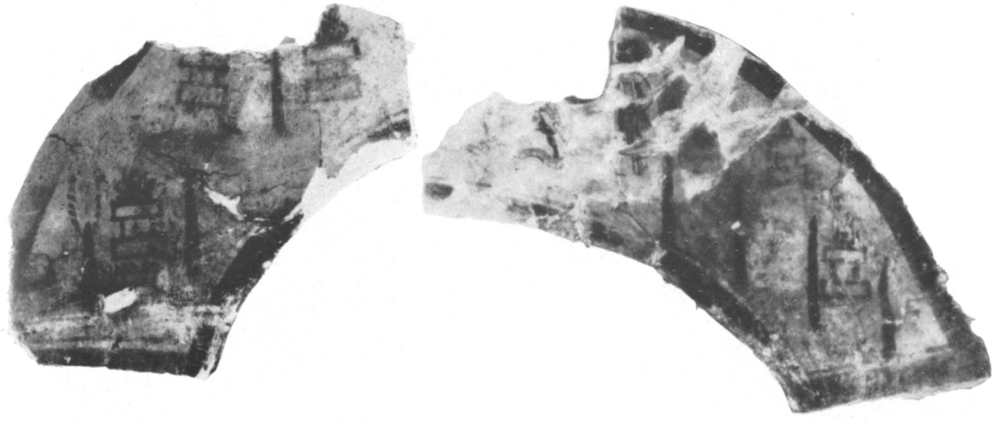


40. Dura. Zenobios relief.

PLATE III

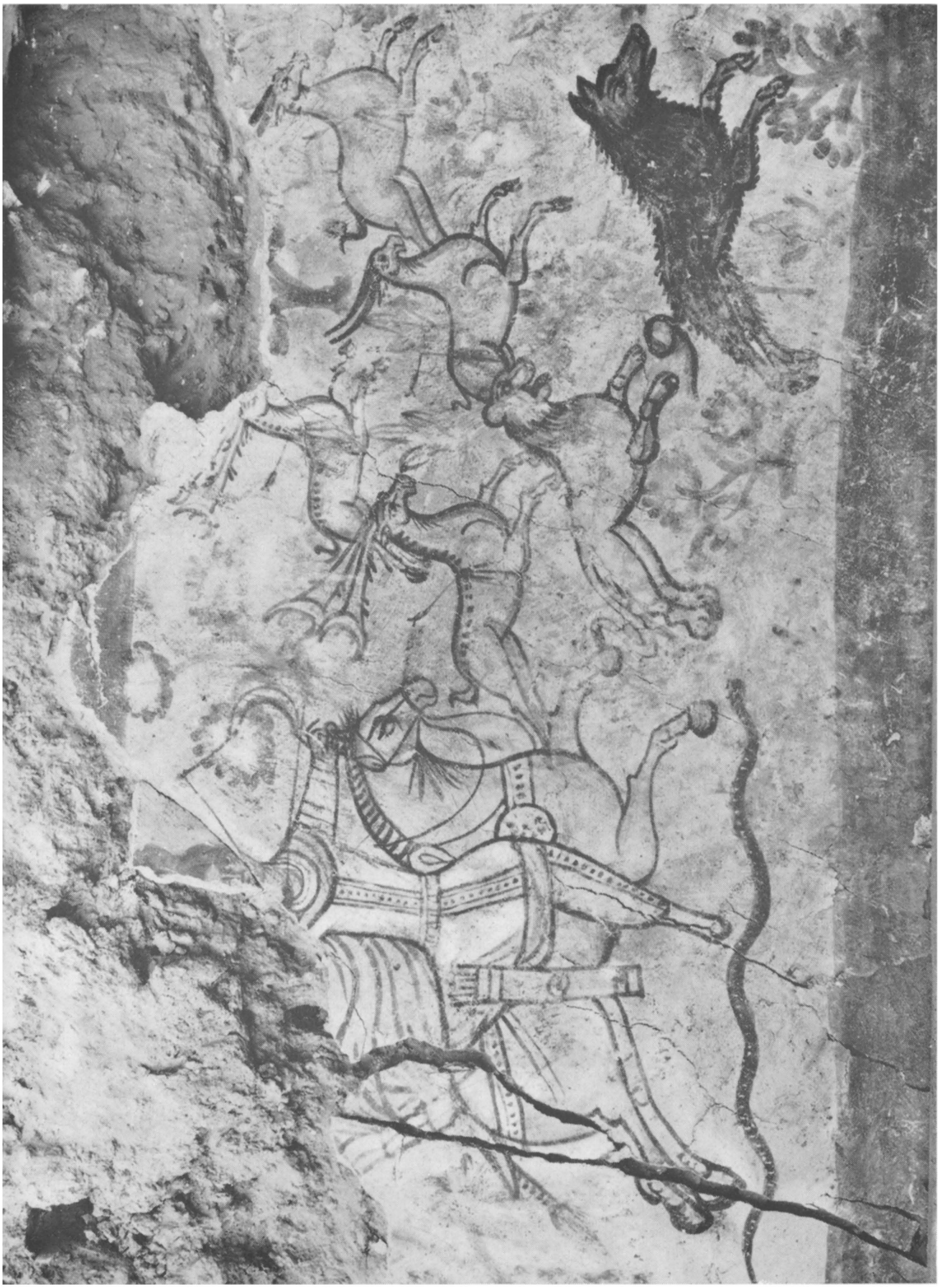


43. Dura III. Signs of Zodiac.

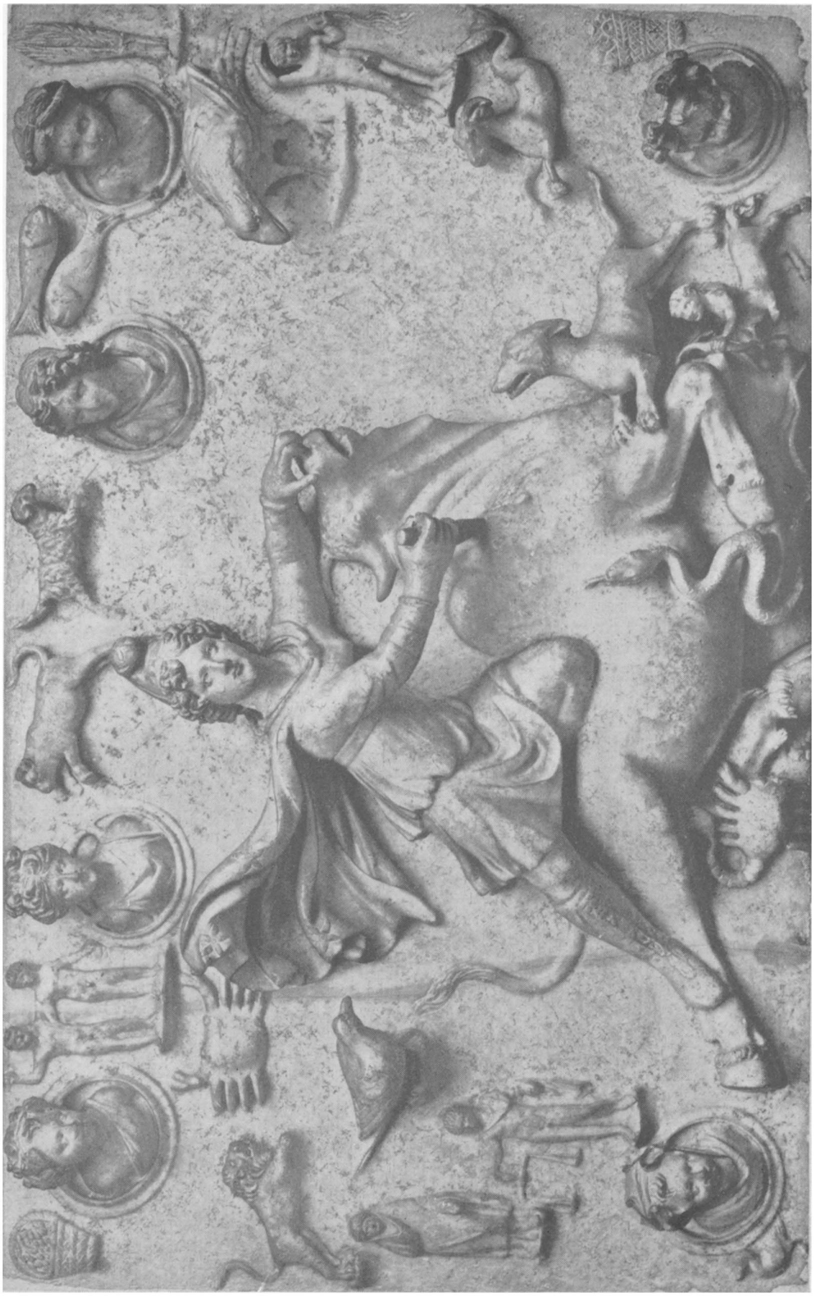


45. (=fig. 12). Dura III. Painted Tauroctone.

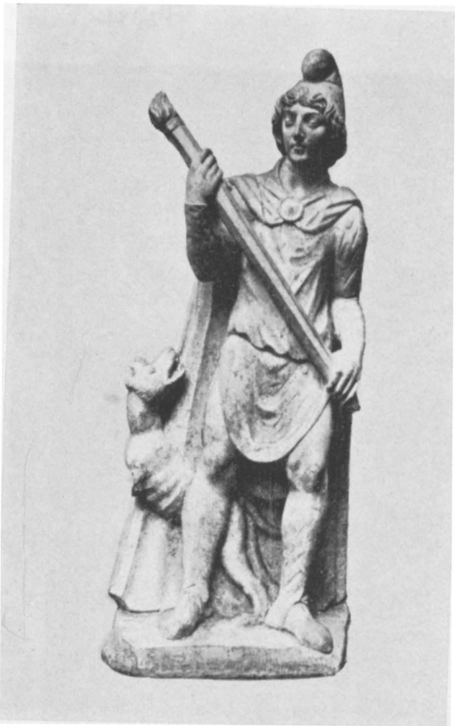
PLATE IV



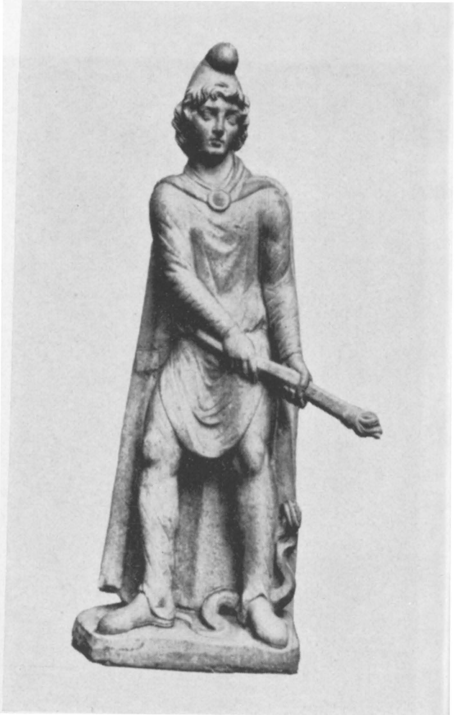
52. Dura III. Mithra ephippos on left wall of shrine.



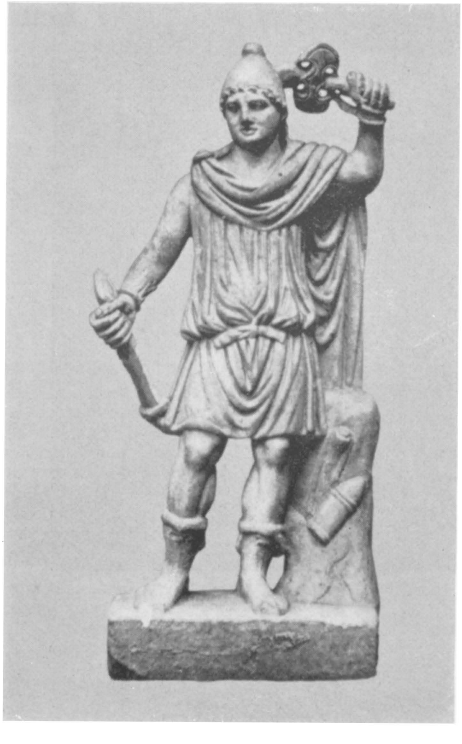
75. Sidon, Syria.



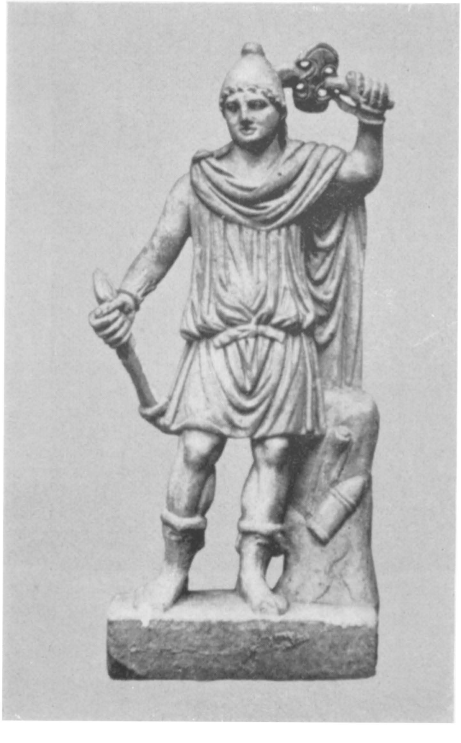
80. Cautes.



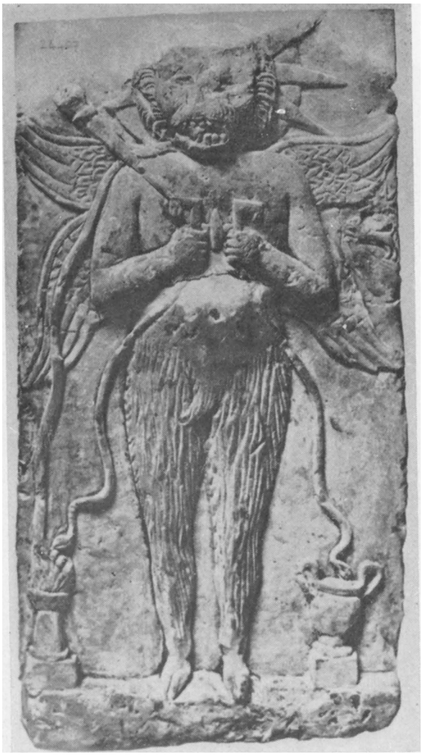
81. Cautopates.



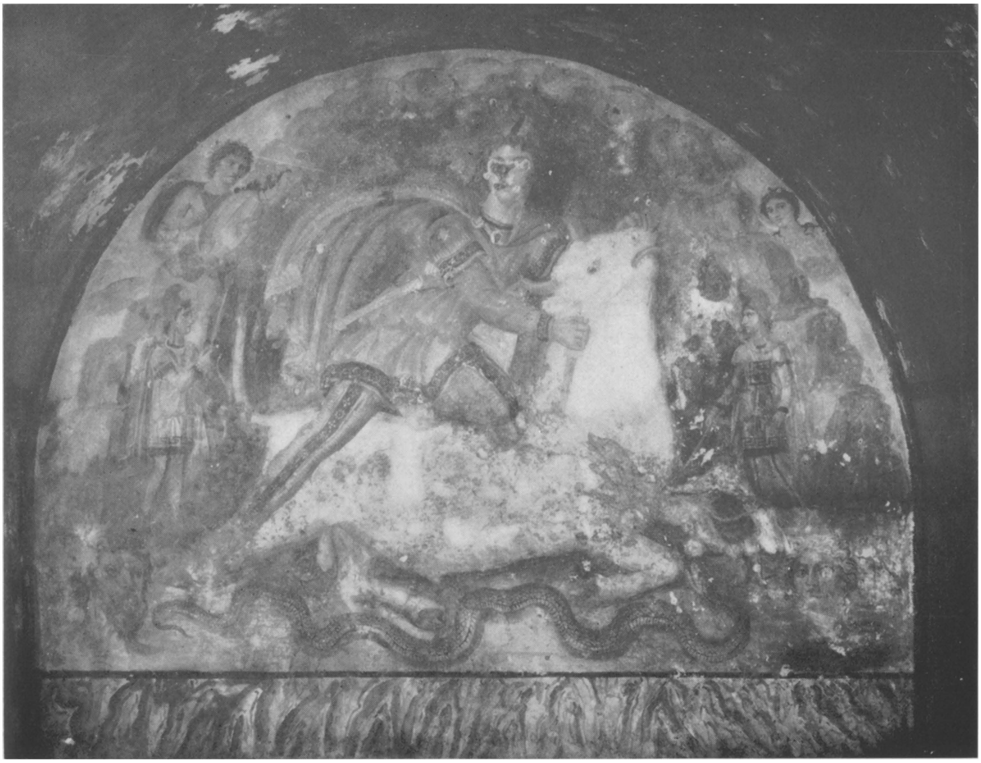
83. Torchbearer.



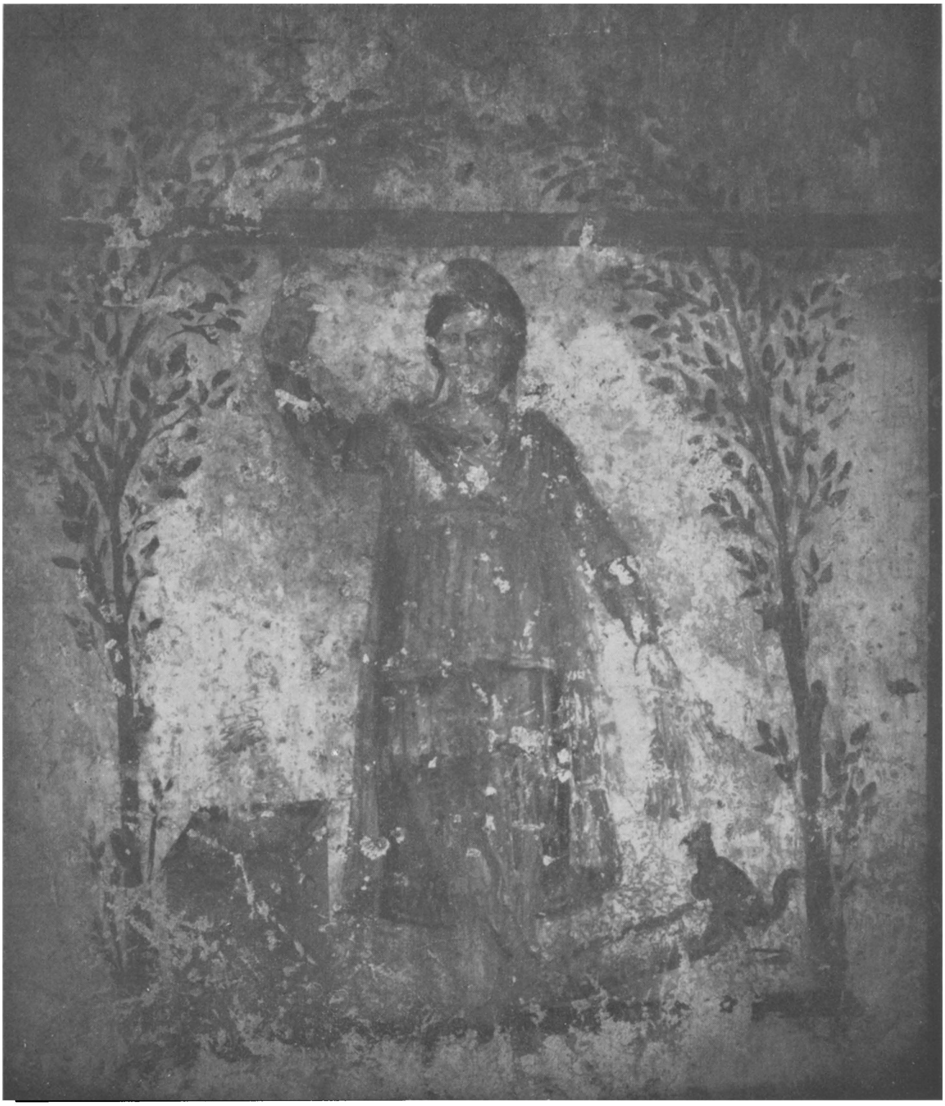
84. Dea triformis.



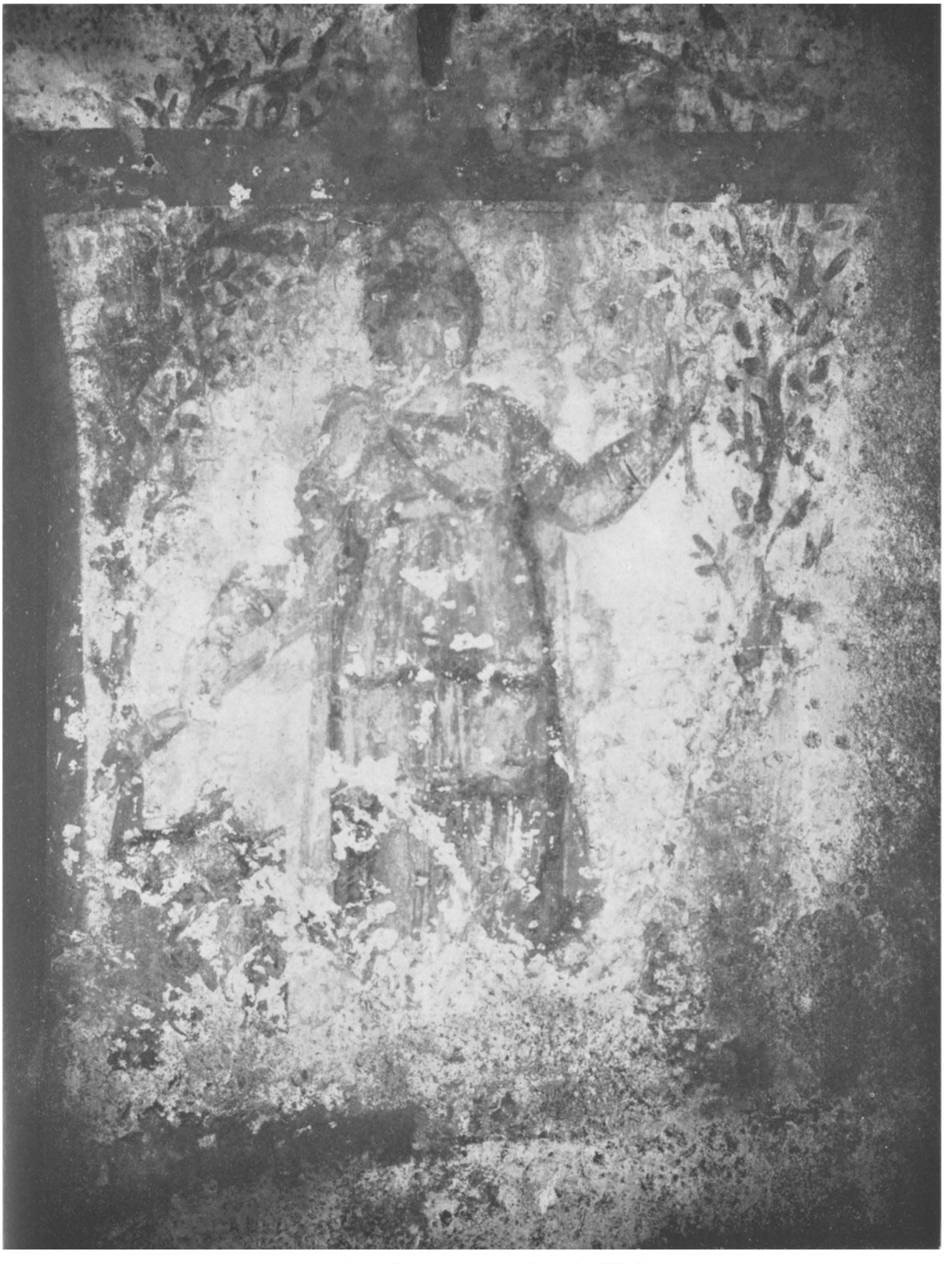
103. Oxyrhyncus, Egypt.



181. Capua. West Wall.

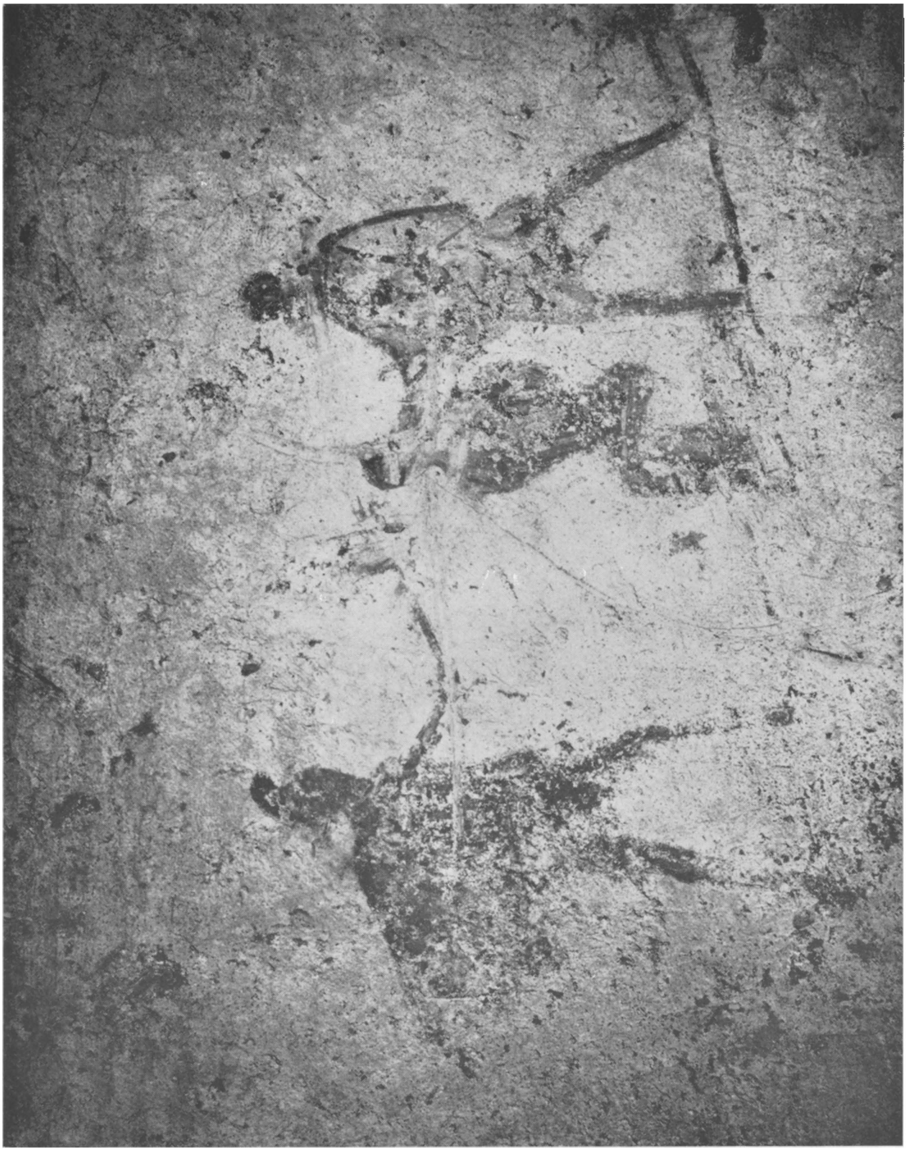


182. Cautes, North Wall.

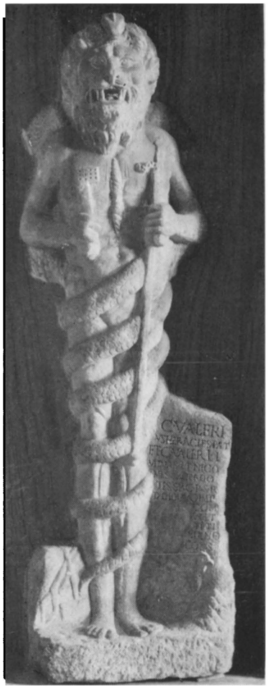


183. Cautopates, South Wall.

PLATE X



188. Birth by fire, North Wall.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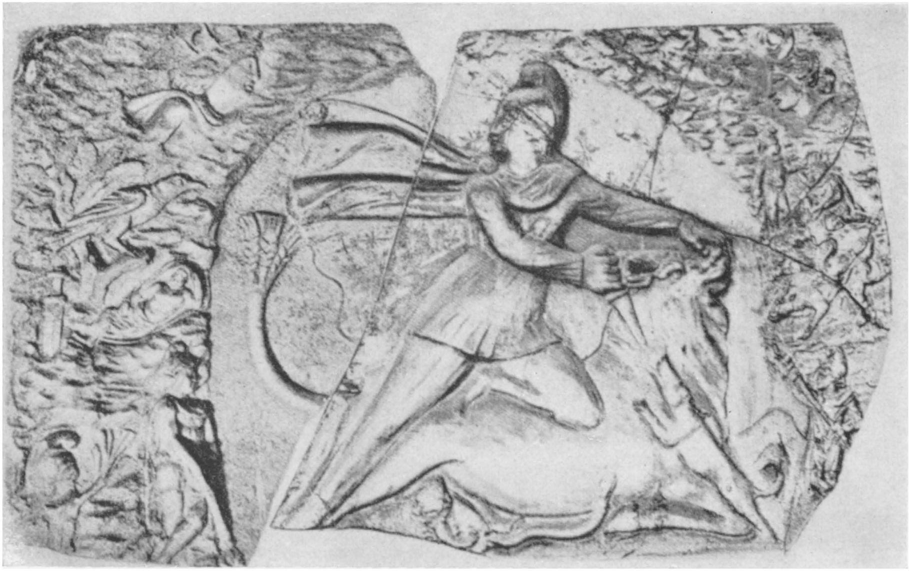
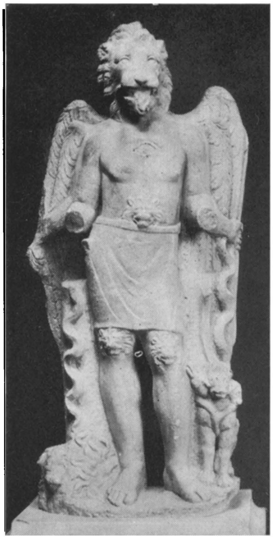
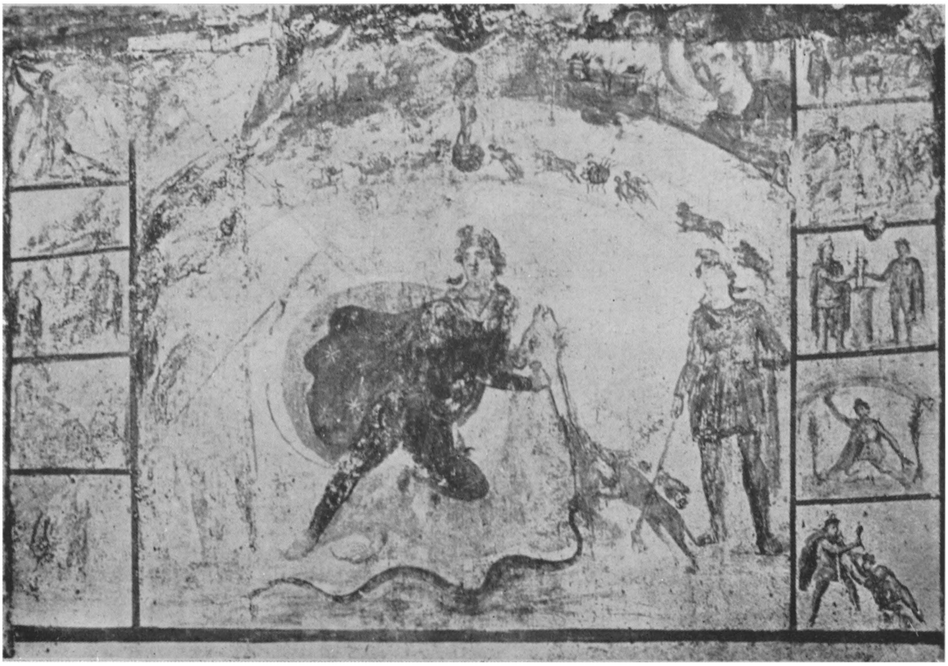
312. Ostia.



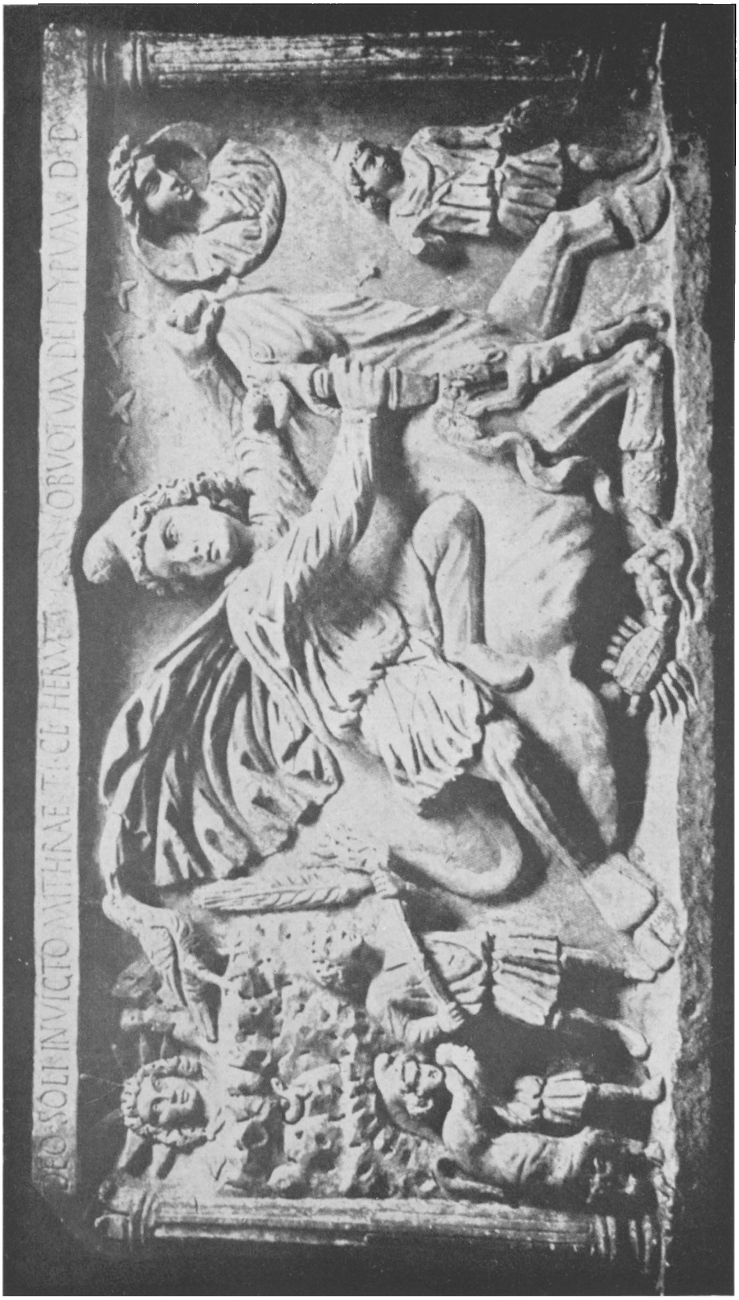
321. Quadraro.



326. Castel Gandolfo.



390. Rome. Gardens of Palazzo Barberini.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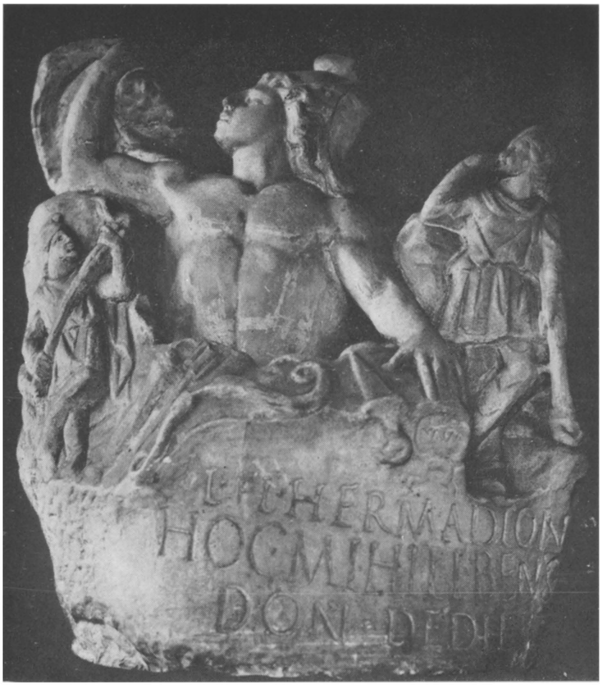
435. Rome. Museo di Roma.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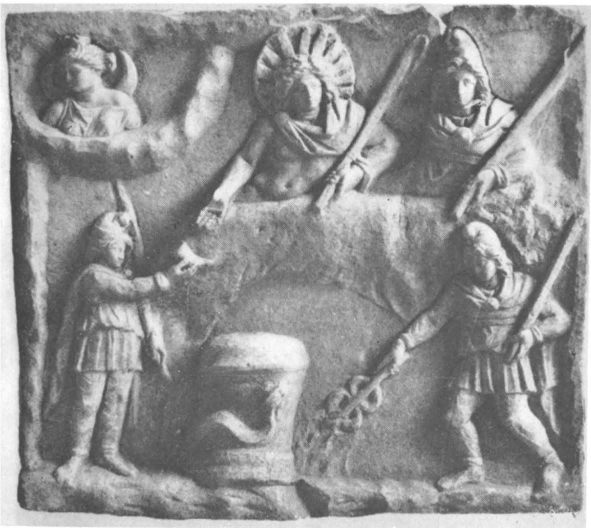
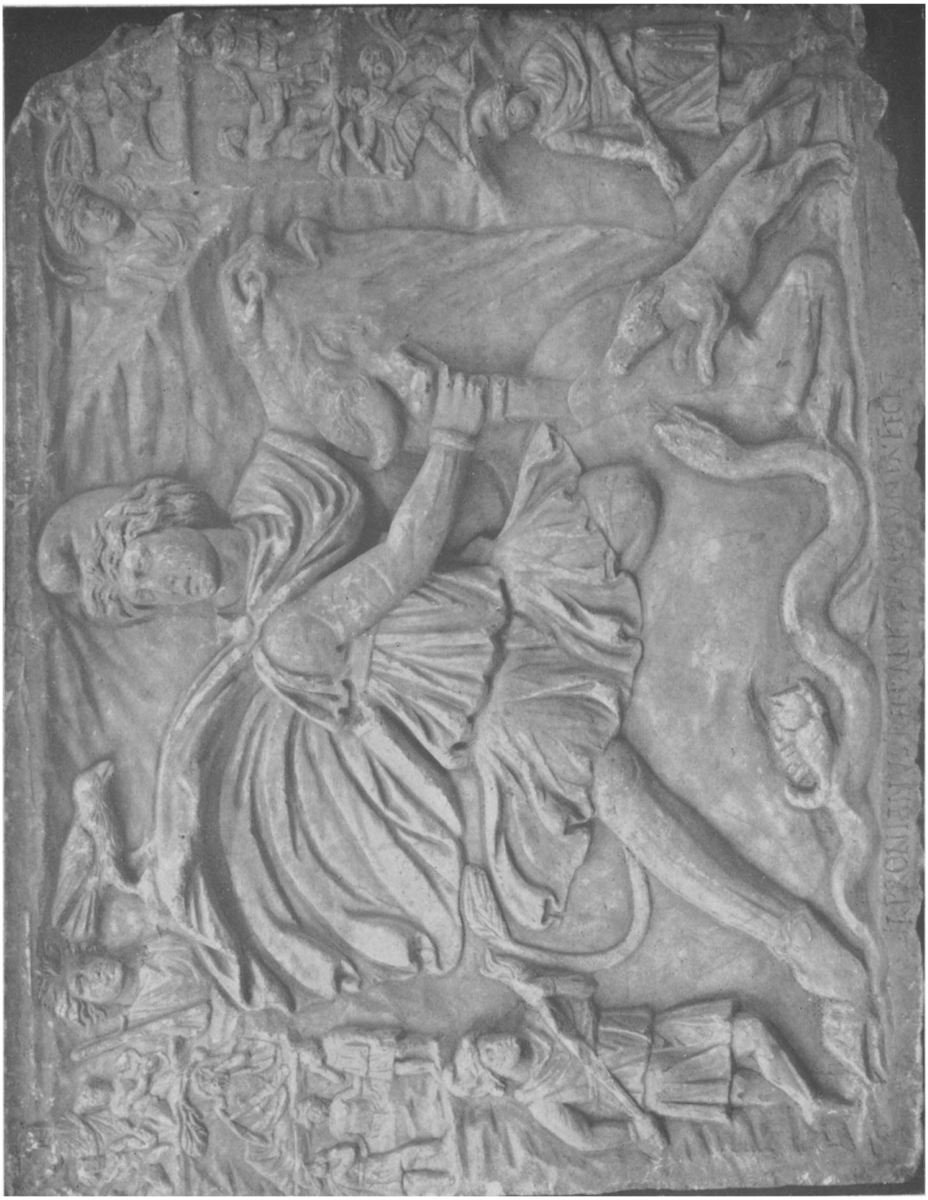
590. Rome. Mithra-Dionysus.



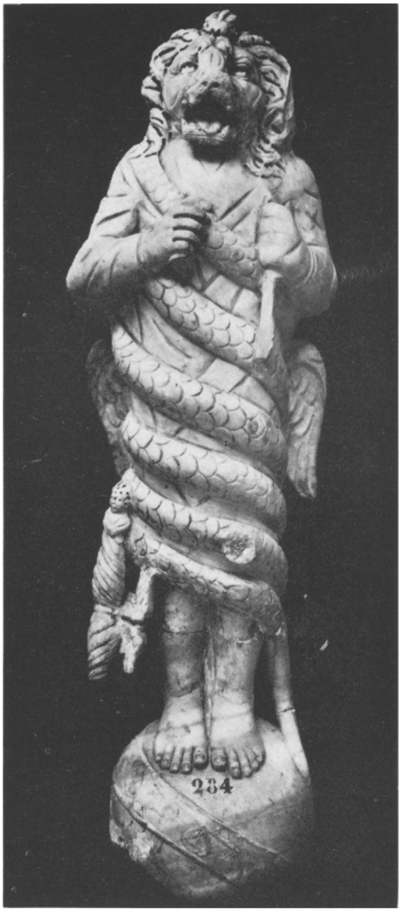
641. Fiano-Romano. Reverse.

PLATE XV

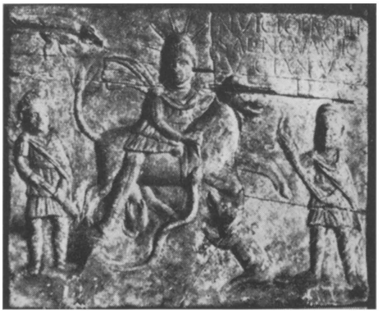


650. Nersae.

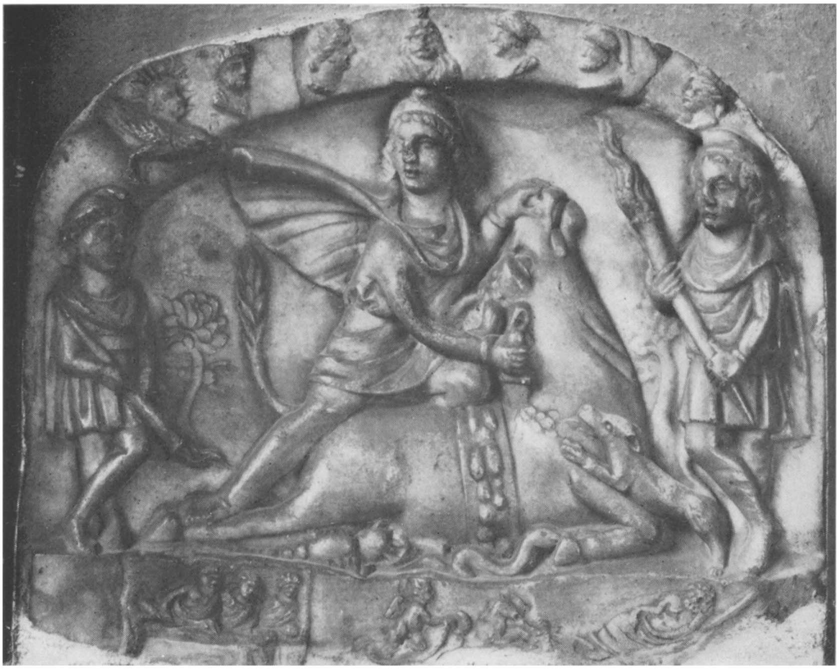
PLATE XVI



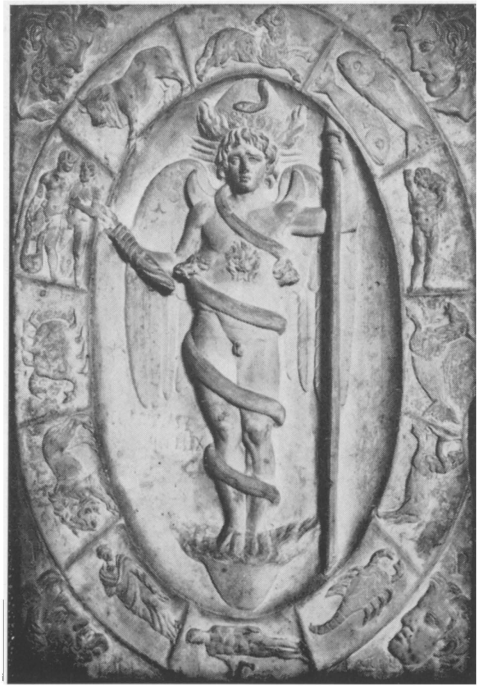
665. In Florence.



690. Macerata.

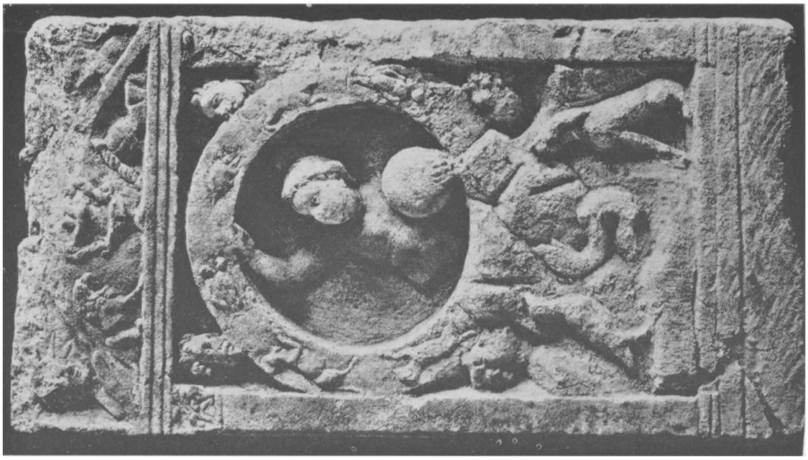


693. Bononia.

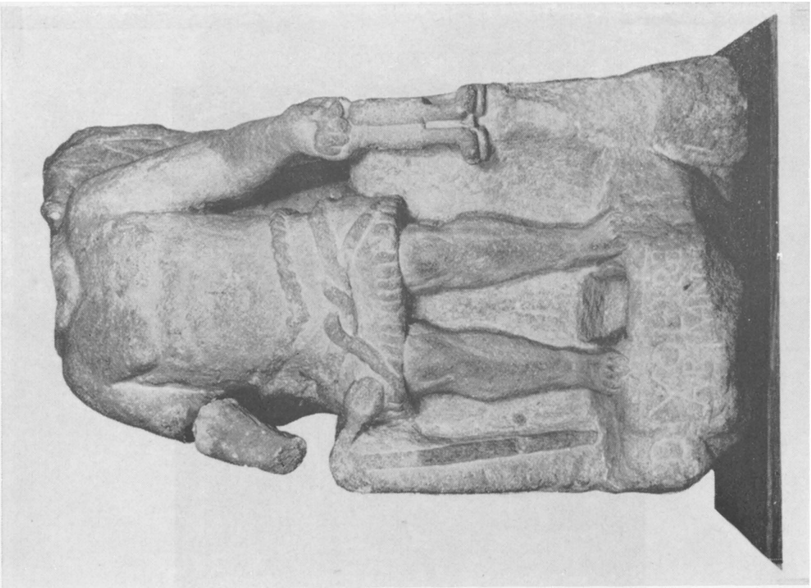


695. Modena.

PLATE XVIII

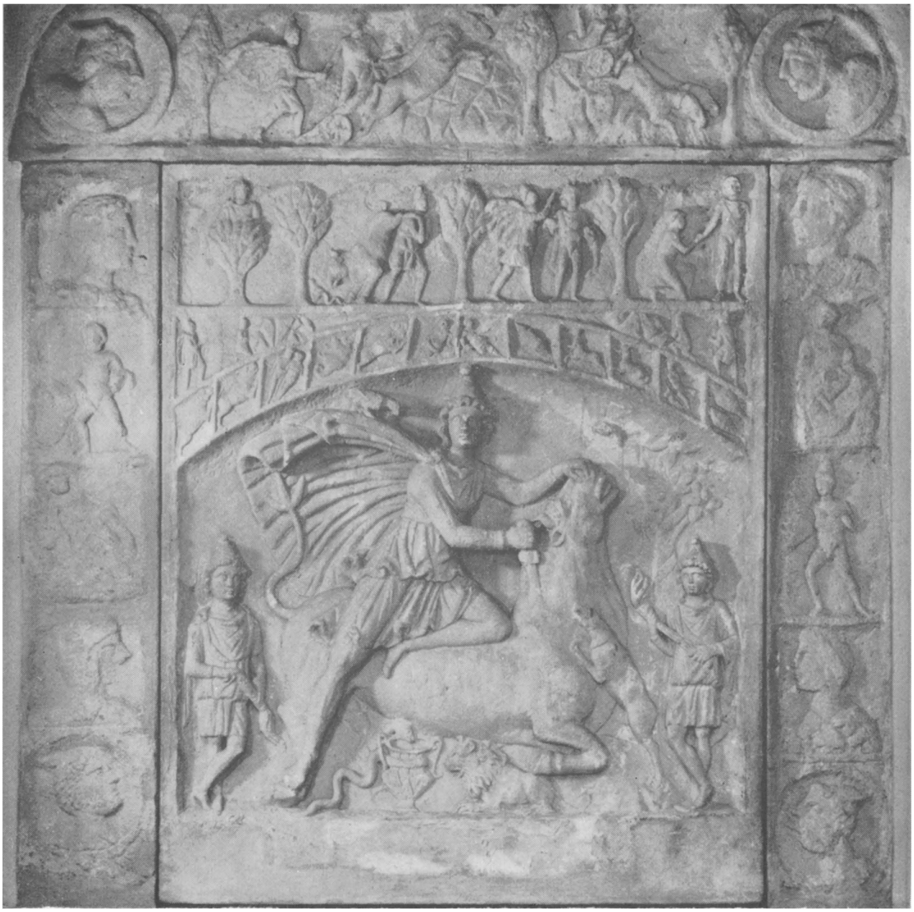


985. Trier, Gaul.



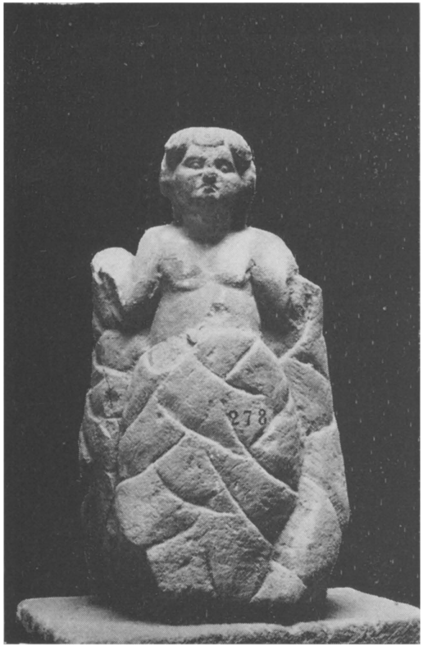
833. Eburacum, Britain.

PLATE XIX

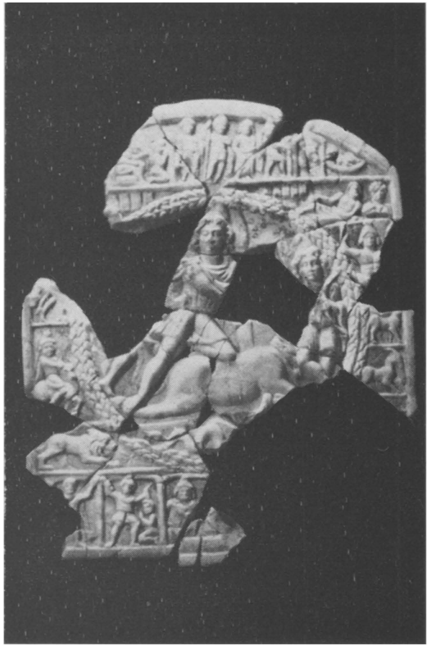


1083. Heddernheim I, Germany.

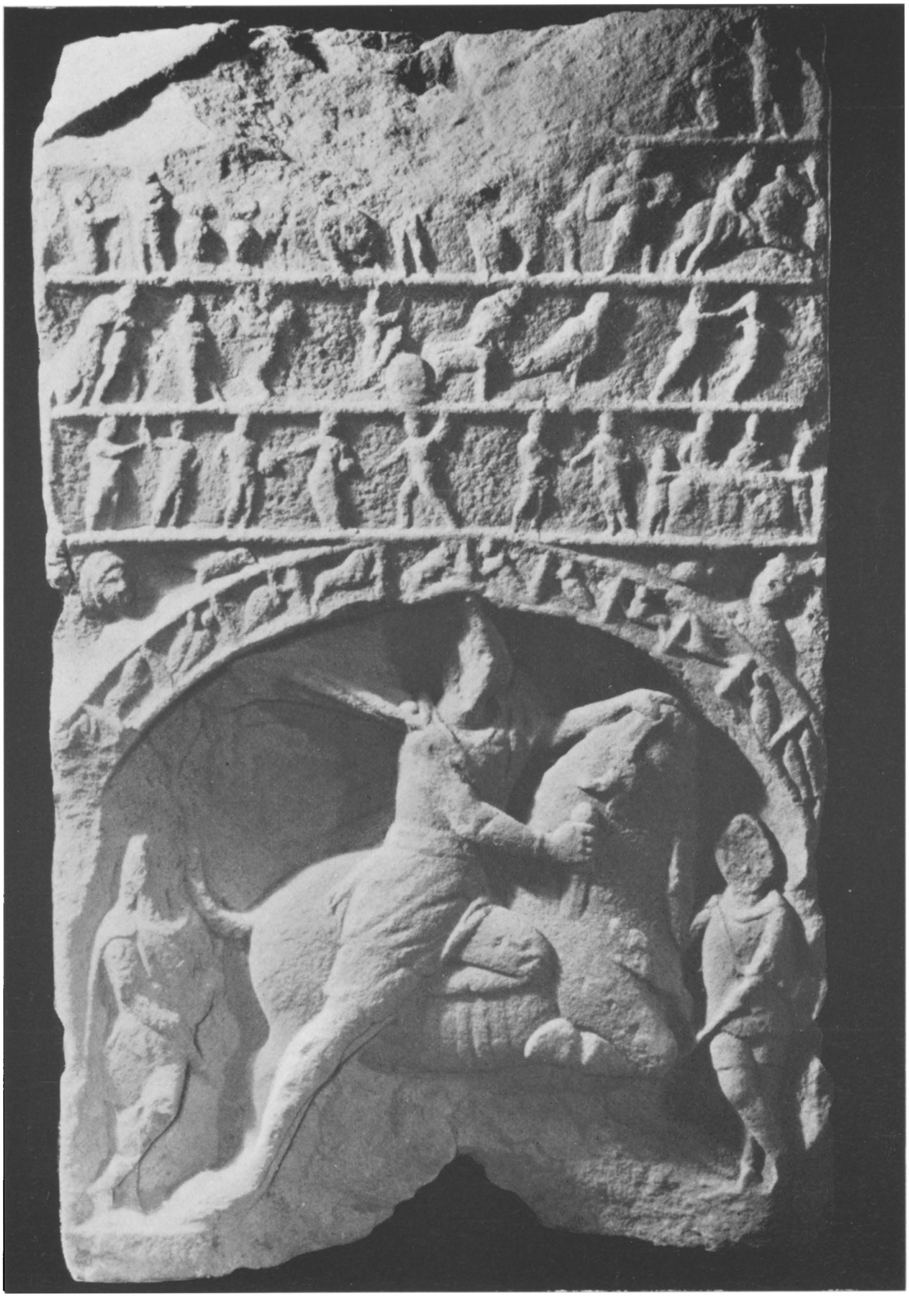
PLATE XX



1088. Heddernheim I.

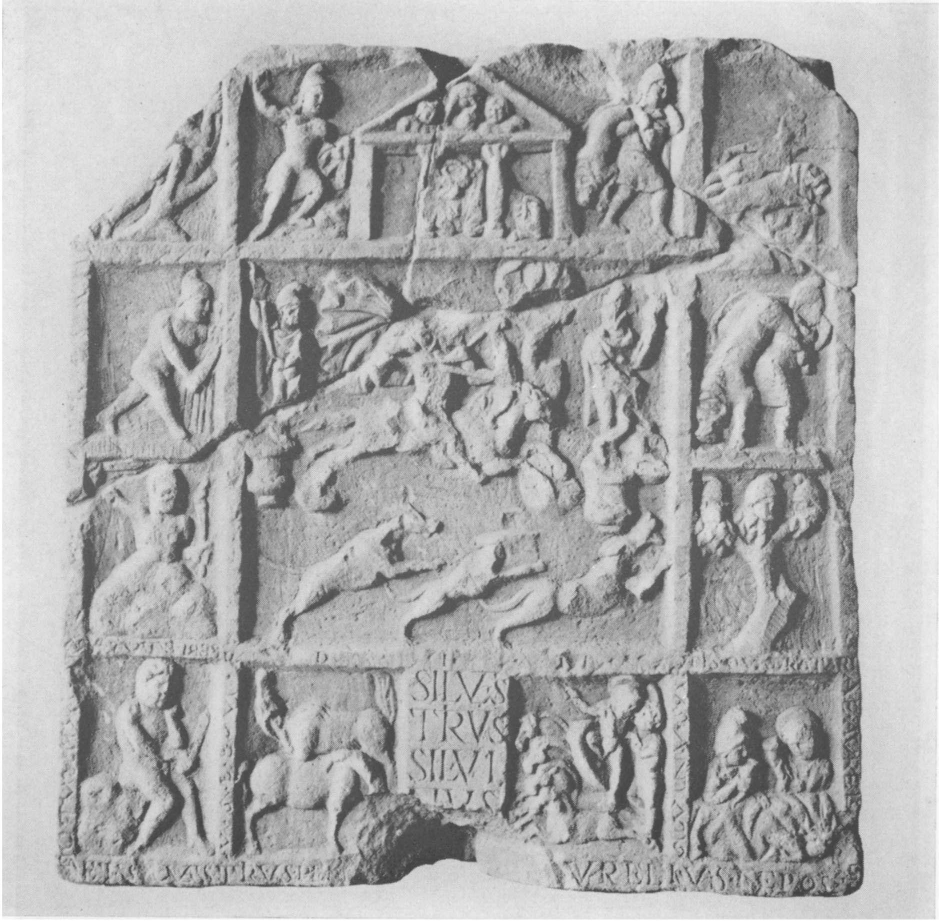


1128. Heddernheim III.



1137. Rückingen, Germany.

PLATE XXII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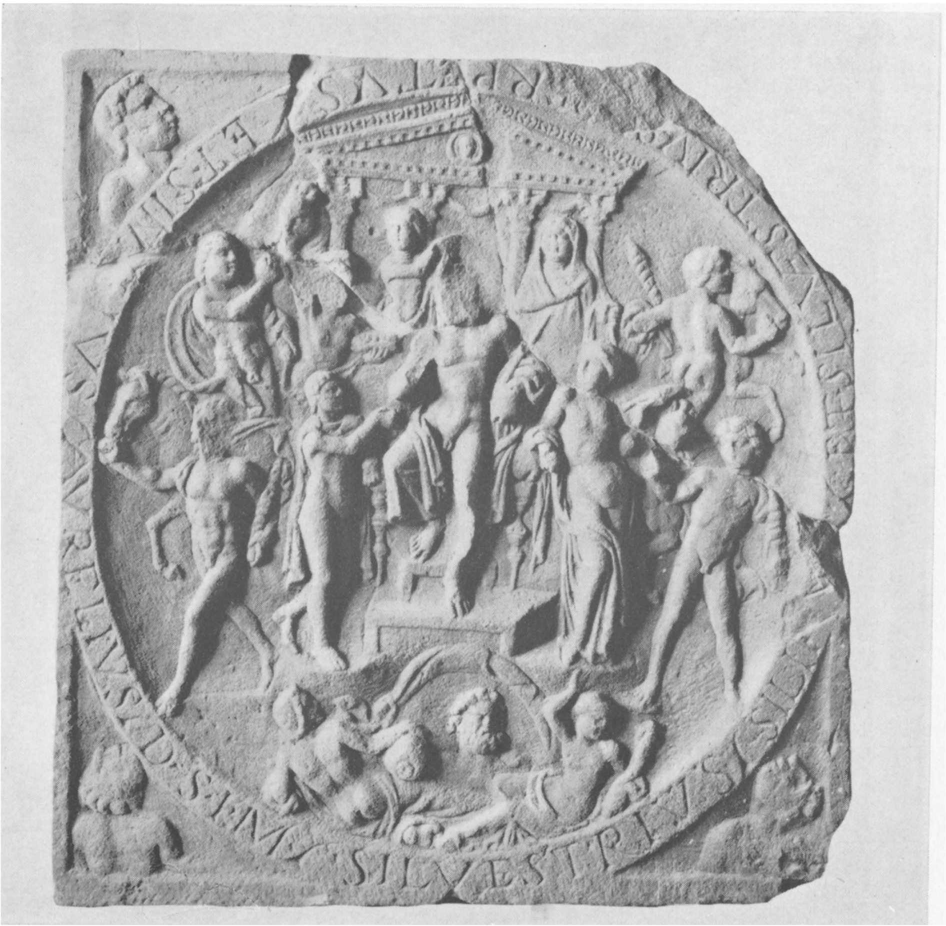
NVS

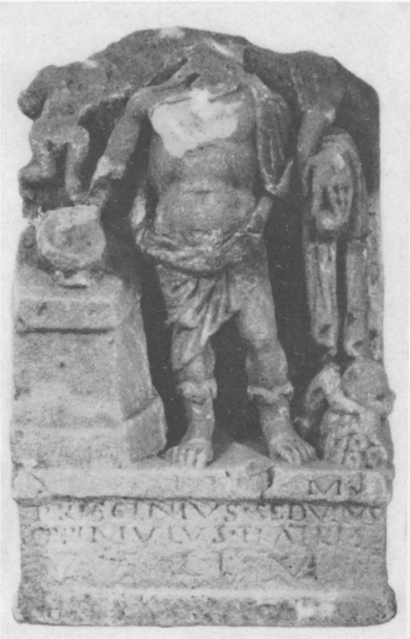
1247. Dieburg, Germany.

PLATE XXIII



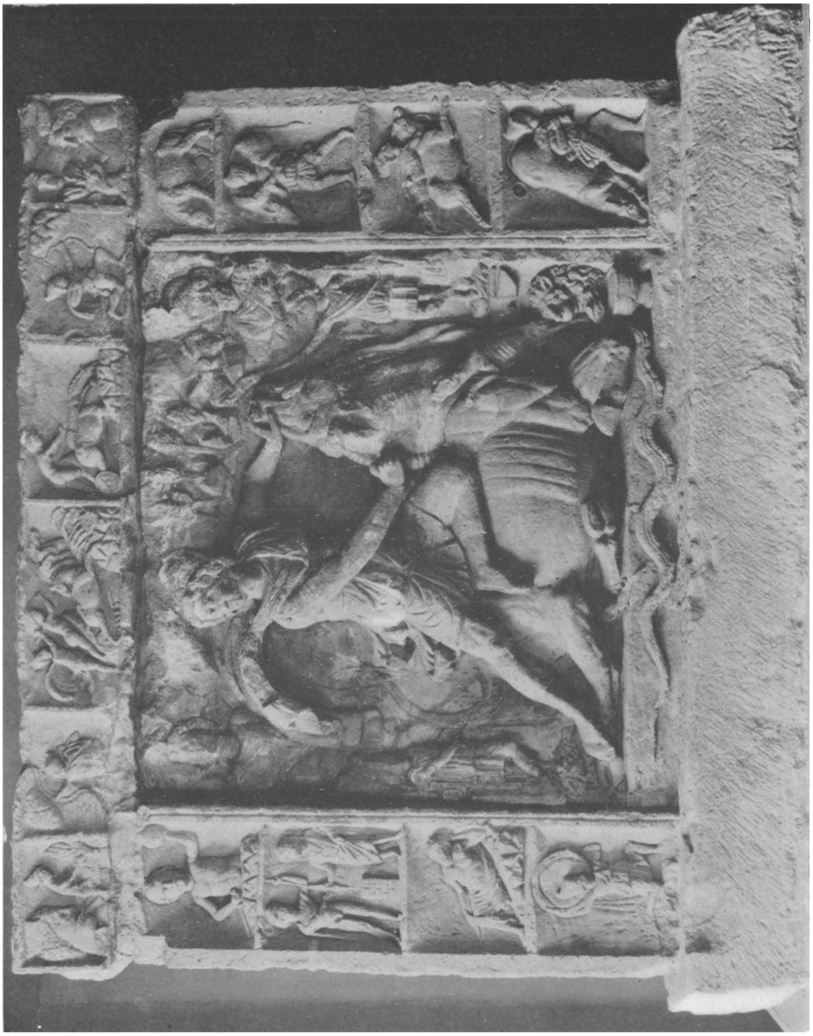
1247. Dieburg, Reverse.

Plate XXIV

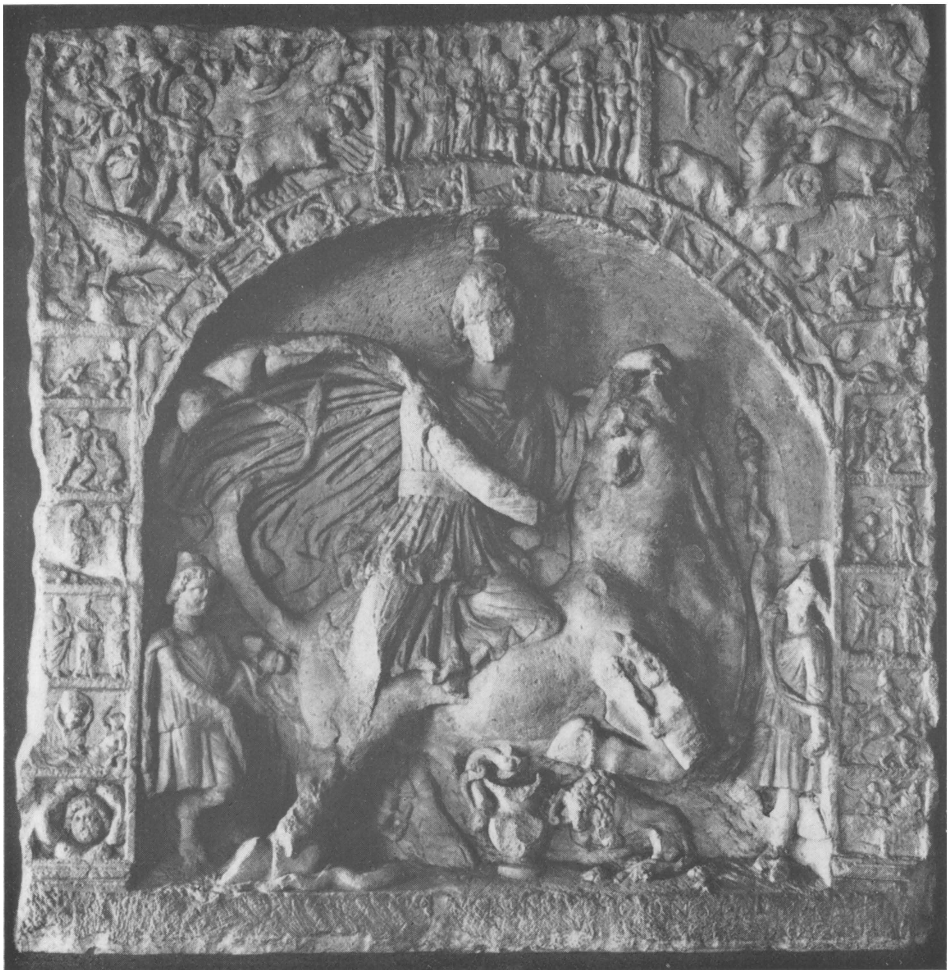


1255. Dieburg.

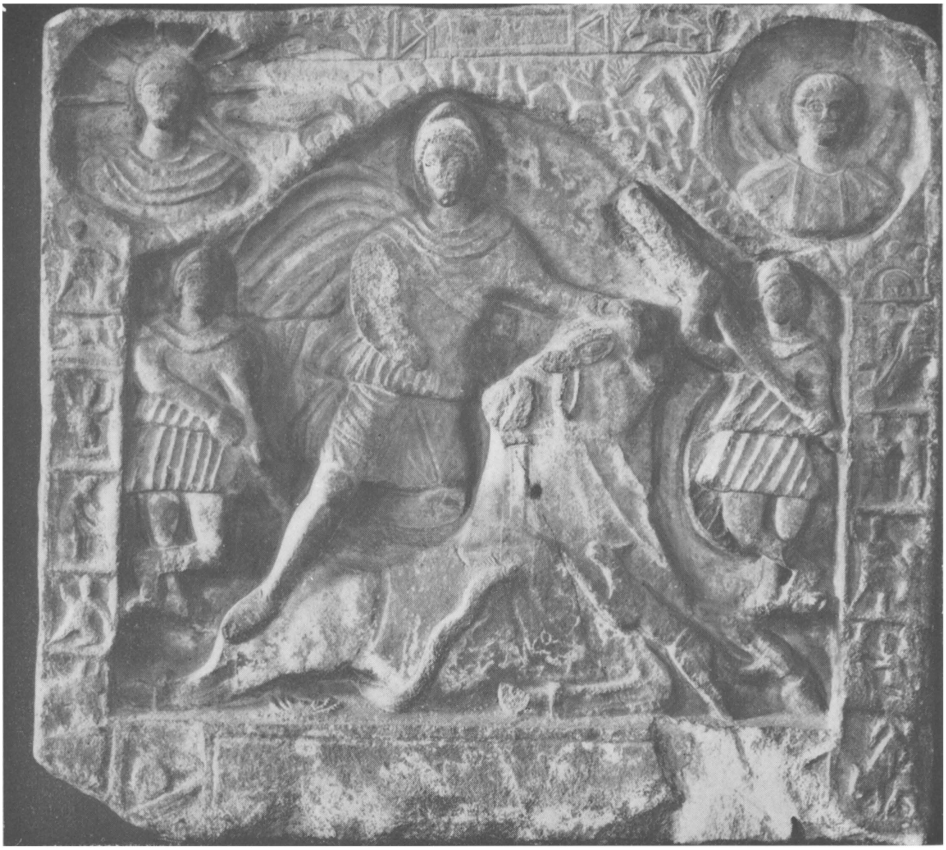
PLATE XXV



1283. Neuenheim, Germany.

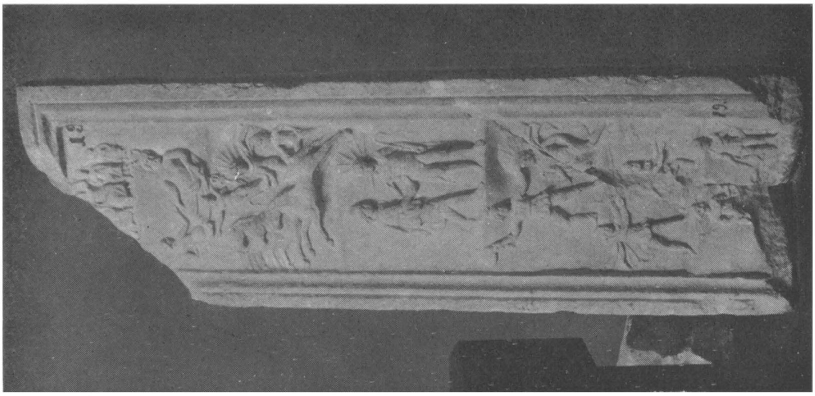


1292. Osterburken, Germany.

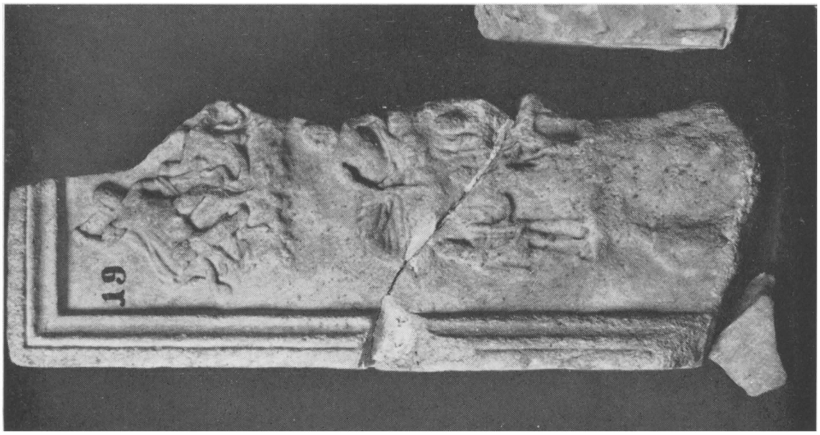


1400. Mauls, Raetia.

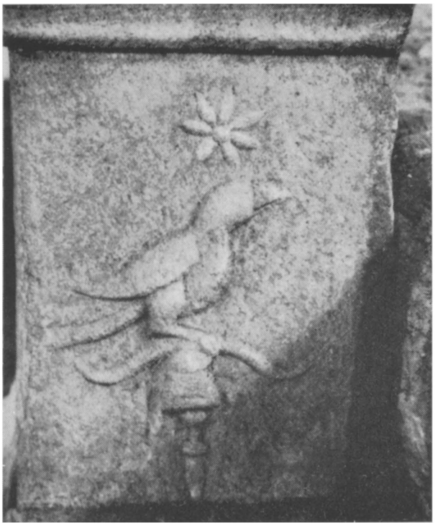
PLATE XXVIII



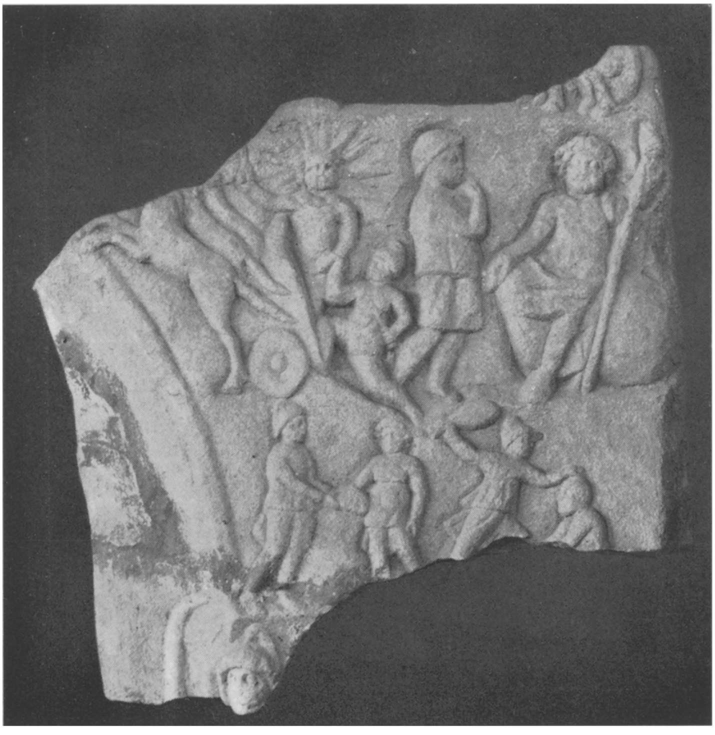
1430. Virunum, Noricum.



1430. Virunum, Noricum.

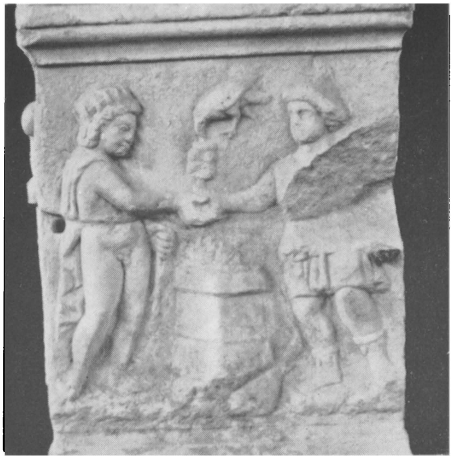


1496. Poetovio I. Pannonia.

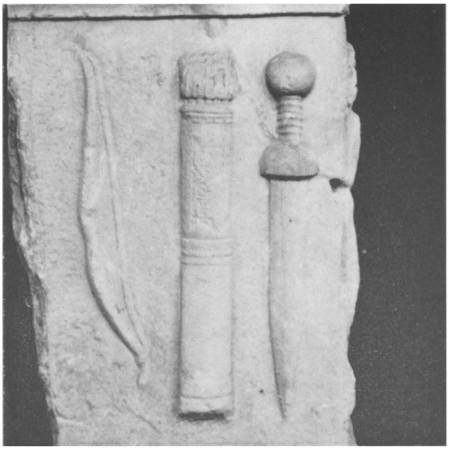


1579. Poetovio III.

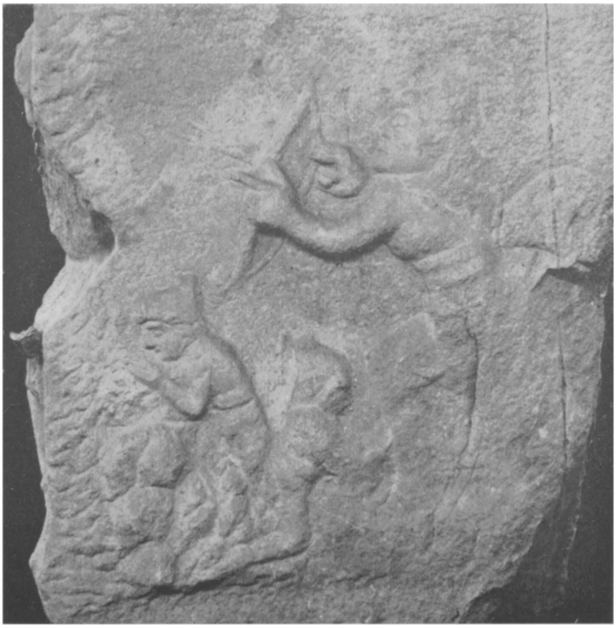
PLATE XXX



1589. Poetovio III. Face.

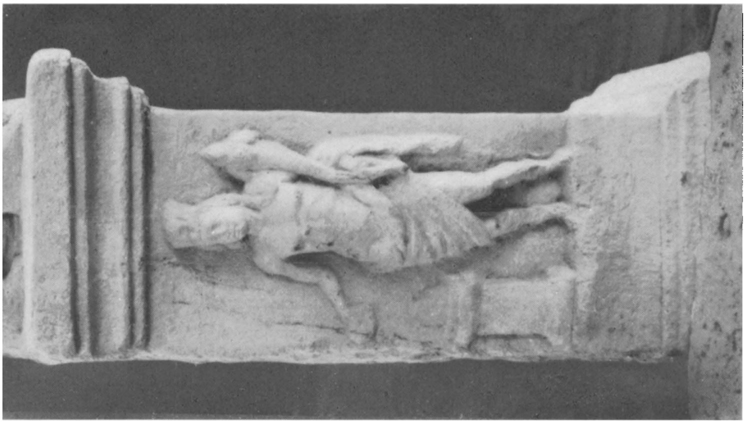


1589. Left side.

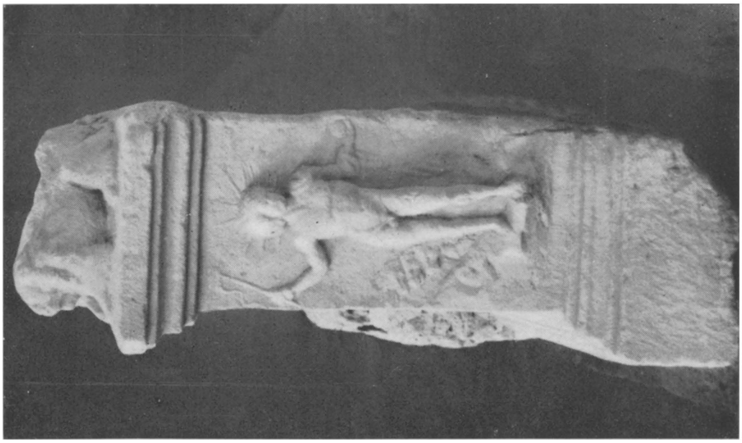


1589. Right side.

PLATE XXXI

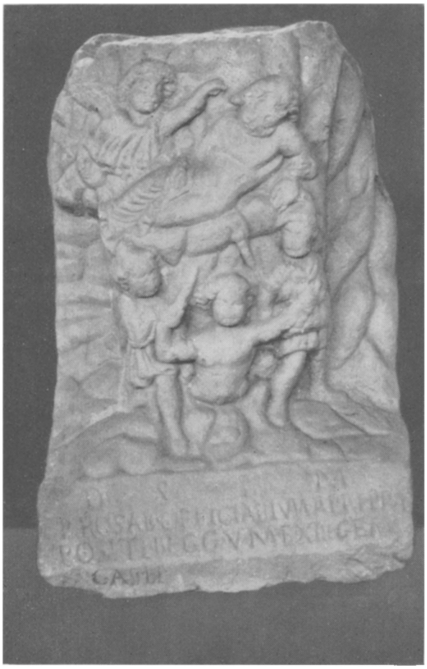


1591. Left side.

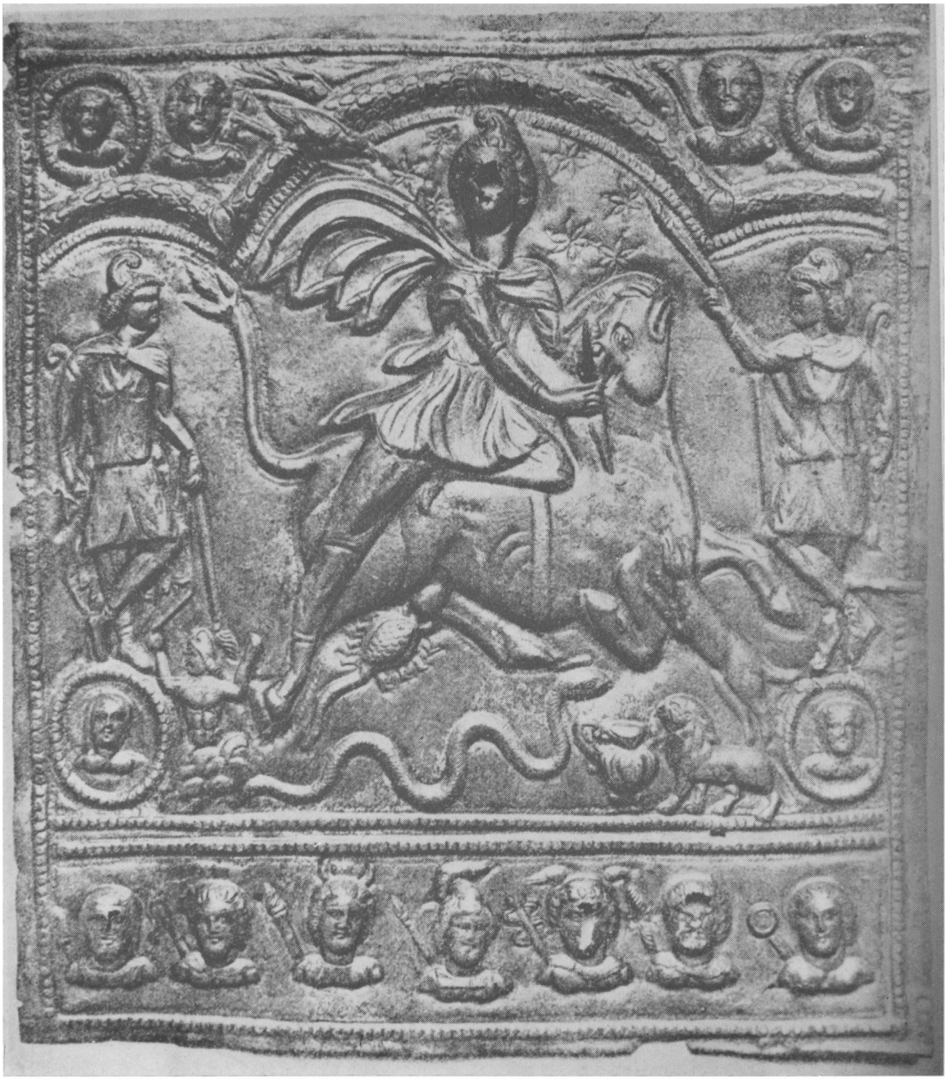


1591. Poetovio III, Right side.

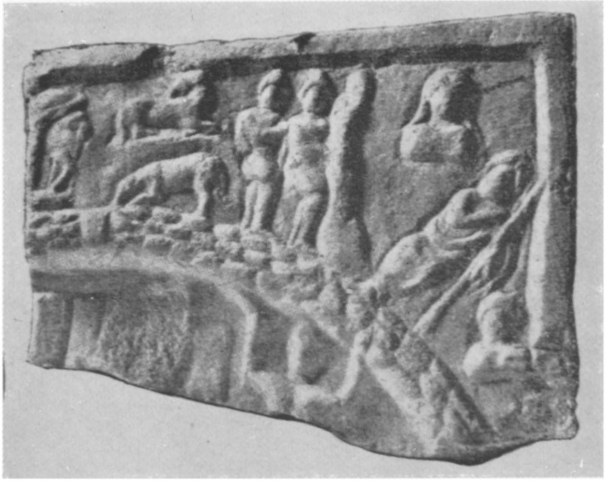
PLATE XXXII



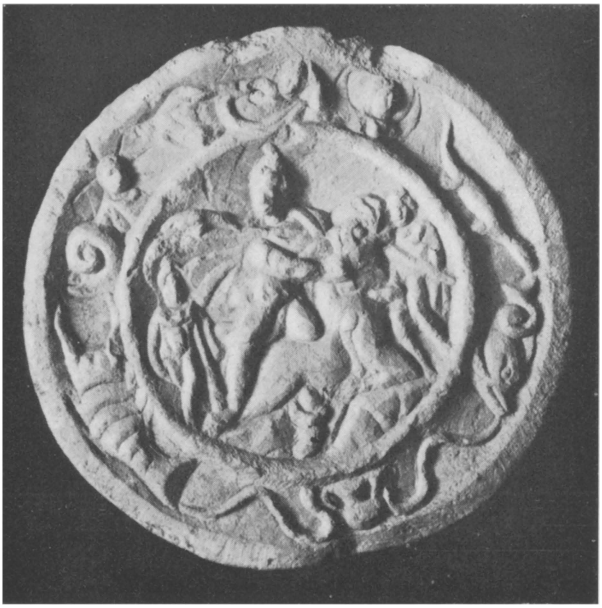
1593. Poetovio III.



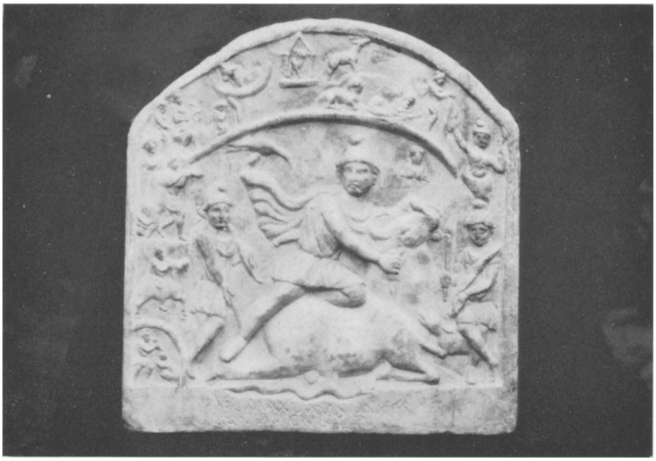
1727. Brigetio, Pannonia. Bronze relief.



1797. In Budapest.

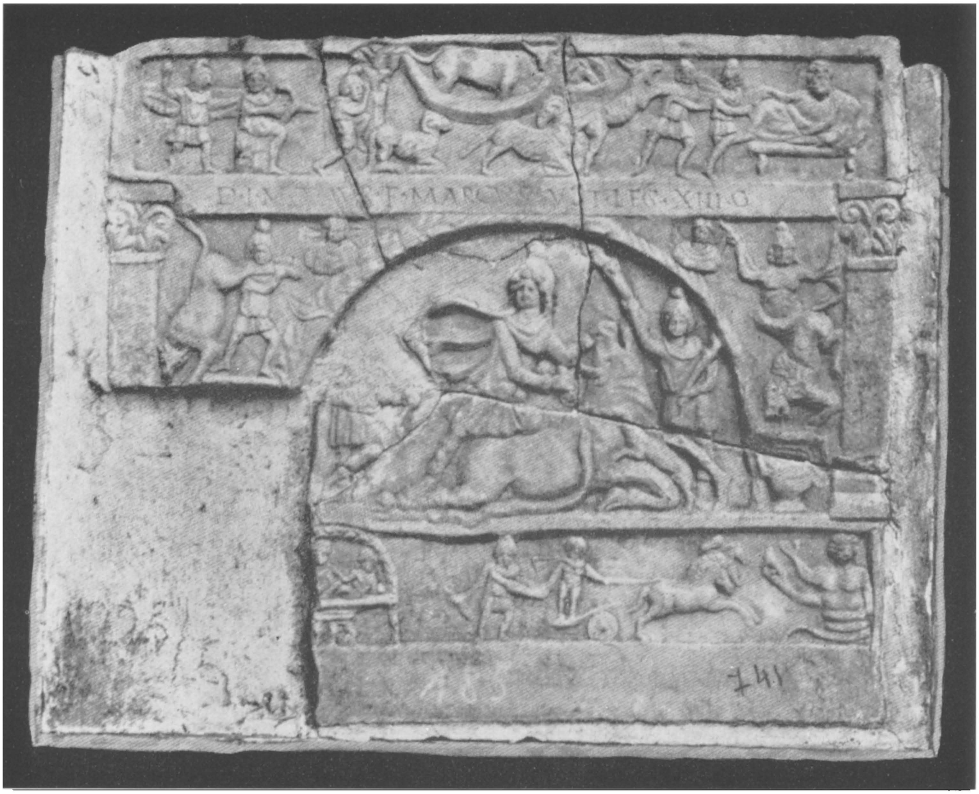


1861. Salona, Dalmatia.



1920. Potaissa, Dacia.

PLATE XXXVI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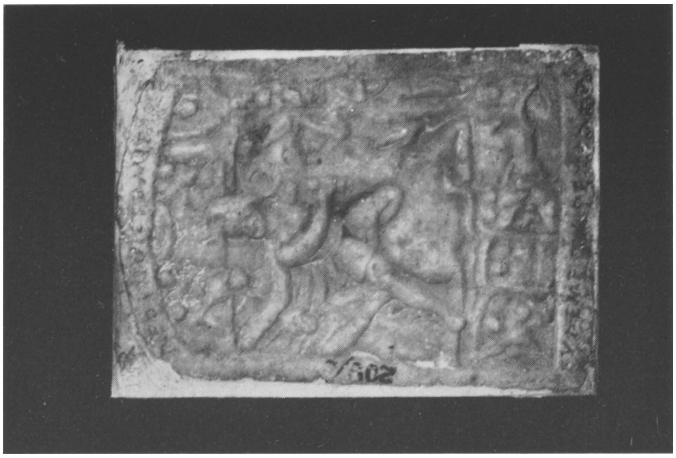
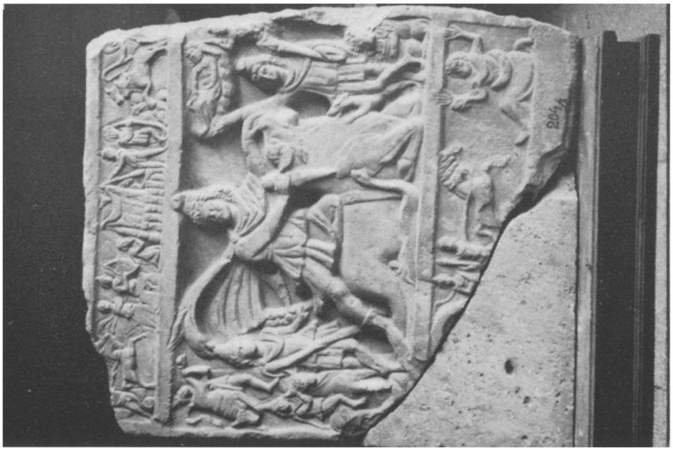
1958. Apulum, Dacia (v. fig. 24).

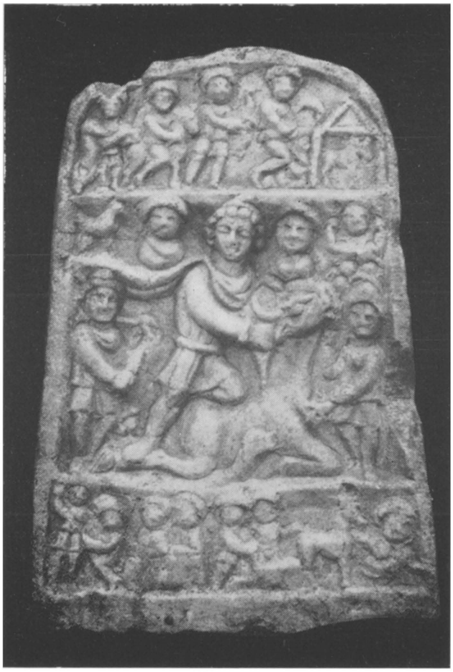
PLATE XXXVII



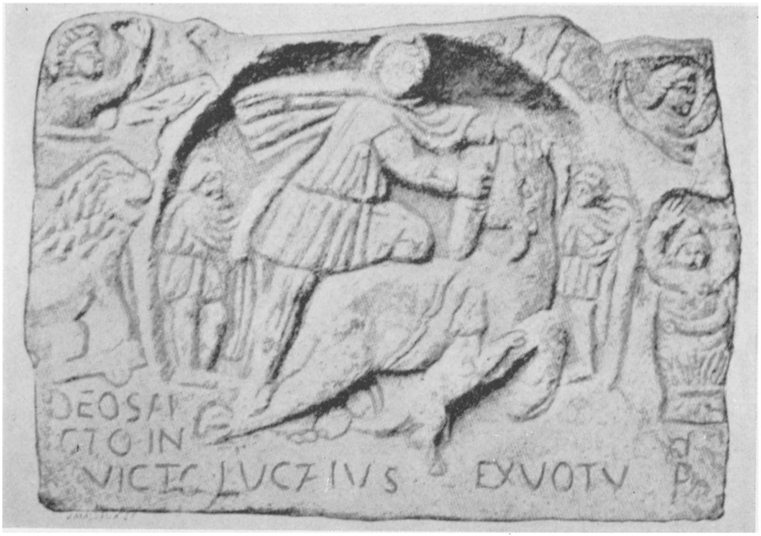
1975. Apulum.



1972. Apulum.



2171. Romula, Dacia.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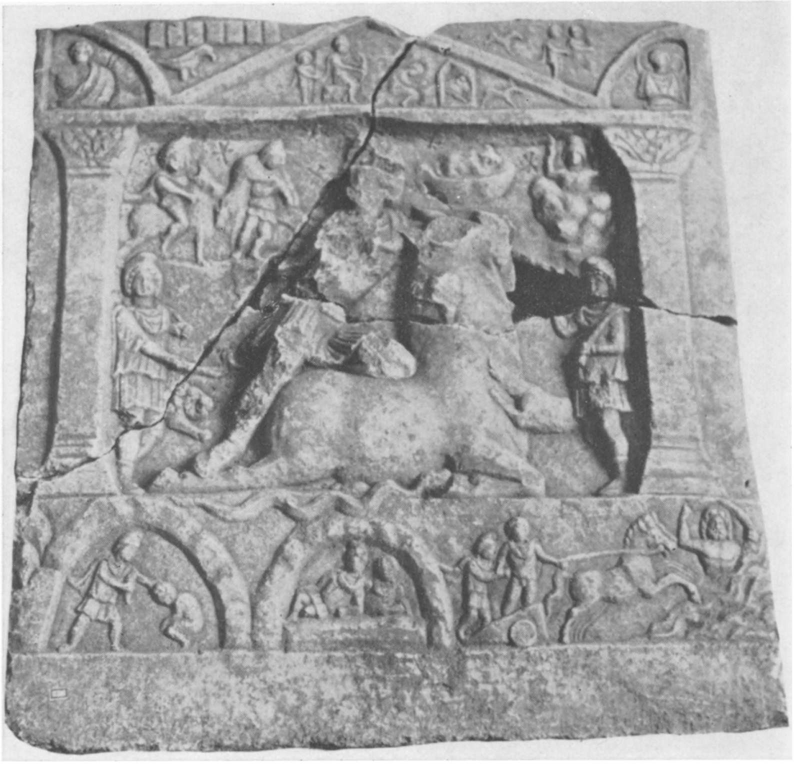
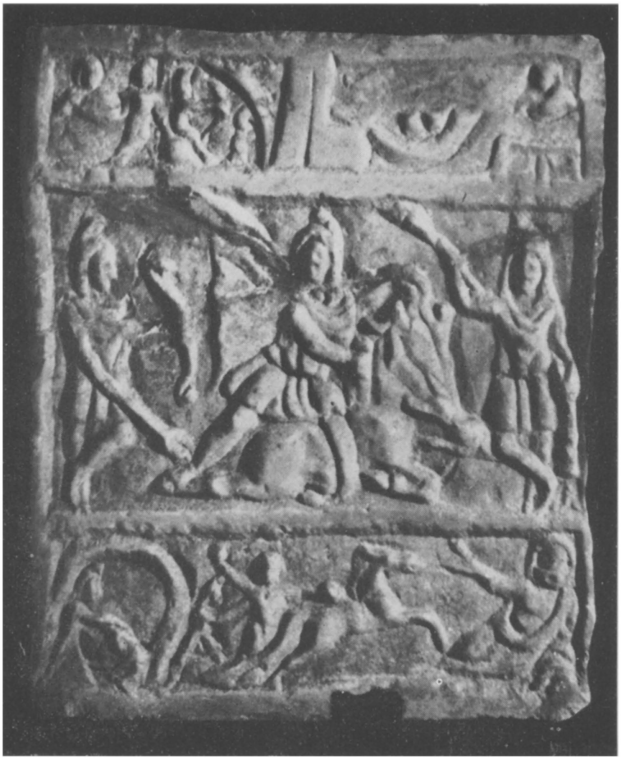
2237. Civitas Montanensium, Moesia Sup.

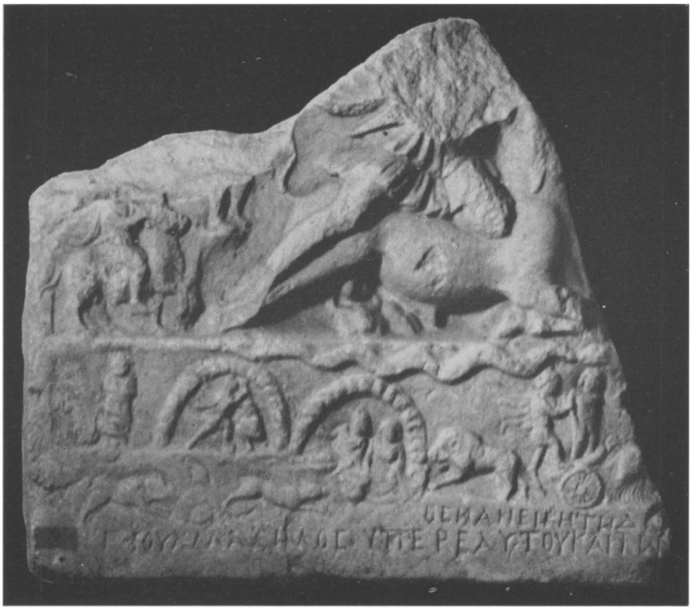


2244. Tavalicavo, Moesia Sup.



2272. Sexantaprista, Moesia Inf.

PLATE XLII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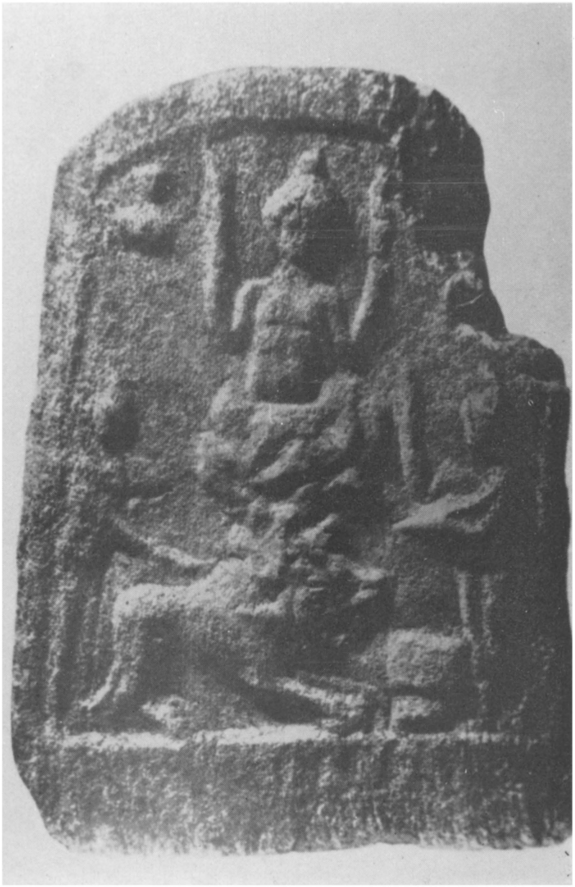
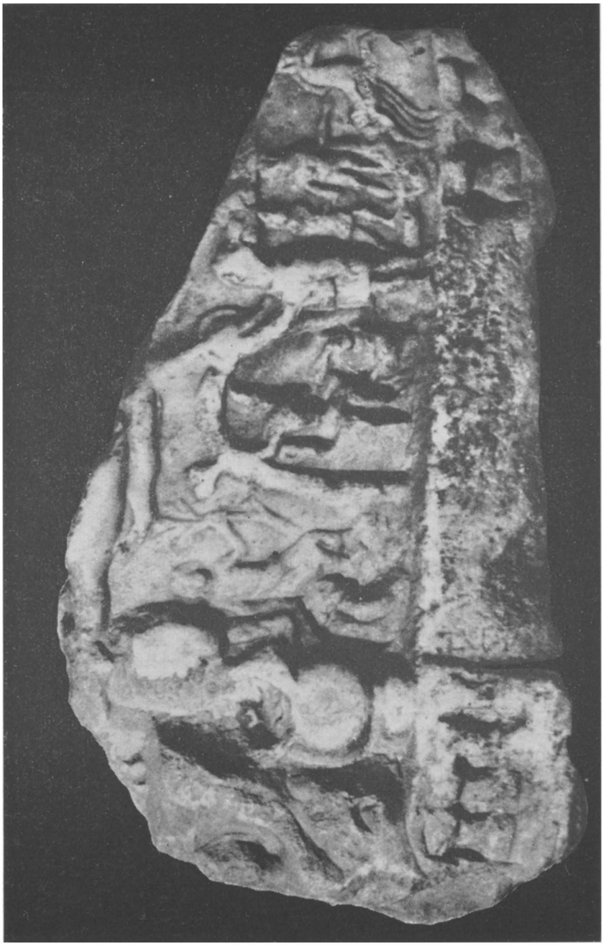
ΥΠΕΡΕΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΩ

2320. Serdica, Thracia.

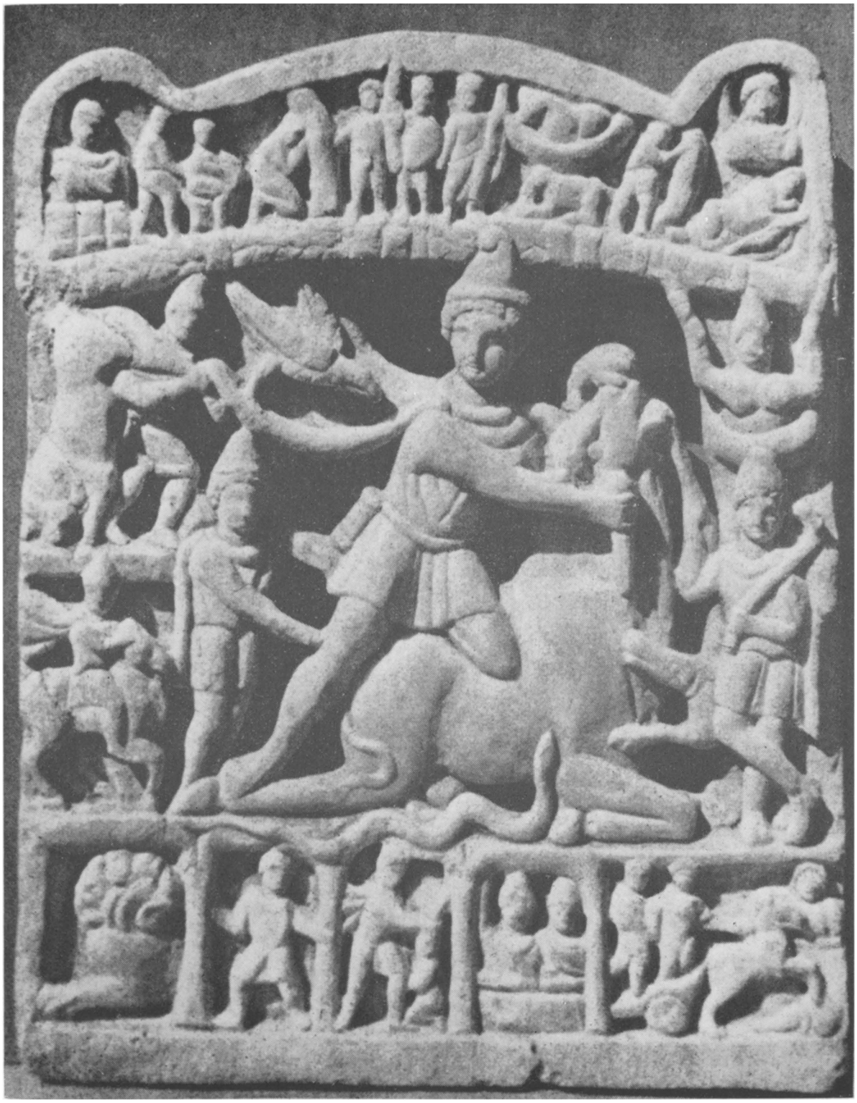


2331 A. Tatar-Basardjik, Bulgaria.

PLATE XLIV



2334. Sinitovo, Bulgaria.



2338. Kurtowo-Konare, Bulgaria.